

Shakespeare's *Tempest* at Drury Lane During Garrick's Management

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R. C. BEECHER HOGAN'S recent factual record of Shakespearean performances in London, 1700-1750, indicates that the Dryden-Davenant-Shadwell operatic alteration of the *Tempest* was one of the most popular adaptations of Shakespeare's plays in that half century, running as it did to one hundred and eighty performances.¹ During the season 1745-46, two years before Garrick assumed management of Drury Lane Theatre, and while he was acting a tour in Ireland, Shakespeare's *Tempest*, supposedly in the original text, was revived at Drury Lane. It had never been acted there according to the playbill. It lasted only for six scattered performances.² Albeit the cast of characters as given by Hogan lists none of those in the Dryden-Davenant-Shadwell version, the play did conclude with the Dryden-Davenant ending of Neptune and Amphitrite.

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics have deplored the fact that Garrick, when he became manager, turned back to the Dryden-Davenant-Shadwell version, and failed to schedule the original despite a lack of interest displayed by an audience which cared to see it only half a dozen times.³ A new manager not firmly intrenched, however, was hardly going to court failure. So during his first season he produced the late Restoration adaptation which had proved itself successful in the box office. But Garrick found that his receipts even from it diminished steadily.⁴ He tried it again in January 1750 with no better results, and had the good sense never to attempt that version after the close of that season.⁵ The swan song of the Dryden-Davenant-Shadwell play had been sung.

A general opinion prevailed, however, that Shakespeare's *Tempest* was one of the excellent examples of his untutored genius. Joseph Warton crystallized the thought in *Adventurer* No. 93, 25 September 1753:

Of all the plays of Shakespeare, the *Tempest* is the most striking instance of his creative power. He has there given the reins to his boundless imagina-

¹ *Shakespeare in the Theatre, London, 1700-1750* (Oxford, 1952), p. 460.

² January 31; February 1, 4, 5, 18; May 19, 1746.

³ The implication is obvious in the wording of Dr. F. A. Hedgcock, *David Garrick and his French Friends* (London, 1912), pp. 64-65: "... our self-styled admirer of Shakespeare, once enthroned at Drury Lane revived the ridiculous pantomime into which Dryden and Davenant had turned it; and that, although Shakespeare's *Tempest* almost in its pristine beauty, had been acted at the same theatre two years earlier."

⁴ December 26, 1747, £160; December 28, £150; December 29, £100; April 11, 1748, £130 (figures from *Cross Diary*, Folger Shakespeare Library).

⁵ January 1, 1750, £120; Jan. 2, £100; Jan. 5, £100; Jan. 19, £050; February 12, £100; April 27 (bt. Liviez & Taswell), £150 (Cross).

tion, and has created the romantic, the wonderful, and the wild, to the most pleasing extravagance. . . .

Although Warton emphasized the virtues of the play, and especially the preservation of consistency in the characters, he took occasion also to mention its faults when judged by eighteenth-century critical standards—obscurity and turgidity in diction. Garrick kept his eye on this play and was determined not to let it fall completely from his repertory.

During the decade of the 1750's, when pantomime and musical performances were in vogue, especially at the competing theatre in Covent Garden, Garrick experimented with new operatic possibilities of the *Tempest*. His opera, the *Fairies*, made from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, had pleased mightily in February 1755.⁶ Apparently he saw similar elements of fancy and song in *The Tempest* and so altered it, or had it altered, into a three-act opera. This was first performed 11 February 1756, and was printed for J. and R. Tonson the same month⁷—but with no clearer identification as to its author than the statement on the title-page, "The Music Composed by Mr. Smith".⁸ A note at the foot of the list of principal performers hoped that the readers would "excuse the omission of many passages of first merit . . . it being impossible to introduce them in the plan of the opera." Garrick, of course, denied authorship of this version in the same letter to James Murphy French in which he denied authorship of the *Fairies*.⁹ But it has been saddled upon him, and certainly was done with his sanction, and is so similar to the former that I shall discuss it as his. He did write an introductory dialogue between an Actor and a Critic in which he tried to justify the alteration on the basis of its English temper, its encouragement to English musicians, and from Shakespeare's own words in the *Merchant of Venice*:

⁶ For details see my article, "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Hands of Garrick and Colman," *PMLA*, LIV (June 1939), 467-482.

⁷ *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1756, List of New Books.

⁸ John Christopher Smith, Handel's protégé. This corresponds with Cross's notation, "Tempest an Opera from Shakespear Compos'd by Mr. Smith". No mention of Garrick. The MS for this opera is in the Huntington Library (Larpent Collection). I have compared a photostat, in possession of the Folger Library, with the Tonson 1756 edition, and find only five minor differences in the two texts: (1) In the first act in the MS, Prospero in telling Miranda her life history concludes, "Here . . . have I thy schoolmaster made thee more perfect Than other princes can. . . ."; the printed text restores Shakespeare's reading, "made thee more profit". (2) In the same act in the MS, Prospero threatens to peg Ariel into a knotty oak until he has "howl'd out twelve long years"; the printed text restores Shakespeare's reading, "twelve long winters". (3) In the same act, in the quarrel between Mustacho, Ventoso, and Trincalo, the printed edition gives Ventoso a line, "We two are Viceroy's o'er all this isle", from Dryden's version which does not appear in the MS. (4) In the last act in the MS, Prospero speaks, "Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves, And ye that on the sands with printless feet do chase . . ."; in the printed text Shakespeare's reading, "with printless foot", is restored. (5) In the last act Alonso speaks, "Where thou bee'st he or no, Or some enchanted trifle to abuse me"; in the printed text the final *me* has been inadvertently omitted.

The MS included the customary letter in Cross's hand to the Lord Chamberlain asking for approval, dated February 9, 1756. The hand of the MS is that of a copyist. Garrick's signature to the letter to the Lord Chamberlain is the only bit of his handwriting in the MS. The Prologue, which Garrick wrote for the play, occupies the first ten pages of the MS, and is followed by the Argument of the Opera, which corresponds exactly with the printed Argument. The list of characters appears in the MS, but not the cast, and not the Advertisement which is present in the printed edition.

⁹ Jesse Foot, *Life of Murphy*, p. 100.

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds
Is fit for treasons. . . .¹⁰

Richard Cross, the prompter, remarked that on the first night this dialogue was "much hiss'd & dislik'd", but on the second, though omitted from the bills, "was call'd for and had some applause".¹¹

Although this opera received "great applause" on the first night and drew a house of £180, its novelty waned and few seemed to care for it after that.¹² Even Garrick's customary supporters amongst his contemporaries deplored it. Murphy, after re-telling the story of Shakespeare's play, and after quoting Dr. Johnson to the effect that it was "one of the first dramas in the world", writes:

Garrick ought not to have suffered such a play to dwindle into an opera. The harmony of the versification wanted no aid from music. He had said in a former prologue that, "He wished to lose no drop of that immortal man", and here he has lost a *tun* of him. Had he revived the *Tempest*, as it stands in the original, and played the character of Prospero, he would have done justice to the God of his Idolatry, and honor to himself.¹³

Tate Wilkinson comments on the performance:

Signora Curioni, an Italian singer performed in it, but it was dreadfully heavy,—It went through with a great labour eight nights, but not without the aid of a Garland dance, well performed by sixty children, at the end of the second act, and the pantomime of *Fortunatus* or the *Genii* after that.¹⁴

Theophilus Cibber tied this piece to three other Garrick plays in a paragraph of denunciation in his *Two Dissertations upon the Theatres*:

Were Shakespeare's ghost to rise, would not he frown with indignation on this pilfering pedlar of poetry,—who thus shamefully mangles, mutilates, and emasculates his plays? The *Midsummer Night's Dream* has been minc'd and fricaseed into an indigested and unconnected thing, call'd the *Fairies*:—the *Winter's Tale* mammoc'd into a drole; the *Taming of the Shrew* made a farce of;—and the *Tempest* castrated into an opera.—Oh! what an agreeable lullaby might it have prov'd to our Beaus and Belles, to have heard Caliban, Sycorax and one of the Devils trilling trios.¹⁵

Although the alteration was a new one, Garrick brought into it several features from the late Restoration version which seemed to fit, or which had pleased former audiences. His opera opens with Shadwell's final song at the

¹⁰ Dr. MacMillan, in his *Catalogue of the Larpens Collection*, p. 123, points the close parallel between this and Robert Lloyd's "A Dialogue between an Actor and a Critic" appearing on p. 144 in his *St. James Magazine*, October 1762. It would seem that Garrick contributed the "Dialogue" to Lloyd's journal.

¹¹ Manuscript Records in the Cross-Hopkins *Diaries*, Folger Shakespeare Library.

¹² Receipts were: Feb. 13, £140; Feb. 18, £100; Feb. 20, £90; Feb. 26, £100; March 16 (with *Fortunatus*), £130 (Cross).

¹³ *Life of Garrick*, II, 302-303.

¹⁴ *Memoirs*, IV, 213. It ran only six nights, and was accompanied by *Fortunatus* only on the last of these.

¹⁵ There are no Devils in Garrick's version. Perhaps he referred to the "Terzetto" at the close of Act II. Nor is there any Sycorax in Garrick's version. One wonders whether Cibber either read or saw the opera.

end of Act II, "Arise, arise ye subterranean winds", here sung by Ariel.¹⁶ This is followed immediately by Ariel's speech from Shakespeare (I.ii.196-206) with the tenses of the verbs changed. He announces that he "will flame amazement" to the whole crew of the ship which is seen floundering off the rocky coast.¹⁷ Garrick's second scene follows Shakespeare's, but is much abridged. Miranda prays her father to allay the storm. He does so and tells her the history of her early life at Milan and of their arrival at the enchanted island, all in fifty lines. Shakespeare had taken one hundred and eighty-eight to communicate the same. Three songs are interspersed, one of which, "In the bright moonshine while winds whistle loud, Tivy, Tivy, Tivy, we mount and fly. . .", Ariel takes over from Dryden's *Tyrannic Love*, IV.i. Miranda is put to sleep. Garrick's third scene is composed of forty more lines taken from a section of one hundred and seventeen from Shakespeare's second scene, in which the identity of Ariel is established, refusal of his immediate freedom is made, and a threat is given to peg him in a knotty oak unless he obeys Prospero. Two songs are sung in this scene. At the end Miranda awakes. The fourth scene is composed of the remainder of Shakespeare's second scene, but only of that part in which Ariel plays echo to Ferdinand's words. It includes two Shakespearian songs, "Come unto these yellow sands", and "Full fathom five", along with an echo duet between Ariel and Ferdinand taken from the third scene of Dryden's third act. The last scene of Garrick's first act is an abridgment of Dryden's Act II, Scene i, in which Stephano, Mustacho, Ventoso, and Trincalo meet and quarrel over the new order of their rank in this kingdom. Two songs are added plus a duelling duet between Mustacho and Trincalo. In this abridgment of Dryden's scene Trincalo no longer has Caliban and his sister to back his cause, so submits easily to becoming Stephano's viceroy.

Garrick's second act opens with a return to Shakespeare, Act I, Scene ii, wherein Miranda first beholds Ferdinand. Shakespeare's ninety-four lines of description are here reduced to forty-seven, plus the addition of three songs. Garrick's second scene seems to follow Shakespeare's Act II, Scene i, but more closely Dryden's Act II, Scene iii. In it Alonzo, Antonio, and Gonzalo appear, but we just glimpse them sufficiently to know they are on the island, safe and repentant.¹⁸ In the third and fourth scenes Ariel plays with their senses by conjuring up a banquet which vanishes before they can eat, sings a song, "Dry those eyes which are o'erflowing"—which in Dryden's Act III, Scene iii, he had sung as a duet with Milcha. He leads a dance of the spirits which throws the strangers into dismay. Scenes five and six are formed by an abridgment of Shakespeare's Act III, Scene i, in which Ferdinand and Miranda come to a better understanding and fall in love. All is accomplished with fair precipitancy in thirty-eight lines and three songs.¹⁹ The seventh and last scene of this act returns to Shakespeare's Act II, Scene ii, wherein Caliban and Trincalo meet. Twenty lines from Dryden's IV.ii, are thrown in, in which Ventoso and Mustacho conclude a peace treaty with Trincalo, who possesses the wine butt.

¹⁶ For authorship see J. G. McManaway, "Songs and Masques in the *Tempest*", *Theatre Miscellany*, Luttrell Society, 1953, p. 79.

¹⁷ In Shakespeare he reports to Prospero that he "did divide and burn in many places", and that he "flam'd amazement".

¹⁸ The whole scene is concluded in seventeen lines.

¹⁹ Shakespeare uses at least eighty-eight to present this.

The act ends with a "Terzetto" between Trincalo, Stephano, and Ventoso.

The third act of the Opera is drawn from Shakespeare exclusively. The first three scenes come from IV. i, in which Prospero gives Miranda to Ferdinand with the caution to have no intercourse with her until "All sanctimonious ceremonies may with full and holy rite be ministered", and sends Ariel to fetch Alonzo, Antonio, and Gonzalo. Three songs contribute to the operatic quality of this. The fourth scene consists of Prospero's speech from V. i. 25-51, "Ye elves of hills. . .", in which he decides he is about to lay aside his magic forever. A song is added also. In the fifth scene Prospero discovers himself to Alonzo, Antonio, and Gonzalo in thirty-one lines (reduced from twice that number in Shakespeare, V. i. 104-172). In the last two scenes, after the discovery of Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess, a general reconciliation takes place. The opera ends with a duet between the young Lovers:

Ferdinand:

Love, gentle Love, now fill my breast,
The storms of life are o'er;
In thee my dear Miranda, blest,
What can I wish for more!

Miranda

Love, gentle Love, and Chaste Desire
My breast shall ever move;
Let me those heavenly joys inspire,
And all my life be love. . . .

The opera has the merit of brevity, as far as text is concerned. It may be a step up from Dryden to have got rid of Hippolito, Dorinda, Sycorax, and Milcha, and to have reduced Trincalo to Shakespearian proportions.²⁰ But the evening's entertainment was doubtless prolonged by the thirty-two songs which were entered. Only three of these are from Shakespeare, and oddly enough Ariel's song, "Where the bee sucks", is omitted entirely.

Suffice it to say that the opera was a failure, and that Garrick himself did not relish being mentioned in connection with it. But it is wrong to say, as Dr. F. A. Hedgcock does:

The truth is that Garrick was not capable of appreciating Shakespeare as a poet; fanciful pieces like the *Dream* or the *Tempest* were to him formless and barbaric compositions. . . .²¹

because it was Garrick who, on 20 October 1757, restored Shakespeare's *Tempest* to the stage in such an effective version that it became a part of the permanent repertory of Drury Lane as long as he was manager.²² The songs this time were Shakespeare's, and were printed to be given out "gratis" at the theatre.

The text of this revived version is, moreover, one of the very best of the Shakespearian texts of the eighteenth-century. Four hundred and thirty-two

²⁰ Dryden makes more of Trincalo than Shakespeare does.

²¹ *A Cosmopolitan Actor*, p. 64.

²² Only two years during Garrick's regime, 1759-60 and 1767-68, was it not presented at all. And it was Drury Lane's play, never being performed in any form at Covent Garden during the Garrick regime.

lines were omitted and only fourteen added. The largest cuts took place in the conversation between Alonzo, Antonio, Gonzalo, and Sebastian (II. i. 9-112); in the conspiracy between Antonio and Sebastian to murder Alonzo (II. i. 147-275); and in the masque of Iris, Juno, and Ceres, put on for Ferdinand's benefit. Sufficient from all these episodes was retained to keep the plot clear, and all of the lines added were necessary to keep the train of thought in these abridgments.²³ This version was printed by Bell, "regulated from the prompt-book, with permission of the managers, by Mr. Hopkins, Prompter", in 1773, and repays study.

Francis Gentleman in his notes says of the first two cuts mentioned, "There are near three pages of this scene . . . very properly left out",²⁴ and of the other, "The following masque is altered from Shakespeare, and judiciously made half as short again as the original" (p. 44). Gentleman would have omitted still other passages had he been the alterer,²⁵ but Garrick cut little besides these major excisions. His Antonio, Sebastian, and Gonzalo taunt the Boatswain less than they do in the original.²⁶ Prospero gives fewer details to Miranda of their life and of escape from Milan, and loses several asides throughout the play.²⁷ Trincalo speaks about thirteen lines less than he does in the Shakespeare text.²⁸ The twentieth-century critic misses most Gonzalo's description of his Utopian commonwealth, and Prospero's lines, "We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep."²⁹ All in all Garrick's is an excellent acting version, preserving a remarkably pure text in which only one character, Gonzalo, can be said to have lost anything significant by excision.³⁰ All the Shakespeare songs remain, and no others are added. In Ariel's song the earlier "Where the bee sucks there *lurk* I" had become saddled upon the eighteenth

²³ Alonzo is given the following lines:

Still let me hope. Good Francisco, look
Out again, scout round the rocks, and bring my
Heart some comfort with my son. . . . (II. i. 146)

Let us sit down upon this bank and rest our sorrows.

Gonzalo: I will my lord, for I am very heavy. (II. i. 178)

Iris was cut from the masque, and at IV. i. 60, the following was inserted:

Enter Juno: Recitative:

Hither Hymen speed your way,
Celebrate this happy day;
Hither Ceres haste away,
Celebrate this happy day;
With blithsome look and jocund mein,
Come and tread the short grass green,
Leave behind your grief and care,
Come and bless this happy pair.

²⁴ Bell, III, *Tempest*, p. 23 (1774).

²⁵ Such as Trincalo's line, IV. i. 200, "Monster, I do smell all horsepiss; at which my nose is in great indignation."

²⁶ I. i. 58-73 omitted.

²⁷ I. ii. 79-97, 251-256; III. i. 31, 74-75, 92-96; III. ii. 35-37, 39, 83-93; V. i. 58-60, 68-71, 75-77, 110-111, 126-130, 145-147; Epilogue 15-18.

²⁸ II. ii. 117-120, 155-159, 167-172.

²⁹ The rest of this speech, however, "these our actors as I fortold you . . .", is present for the first time in the century.

³⁰ His honesty, kindness, and loyalty are present, but his philosophizing is not.

century through the editions of Theobald and Hanmer, and Garrick did not restore the proper reading.

Apparently by 1757 the age was ready for the real *Tempest*. For despite the fact that Gentleman in his introduction to the Bell edition believed a better play than either Dryden's or Shakespeare's might be produced by properly blending the two, Garrick's restored play brought the managers over £4,783 in the thirty-two performances of which we possess recorded box receipts,⁸¹ was popular enough to call forth a Command Performance before the King on 23 November 1757, to draw a full house 5 December 1757 when Barry was playing King Lear at the rival theatre, and to be chosen twenty times for actors' benefits during the succeeding eighteen years.⁸²

This whole story of Garrick's handling of the *Tempest* is calculated somewhat to restore our confidence in his statement that Shakespeare was the God of his idolatry. And no one who cares at all for current modernized versions of *Hamlet* or *Julius Caesar*, as presented to us on the twentieth-century screen, need cavil a hair at the stage craft and text preparation indulged in by David Garrick.

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⁸¹ *Cross Diary*, and *Drury Lane Treasurer's Books* (Folger Library). These records are incomplete; so we have no receipts for twenty-nine other performances listed.

⁸² For these facts see notations in the *Cross-Hopkins Diaries* (Folger Shakespeare Library).

The Second part. To the same tune.



Simon.

Thou shalt haue thy Candles,
before thou dost arise:
For churche-alls, byrds sicknesse
and hunger the ailing.
Young folks must be cherishe
with sweets that saintly be,
farre sweeter then the honey
that cometh from the Bee.

Mother.

Well said good Son and Daughter,
this is the onely wyse
To please a chary young wife,
and keepe the house in quiete:
But stay, here coms your father,
his wayes I hope will be
More sweeter then the blossomes
that bloome vpon the tree.

Father.

Why he to now daughter Susan
doe you intend to marry?
Sparrows in the old time
did twenty winters tarry.
Now in the frame no longer
but you a wife will be
And lose the sweetest blossome
that bloomes vpon the tree.

Susan.

It is for my preferment
good father say not nay,
For I haue found a husband kinde
and losing euery way:
That will but my same
will evermore agree,
Which is more sweet then honey
that comes from the Bee.

Mother.

Wilt not your daughter,
good husband, tell you being
Her loues confirming sicknesse,
or euen woeier thing.
Sparrows youngly married
longer liues will be



And sweet as is the honey
which comes from the Bee.

Simon.

Good father be not cruel,
your daughter is mine owne:
Her mother hath consented
and is toliking growne.
And if your selfe tell me then,
her gentle hand to me,
I will sweeter be then honey
that comes from the Bee.

Father.

God giue thee ioy deare Daughter,
there is no real in I
Whom I hinder thy proceeding,
and thou a warden be:
And after to lead Ayres in hell,
as maidens doted be:
That fairer are then blossomes
that bloome vpon the tree.

Simon.

Then let's vnto the Parson
and Clerke to say Amen:
Susan.

With all my heart good Simon,
we are concluded then,
My father and my mother both
doe willingly agree
My Simon's sweet as honey
that comes from the Bee.

All together sing.

You Maidens and Wachelors
we hope will lose no time,
Which learne it by experience
that youth is in the prime,
And only in their hearts desire
young married folks to be
More sweeter then the blossomes
that bloome vpon the tree.

FINIS.

Is printed at London for H. Iohns.

A New Country Jig between Simon and Susan, Part II. Reproduced with permission from Pepysian Ballads, I, 261, in the library of Magdalen College, Cambridge. See p. 138.

Coleridge on Shakespeare's Villains

SYLVAN BARNET



HE Romantic writers have been accused, not merely by their enemies—the Babbitts and Mores—but even by their friends and by themselves of confounding good with evil, of writing so well of the devil because they were on the devil's side, and of leaving the wars of truth so they might uninterruptedly practice their "slender lyric gift". But this thesis, of course, is factitious, and if their ethical standards did not always please their fellows or their critics, they were none the less concerned with morality if not with morals.

English Romantic criticism of Shakespeare never tires of reminding us that he keeps to the high road of morality, and Coleridge, "adverting to the opinion of a Greek writer . . . that none but a good man could be a great poet, . . . concurred, . . . and thought, moreover, that moral excellence was necessary to the perfection of the understanding and the taste" (*MC*, p. 225).¹ For Coleridge, then, Shakespeare's moral nature was never suspect, and the mere fact that the plays delighted successive audiences proved, in his view, that they and their author were rich in goodness (but not, he elsewhere indicates, in goodness [*MC*, p. 427]), for it is impossible "to keep up any pleasurable interest in a tale in which there is no goodness of heart" (*MC*, p. 55). Thus, Coleridge's aesthetics are intimately related to his moral values, and we should not be surprised to find that he is uneasy when in the presence of several of the plays which Willard Farnham has recently characterized as representing Shakespeare's "Tragic Frontier". Some of the difficulties that critics encounter in these dramas, where the heroes are so deeply tainted that they cannot merely be said to have a tragic "flaw" or to "miss the mark", may owe their origin to the aesthetic inferiority of the works themselves, but we can clearly see that morality rather than aesthetics (however intimately the two may be related) is the cause of the embarrassment Coleridge exhibits in his remarks on *Coriolanus* and *Timon of Athens*. Of the latter, "his admiration of some parts . . . was unbounded; but he maintained that it was, on the whole, a painful and disagreeable production, because it gave only a disadvantageous picture of human nature, very inconsistent with what, he firmly believed, was our great poet's real view of the characters of his fellow-creatures. . . . Coleridge could not help suspecting that the subject might have been taken up under some temporary feeling of vexation and disappointment" (*SC*, I, 85). Surprisingly, however, Shakespeare's hero-villains were less of a problem to Coleridge than were the out-and-out villains. And this was so, not only because the non-heroic villains act with unmitigated villainy, but also because the good characters, whose opinions we must, in general, honor and make our

¹ The abbreviations *MC*, *SC*, and *BL* respectively refer to *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed. T. M. Raysor (London, 1935); *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism*, ed. T. M. Raysor (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross (Oxford, 1907).

own, clearly indicate their disapproval. Moreover, the villain of the Elizabethan stage did not have the reluctance of his modern counterpart to reveal his inmost thoughts. Today's theatre-goer, nourished on the predominantly naturalistic drama of the last fifty years, has difficulty in accepting the unabashed confessions of a black heart. And just so, Coleridge, who, like all his contemporaries, had a relatively slight knowledge of Elizabethan stage conventions, found himself continually disquieted by Shakespeare's villains. Furthermore, his interest in what was later to be called psychology caused him to seek in the drama realistic portrayals of the workings of the human mind.

But why did villains pose a special problem? The answer, perhaps, is partly to be found in T. E. Hulme's definition of a Romantic as one who does not believe in the fall of man. In a sense Hulme's statement is just, though Coleridge, when in a theological mood, quite literally did believe that man had fallen and was in a condition of sin.² Romanticism is fundamentally optimistic, and its view of man and the universe as essentially good leaves little room for the powers of darkness. Moreover, most philosophic systems tend to exclude the possibility of tragedy, if for no other reason than that they explain too much, whereas the genuinely tragic poet's awareness and sensitivity exceed his knowledge. The "closed" system which the philosopher strives to create almost always includes an explanation of the cause of evil, and once evil has been explained, it rarely can hold its place in tragedy. Romanticism, with its organic view of nature, with its concept of a continually evolving world, and, most important, with its principle of reconciliation of opposites, is incompatible with the tragic view.³ Now, Coleridge, the most philosophic of all the English Romantics, was deeply attached to these views, and they inform much of his criticism. His analysis of *Richard II*, for example, with its emphasis on the first scene as containing "the germ of all the after events" (SC, I, 153; see also I, 68; I, 144; I, 148-149), is based on his view of organic development, while his description of the end of *Romeo and Juliet* is indebted to his concept of the reconciliation of opposites. "A beautiful close—poetic justice indeed! All are punished! The spring and winter meet, and winter assumes the character of spring, spring the sadness of winter" (SC, I, 12).

That the principle of reconciliation of opposites, if too tenaciously held, is fatal to tragedy can clearly be seen in the writings of Goethe. For him, opposites meet, good and evil are ultimately reconciled, partly because evil is necessary for the existence of good, and tragedy ceases to exist. *Faust* is not a tragedy (though Goethe called it one) simply because the ending is unconditionally happy, and we are not permitted to have a consciousness of the waste that Bradley finds essential to tragedy because we are told to rejoice in nature's method of developing man through a devious course.⁴ Coleridge, fortunately, never allowed his

² See Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Coleridge and Kant's Two Worlds," *ELH*, VII (1940), 341-362.

³ For a concise bibliography of definitions of Romanticism, see Ernest Bernbaum, *Guide through the Romantic Movement* (2nd ed., New York, 1949), pp. 315-317. A recent excellent account is Morse Peckham's "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," *PMLA*, LXVI (1951), 5-23.

⁴ Goethe's position is summed up simply and accurately by the late Karl Viëtor: "Goethe was fond of gentle endings. . . . An irreconcilably tragic case did not interest him, and in general . . . the irreconcilable seemed to him 'quite absurd'" (*Goethe the Poet* [Cambridge, Mass., 1949], p. 316). See also Erich Heller's essay, "Goethe and the Avoidance of Tragedy", in his *The Diinherited Mind* (Cambridge, 1952).

philosophical opinions to intrude quite so obviously into his dramatic criticism, but one cannot help noticing the relative lack of attention to the *ends* of the tragedies he discusses, a lack which cannot merely be explained by insisting that the Romantics were interested in character and not in plot. The plain truth seems to be that Coleridge was not at ease in discussing tragedy, however perceptive he may have been as a student of poetry. His comments, for example, on the Player's Speech in *Hamlet*, or on the opening act of that play, show an acute mind ranging over material which it finds congenial, in contrast to his few half-hearted endeavors to study the tragic outcomes of the plays whose opening scenes he found so fascinating. Nor can this lack of attention to the catastrophes be explained away by invoking Coleridge's dilatory temperament, for the problem is not that he never got to the ends of the plays, but rather that for the most part he preferred to talk—on the platform and off—about their beginnings.

Coleridge's attitude toward evil, and specifically toward Shakespeare's villains, entails further complications. He was a philosopher, and his aesthetics were closely bound up with his metaphysics as well as his ethics. His view of artistic creation, briefly, is this: the poet portrays the universal ideal *through* the particular. "Shakespeare's characters, from Othello and Macbeth down to Dogberry and the Gravedigger, may be termed ideal realities. They are not the things themselves, so much as abstracts of the things, which a great mind takes into itself, and there naturalises them to its own conception. Take Dogberry: are no important truths there conveyed, no admirable lessons taught, and no valuable allusions made to reigning follies, which the poet saw must for ever reign? He is not the creature of the day, to disappear with the day, but the representative and abstract of truth which must ever be true, and of humour which must ever be humorous" (SC, II, 162). Coleridge is here setting forth a doctrine of Ideas which is obviously Platonic in origin. And though he alludes to an "idea" of folly, his philosophic principles, especially his adherence to the doctrine of reconciliation, will not allow him to believe in an "idea" of villainy, any more than Plato, in the *Parmenides*, would allow that there could be an "idea" of dirt.

One more point must be added to what is already a long preamble to a tale. The artist, according to Coleridge, employs one of two processes in the creative operation. The dramatist may create a character on the basis of his limited observation, that is, select and combine details from persons with whom he has come into contact, or he may employ the superior method of constructing his characters from aspects of his infinitely varied self. This latter method was the one generally employed by Shakespeare, according to Coleridge. "It was Shakespeare's prerogative to have the *universal* which is potentially in each *particular*, opened out to him in the *homo generalis*, not as an abstraction of observation from a variety of men, but as the substance capable of endless modifications, of which his own personal existence was but one, and to use *this one* as the eye that beheld the other, and as the tongue that could convey the discovery" (MC, p. 44). Coleridge goes on to clarify his point and to warn the dramatist against drawing from his particular existence. What is advocated is a creative process which operates not on a thing merely observed, and thus only partially known, but on *an aspect* of the protean creator himself. Thus "Shakespeare [was able] to paint

truly, and according to the colouring of nature, a vast number of personages by the simple force of meditation: he had only to imitate certain parts of his own character, or to exaggerate such as existed in possibility, and they were at once true to nature, and fragments of the divine mind that drew them" (*SC*, II, 117).⁵ Over and over again in Coleridge's Shakespeare criticism we hear that the truly great artist—and Shakespeare is for Coleridge, of course, the greatest—contains a spirit "which has the same ground with nature", and that the artist who merely imitates external nature produces "masks only, not forms breathing life" (*BL*, II, 258). In short, "Shakespeare describes feelings which no observation could teach. Shakespeare made himself all characters; he left out parts of himself, and supplied what might have been in himself" (*SC*, II, 117).⁶

We have now, however briefly, journeyed through the narrows and the steepes of the relevant parts of Coleridge's aesthetic theory, and are at last in a position to see the problem he has posed for himself with regard to Shakespeare's villains. If the finest method of creation is by meditation upon some aspects of the self, if the great artist portrays only what he knows, and the surest key to knowledge is not observation but a study of the particular in the universal self, and—most important—if "to know is to resemble, when we speak of objects out of ourselves, even as within ourselves to learn is, according to Plato, only to recollect" (*BL*, IV, 259), then how can we explain Shakespeare's astounding success in portraying villains? Here is the dilemma in which Coleridge found himself, and Coleridge's attempts at a solution are what will occupy our attention. Never one to permit the rules of consistency to hamper him, and unashamed to offer the thought of a moment as the product of Truth long sought and at last captured, Coleridge hit upon a variety of possible explanations.

The one premise that Coleridge never alters, nor is ever inclined in the slightest to alter, is the moral nature of Shakespeare, for he firmly believed that a poet's "heart must be pure" (*MC*, p. 427; see also *SC*, II, 16; II, 34-38). Perhaps the simplest way of solving the problem, then, was to deny that there was a problem, and this is, in effect, what Coleridge did when he announced, in the course of a lecture in 1811, that Shakespeare "became Othello, and therefore spoke like him. Shakespeare became, in fact, all beings but the vicious" (*SC*, II, 204). Taken at its face value, and in conjunction with some of the ideas already presented here, this statement allows for two alternatives: either Shakespeare's villains were created not by meditation but by observation, and hence are necessarily inferior, artistically, to his virtuous characters, or they are not really so villainous as we supposed. In fact, their villainy might conceivably be denied altogether, and that Coleridge held this view—at least for an instant—is lent some support by his comment that Shakespeare "never portrayed [avarice], for avarice is a factitious passion" (*SC*, II, 204). But surely Coleridge has overlooked, rather than ameliorated, the characters of Timon's "trencher-friends", and Alcibiades' mistresses, Timandra and Phrynia, who will "do anything for gold". If Coleridge over-stated his point, he was quite right in suggesting that avarice

⁵ Goethe expressed a similar thought: "All the characters of Sophocles bear something of that great poet's lofty soul; and it is the same with the characters of Shakespeare" (*Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann* [London, 1930], p. 166).

⁶ This, like much of Coleridge's criticism, is suspiciously close to Schlegel. But we are not here concerned with the sources of Coleridge's ideas.

is not easily found in Shakespeare's characters. Avarice, however, is but one of the seven deadly sins, and though Coleridge could forget its infrequent appearance in Shakespeare's plays, could he close one eye and squint the other in such a way as to change black into white? But how much black is there in Shakespeare? That Shakespeare is against sin has been clear to almost all critics, and even Dr. Johnson, who hesitated for a moment, ultimately agreed that Shakespeare keeps, in Coleridge's famous phrase, "at all times the high road of life" (*SC*, II, 266). Coleridge was aware that although the life-web of Shakespeare's characters is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together, nevertheless, in the dramas "vice never walked, as it were, in twilight" (*SC*, II, 268).

We may agree that Shakespeare portrayed characters who can be fairly termed "villains", and we may further agree that Coleridge, except perhaps in rare moments of forgetfulness, or of temporary blindness when he was "talking for victory", would find himself in accord with us, so long as our opinion was thus broadly stated. And if we were to utilize Alfred Harbage's four categories, "people who are indubitably good", "people good in the main but not proof against temptation or free from flaw", "people bad in the main but with compensating moral qualities or an extenuating background", and "people indubitably bad",⁷ we would find that Coleridge would not generally take exception to our distribution, and he would surely not be reluctant to separate the good from the bad, the morally acceptable from the morally reprehensible, if the four categories were reduced to two. When, however, we seek to categorize some figures as "indubitably bad" as opposed to others who can be seen against "an extenuating background", we are on thin ice, chiefly because Shakespeare himself does not always make such distinctions. Characters in a drama are usually drawn rather broadly, and Shakespeare's, however subtle compared with those of most dramatists, are less complex than, say, the figures in a Proust novel. But to how many of them can the melodramatic tag "arrant villain" be applied? And are there arrant villains in life? Did Shakespeare think so? Did Coleridge?

I have already suggested that Coleridge, for all his theological talk about sin, was reluctant to see evil as such in the universe. Shakespeare, at least for dramatic purposes, was not so hesitant. Meredith's belief that

In tragic life, God wot,
No villain need be! Passions spin the plot;
We are betrayed by what is false within

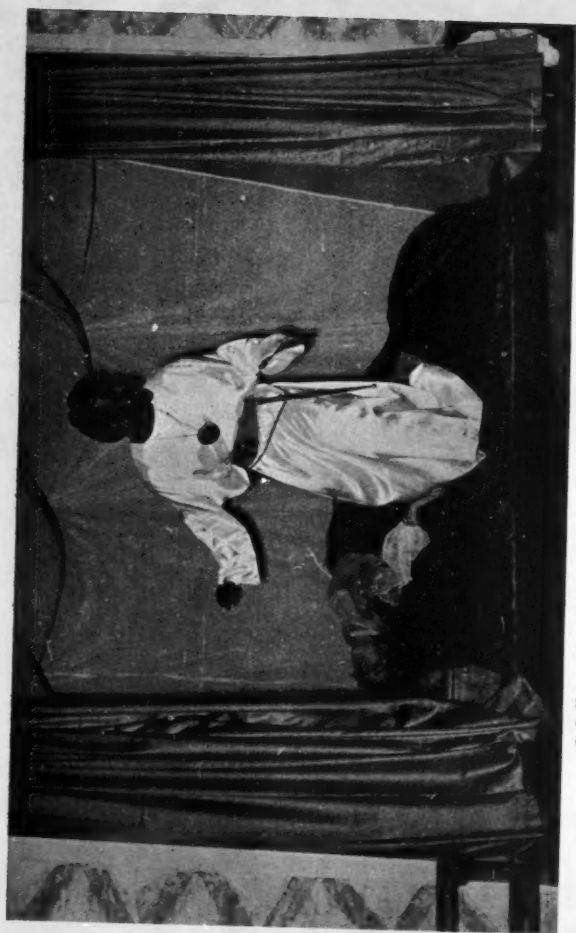
may be correct, but the writer of tragedy is not always willing to heap all of the blame upon the victim's head. For the dramatist there is generally something outside, too, that brings about the kind of destruction which we call tragic. Was Cordelia destroyed by what was false within? Was Othello wholly responsible for his fate? What is the function of an Edmund, a Goneril, a Regan, or an Iago? Now, we cannot generalize broadly about evil in Shakespearean tragedy, but this at least we can say: evil is not merely an element in a Lear who is justly punished for his willfulness or in a Cordelia who has "some little faulty admixture of pride and sullenness" (*SC*, I, 60), which must be redeemed by death. Evil is greater than this, and is frequently personified in tragedy by a

⁷ As *They Liked It* (New York, 1947), pp. 165-166.

character who merits the name of villain. There may be no real man who is so black as a villain in tragedy, but that objection is not relevant here. A drama consists of an artist's perceptions and insights, and these are of necessity communicated through numerous conventions. As Coleridge himself puts it, art is an "abridgment of nature" (*BL*, II, 262). But the conventional aspect of drama may easily be overemphasized. Shakespeare's characters—his villains no less than his heroes—often cannot be neatly pigeon-holed. They serve their proper dramatic function, are duly villainous when the plot demands that they be so, and yet somehow acquire larger dimensions. There is at least some truth in Coleridge's observation that "Shakespeare's characters are like those in life, to be *inferred* by the reader, not *told to him*. . . . If you take what . . . [a character's] friends say, you may be deceived—still more so, if his enemies; and the character himself sees himself thro' the medium of his character, not exactly as it is. But the clown or the fool will suggest a shrewd hint; and take all together, and the impression is right, and all [the spectators] have it" (*SC*, I, 227; see also I, 232). This view, however, fails to recognize sufficiently some of the basic Elizabethan conventions which Shakespeare employed. The Elizabethan villain, when he reveals his horrible intentions to the audience, is rarely seeing "himself thro' the medium of his character". On the contrary, he sees himself as the good people of the play see him or will ultimately see him, and as the dramatist wants the audience to see him. His soliloquies are, for the most part, to be taken at face value, their content alone is to be accepted, and the audience need not draw further conclusions about the nature of a man who would admit such things to himself—and aloud, too!

Our experience, of course, is not likely to bring us into contact with any people so base as Shakespeare's basest villains. They are "out of nature", a judgment which the Romantics were reluctant to accept. Because Coleridge and his contemporaries were somewhat deficient in a knowledge of dramatic conventions, and because they were inclined to an optimistic view of human nature, they were perturbed at finding in Shakespeare's work characters who, when carefully examined in the closet, failed to pass the test of reality. Since most of Coleridge's comments on such characters are impromptu utterances, they vary. Generally they reveal his eagerness to place the villain against a background of extenuating circumstances, or, when this is impossible, to indicate that the particular character under discussion is unique among Shakespeare's creations, a lapse on the part of the dramatist, or, preferably, a creation which though strange to mortal eyes, may perhaps embody a truth we at the moment fail to perceive. Discussing this or that particular play, Coleridge is apt to characterize one of the villains of the piece as unique in the body of Shakespeare's work—unique in his unmitigated evil. Thus, Oswald "the Steward (as a contrast to Kent) [is] the only character of utter unredeemable *baseness* in Shakespeare" (*SC*, I, 62).⁸ Yet a moment later Coleridge speaks of "the monster Goneril",

⁸ Oswald has not lacked for defenders. Dr. Johnson remarked—though in a puzzled tone—on his fidelity, and Bradley and Kittredge also comment on this alleged virtue. Most recently Robert Metcalf Smith has put in "A Good Word for Oswald," in *A Tribute to George Coffin Taylor*, ed. Arnold Williams (Chapel Hill, 1951), pp. 62-66. But Oswald's fidelity is necessary for the exigencies of the plot. Furthermore, his is a fidelity which, in its dramatic context, is so deficient in the moral connotations which normally accompany that word that we should rather attribute to him a persistence in evil. He is a relatively minor figure, and our attitude toward him depends to a



Othello presented by Robert Academy of Robert College, Turkey.



Twelfth Night, Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Staged by Oskar Wälterlin, setting by Teo Otto. Photo by W. E. Baur.

and notes that "Regan and Cornwall [are] in perfect sympathy of monstrosity" (SC, I, 63). Elsewhere, he jotted down his opinion that "Regan and Goneril are the only pictures of the unnatural in Shakespeare—the pure unnatural; and you will observe that Shakespeare has left their hideousness unsoftened or diversified by a single line of goodness or common human frailty" (SC, I, 354). Alfred Harbage, however, will not allow that even these two "unnatural hags" are the monsters of Coleridge's statement. For him, "Regan is not so bad as Goneril, and thus shades off from black to dark-grey".⁹ That the two elder daughters are not identical is obvious and dramatically necessary, but need one be better than the other? A certain variety of characterization is demanded by the audience, but cannot two creatures *both* be villainous, and yet embody different aspects of villainy? Though Alexander Pope overstated his case when he insisted that no two characters in a play speak in similar tones, he was surely correct in suggesting that Shakespeare excels not merely in drawing characters who differ from each other in passion and nature, but can even discriminate between characters who may be said, in broad terms, to have the same general nature.¹⁰ So it is with Goneril and Regan. Though they are not copies one of the other, each is, in the view of the audience, a "she-fox" whose baseness is not mitigated either by the evil of the other, or the faults in Lear himself. That the vices of Regan differ from those of Goneril is obvious, but whose vices are worse is a problem which cannot easily be decided, and perhaps should not be decided. Harbage finds Regan the better, but Bradley, who was thoroughly aware that Regan lacked the initiative of her sister, found her the "more loathsome".¹¹ Coleridge, I think, is on safer ground when he places them both in the realm of the "unnatural". He was inclined to hold to his view that the sisters were utterly evil and, in fact, went so far as to admire the "superlative judgment and the finest moral tact" which dared to utilize these "utter monsters, *nulla virtute redemptae*", as a means of "deepening . . . [the] noblest emotions towards . . . Lear, Cordelia, etc." (MC, 83).

Edmund, on the other hand, is thought by Coleridge to have sufficient motives for his deeds, and thus to be within the pale of nature. Shakespeare, he says, wishes to avoid drawing Edmund as a monster, and seeks "to prevent the guilt from passing into utter monstrosity—which . . . depends on the presence or absence of causes and temptations sufficient to *account* for the wickedness, without the necessity of recurring to a thorough fiendishness of nature for its origination" (SC, I, 58). Edmund is despised and his sense of "shame sharpens a pre-disposition in the heart to evil. For it is a profound moral, that shame will naturally generate guilt; the oppressed will be vindictive, like Shylock, and in the anguish of undeserved ignominy the delusion secretly springs up, of getting over the moral quality of an action by fixing the mind on the mere

great extent on the descriptions of him by Kent, Lear, and Edgar. To Edgar he is "a serviceable villain,/As duteous to the vices of . . . [his] mistress/As badness would desire" (IV. vi. 256-258). And Kent's characterization is too well known to be repeated in full, but we should consider whether we can attribute fidelity to "one that wouldst be a bawd in a way of good service, and . . . [is] nothing but the composition of a knave, beggar, coward, [and] pandar" (II. ii. 20-23).

⁹ *As They Liked It*, p. 66.

¹⁰ "Preface to the Works of Shakespeare," in *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. D. Nichol Smith (Glasgow, 1903), p. 48.

¹¹ *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1950), p. 299.

physical act alone" (SC, I, 62).¹² In contrast to the monstrosity of Regan and Goneril, "in Edmund, for whom passion, the sense of shame as a bastard, and ambition, offer some plausible excuses, Shakespeare has placed many redeeming traits. Edmund is what, under certain circumstances, any man of powerful intellect might be, if some other qualities and feelings were cut off" (SC, II, 354). Note, first of all, that Coleridge has, by his last phrase, implicitly brought Edmund into the company of those great dramatic creations which are the product of Shakespeare's meditation, not of his observation and copying. "The great prerogative of genius (and Shakespeare felt and availed himself of it) is now to swell itself to the dignity of a god, and now to subdue and keep dormant some part of that lofty nature, and to descend even to the lowest character—to become everything, in fact, but the vicious" (SC, II, 133). Second, it is important to observe that Coleridge regards Edmund's illegitimacy as, in some degree, an indirect cause of his evil acts. Edmund not only is ashamed of his descent, but he displays righteous indignation, says Coleridge, when he "hears his mother and the circumstances of his birth spoken of with a most degrading and licentious levity" (SC, I, 56). But as Kittredge has pointed out, though Edmund is on the stage when Gloucester tells Kent of his old lust, he presumably does not hear the conversation.¹³ Most important, however, is Coleridge's attitude toward bastardy, which simply does not coincide with what seems to have been Shakespeare's view. Putting aside the notable exception of Faulconbridge, who is "a good blunt fellow", it is clear that bastards were regarded as deficient in virtue. The taint of their birth was not so much a cause of their villainy, but a symptom of their moral deviation.

Coleridge, then, seeks to "naturalize" Edmund by endowing him with a "powerful intellect", on which certain forces operate to turn him to a course of evil. In short, Coleridge wishes to justify the psychology of Edmund's behavior. It is improbable, however, that Shakespeare was similarly concerned. The Elizabethans were much more willing than theatre-goers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to take the villain for what he seemed to be, and to pay closer attention to what he did than to why he did it. Yet we cannot deny that Edmund is an impressive character; and he does seem to be endowed with that mental power which Coleridge attributes to him. This strength of intellect, however, is not given Edmund to make him psychologically consistent, but to lend force and immediacy to the power of evil, which will do such great harm before the drama is over. Shakespeare does not mitigate the destructive forces, nor does he build his tragedy on mere "mistakes". And he does not wish, at least in *King Lear*, to have evil reside solely within the character of the principal personage. The German critics of the last century, who were so anxious to portray Shakespeare as a dispenser of poetic justice, unduly emphasized the evil in the characters whom we may, speaking broadly, call "good", and tended to minimize the fact that Shakespeare often portrays evil as a force of terrible

¹² Similarly, Coleridge observes (MC, p. 450) that the Second Murderer in *Macbeth* is not "a perfect monster" because he has been incensed by "the vile blows and buffets of the world" and therefore is reckless of what he does (IV. i. 107-110). But Shakespeare is, I think, not so concerned with motivating the killer, as with telling the audience that here is a wretch who will not refuse to perform any deed of horror. We are assured, not that the murderer has reasons for being anti-social, but that Banquo will die.

¹³ *Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1946), p. 1157.

power, capable of bringing to material ruin much goodness. Edmund is drawn on an impressive scale because dramatically he must be impressive. If he seems to us to have a more powerful intellect than Don John of *Much Ado*, it is because *Lear* is a tragedy and the decorum requires a villain of stature, while in comedy the villain, if drawn too powerfully, may overshadow the happy outcome, as Shylock often does when misplayed today.

The characteristics that give weight to the villain are, in Shakespeare, not to be used as devices for explaining his villainy, but to make him a sufficiently impressive adversary. As Stoll,¹⁴ among others has pointed out, Shakespeare does not so much relate his villains' "virtues" to their vices, as superimpose some element of magnitude on to the evil qualities.¹⁵ This method makes for good theatre, but the closet student of drama, whose interest runs not so much to what Dryden called "bold strokes" as to subtlety of characterization, frequently finds it disconcerting. At the same time, his bardolatry will not allow him to cry of the author, "the less Shakespeare he", so instead he exclaims of the character, "the less villain he".

Coleridge's comments on Shakespeare's creative method, and the resulting problem of accounting for his success in depicting villains, did not fall on deaf ears. The Romantic writers who trooped more or less faithfully to the Royal Institution lecture room found amid the ramblings of the lecturer (Charles Lamb said that the talk on *Romeo and Juliet* was delivered in the character of the Nurse [SC, II, 216]) much that was provocative. Henry Crabb Robinson and Lamb were stimulated by his remarks.

C. L. [i.e., Lamb] spoke well about Shakespeare. I had objected to Coleridge's assertion in his lecture, that Shakespeare became every thing *except the vicious*, observing that if Shakespeare becoming a character is to be determined by the truth and vivacity with which he describes them and enters into their feelings, [Shakespeare becomes the vicious characters also]. C. L. justified Coleridge's remark by saying (what by the bye was inclusive [conclusive?]) that Shakespeare never gives truly odious and detestable characters. He always mingles strokes of nature and humanity in his pictures. I adduced the King in *Hamlet* as altogether mean. He allowed this to be the worst of Shakespeare's characters. He has not another like it. I cited Lady Macbeth. I think this one of Shakespeare's worst [i.e., poorest] characters, said Lamb. It is at the same time inconsistent with itself. Her sleep-walking does not suit such a hardened being.—(it however occurs to me that this sleep-walking is perhaps the vindication of Shakespeare in his portraiture of the character, as it certainly is his excellence that he does not create monsters, but always saves the honour of human nature, if I may use such an expression. So in this, while the voluntary actions and sentiments of Lady M. are all inhuman, her involuntary nature rises against her habitual feelings springing out of depraved passions, and in her sleep she shews to be a woman, while waking she is a monster.) I then referred to the Bastard in *Lear*, but Lamb considers his character as vindicated by the provocation arising out of his illegitimacy. And L. mentioned as admirable illustrations of the skill with which Shakespeare could make his worst

¹⁴ See, for example, his *Shakespeare Studies* (New York, 1927), pp. 337-402.

¹⁵ Greek tragedy rarely portrays a villain, but when it does, as in Aeschylus' delineation of Clytemnestra, the villain is drawn "greater than life" and endowed with heroic (though perverse) qualities which do not explain the villainy, but make it awful.

characters interesting, Iago and Richard III. I noticed King John and Lewis, as if Shakespeare meant like a Jacobin to shew how base and vile kings are; L. did not remark on this, but said *King John* is one of the plays he likes the least (SC, II, 216-217).

We have already examined Coleridge's remarks on Edmund. Of King John and Lewis the Dauphin, he has nothing to say; of King Claudius, a bit; of Lady Macbeth, Iago, and Richard III, rather more.

Referring to Claudius' speech, "There's such divinity doth hedge a king", Coleridge observes: "Proof, as indeed all else is, that Shakespeare never intended us to see the king with Hamlet's eyes, tho', I suspect, the managers have long done so" (SC, I, 34). Coleridge was quite right in seeing the danger of assuming one character to be what the others say, but his desire to find a complex personality in Claudius, as in each of Shakespeare's major figures, leads him to ignore or to slight some of the obvious signposts by which a dramatist must guide his audience.¹⁶

Lady Macbeth, whom Dr. Johnson "detested", and in whom he could see "no nice discriminations of character",¹⁷ was regarded more tolerantly by the Romantics. In her refusal to kill the king because he resembled her father, Coleridge found, as did Mrs. Siddons,¹⁸ "confirmation that Shakespeare never meant Lady Macbeth more than Macbeth himself for [a] moral monster like Goneril" (MC, 449). He sought to show, in an elaborate analysis of her character, that she was not "out of nature and without conscience", and to explain her actions in terms of her "visionary and day-dreaming turn of mind". Furthermore, "a passage where she alludes to 'plucking her nipple from the boneless gums of her infant', though usually thought to prove a merciless and unwomanly nature, proves the direct opposite: she brings it as the most solemn enforcement to Macbeth of the solemnity of his promise to undertake the plot against Duncan. Had *she* so sworn, she would have done that which was most horrible to her feelings, rather than break the oath" (SC, II, 270-271). Coleridge here is overlooking the context of the speech, and he is eager to do this because he cannot conceive of any woman in life as monstrous. Lady Macbeth is not, in this speech, showing her belief in the binding power of an oath by announcing her willingness to sin horribly rather than break a vow—a vow which, by the way, could have no meaning in a moral universe—rather, she is devilishly urging her faltering husband to commit a monstrous crime. Perhaps Malcolm's description of Lady Macbeth, a "fiend-like queen", is too strong, but we should keep the early part of the play in mind and remember that if her deeds do not always equal her words, and her conscience ultimately torments her, there is nevertheless little evidence for the view that "her constant effort throughout the play was, if the expression may be forgiven, to *bully* conscience" (SC, II, 270-271), and that she "sinks in the season of remorse" (SC, I, 72).

In only one instance, says Coleridge, has Shakespeare presented us with

¹⁶ It is perhaps significant that Coleridge's statement, "It is a common error to mistake the epithets applied by the *dramatis personae* to each other, as truly descriptive of what the audience ought to see or know" (SC, I, 47), is used as a defense against accepting Othello as a Negro. I must point out, however, that the authenticity of this remark is suspect. See Raysor's note, SC, I, 47, n. 1.

¹⁷ *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (London, 1765), VI, 484.

¹⁸ Thomas Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons* (London, 1834), II, 20.

"what is admirable—what our nature compels us to admire—in the mind, and what is most detestable in the heart" (SC, I, 58). Iago, he says, is Shakespeare's single presentation of "utter *monstrosity*—which . . . depends on the . . . absence of causes" (SC, I, 58). Iago is not a man among men, and Hamlet's soliloquy on death could not be spoken by this fiend, for it shows "too habitual a communion with the *heart*, that belongs or ought to belong, to all mankind" (SC, I, 29). A "passionless character", Iago in his soliloquy at the close of Act I displays "the motive-hunting of motiveless malignity. . . . In itself fiendish" (SC, I, 49). Iago is more fiend than man, and only the genius of Shakespeare, with "the opulence of its resources" (SC, I, 58), could have succeeded in so daring an endeavor.

Richard III, on the other hand, is not sheer fiendish intellect,¹⁹ devoid of influences of the heart, but, on the contrary, his intellectual capabilities are closely related to his other faculties. In him Shakespeare has given not only the "character grown up and completed, but he has shown us its very source and generation. The inferiority of his person made the hero seek consolation and compensation in the superiority of his intellect; he thus endeavoured to counterbalance his deficiency. This striking feature is portrayed most admirably by Shakespeare, who represents Richard bringing forward his very defects and deformities as matters of boast" (SC, II, 181). Iago and Richard, though differing, are closely allied, for in Richard, as in Iago, there was "an overprizing of the intellectual above the moral character" (SC, II, 284). Both, in Coleridge's estimation, were men "who reverse the order of things, who place intellect at the head, whereas it ought to follow like geometry, to prove and to confirm" (SC, II, 286-287).

The heart has its reasons, says Pascal, which reason cannot know. And in his study of Shakespeare's villains, as in his other writings, Coleridge reveals that his allegiance is ultimately not to reason, but to the heart, not to the intellectual bent, which is so often disposed to evil, but to the moral nature of man. As one inclined to philosophic speculation and psychological investigation, however, he was not willing to drop the matter here. If mind and morality are not always reconciled now, as they must ultimately be, in his view, nevertheless both are powerful and demand attention. Why are Shakespeare's villains so fascinating? Because Shakespeare "had read nature too heedfully not to know that courage, intellect, and strength of character were the most impressive forms of power, and that to power in itself, without reference to any moral end, an inevitable admiration and complacency appertains, whether it be displayed in the conquests of a Napoleon or Tamerlane, or in the foam and thunder of a cataract" (SC, I, 58).

Thus, Coleridge holds, even the unique case of Iago's motiveless malignity is artistically acceptable, simply because of the tremendous truth in the brilliant portrait of unimpeded intellect. It is Iago, not Regan, who is anatomized, who is only *part* of a human being, a part which in life cannot subsist alone, but which Shakespeare has portrayed so knowingly that we gladly accept it and do not demand that the clarity of our view of the cell be obscured by presentation of

¹⁹ Coleridge concluded that "in Richard the 3d. cruelty is less the prominent trait than pride" (SC, II, 209).

the surrounding tissue. If we wish to know why it is that even the enemies of righteousness have, in Shakespeare's dramas, the power of holding our interest, we must recall Coleridge's view of Shakespeare's creative method, a method based not on observation but on meditation, on feeding upon parts of the self. "To know is to resemble" (*BL*, II, 259), says Coleridge, but Shakespeare resembles his villains not in their lack of moral sentiment, but in their power of mind. "They are all cast in the mould of Shakespeare's own gigantic intellect; and this is the open attraction of his Richard, Iago, Edmund" (*BL*, II, 189).

By a variety of explanations, then, not all of which were mutually consistent, Coleridge attempted to force Shakespeare's plays into the mold of his own aesthetic theory. It is but one of the marks of Shakespeare's greatness that he can stimulate a mind so fertile as Coleridge's, and yet foil the searchings of mortality.

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In Defense of Bertram

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ORE often than not, critics describe *All's Well that Ends Well* as a difficult play, its hero as a cad, and its plot as one that "we are not obliged to enjoy . . . as a plot". I suggest that if we see the justice of Bertram's cause, the action of the play is meaningful and artistic, Bertram's relations with other characters probable, and the thought of the play, as it appears in the progress of the story and in recurring themes, significant—in short, that *All's Well* is a good play. Certainly, Bertram has faults. If he had none, this would be no comedy. And if he had no virtues, the ending would not be a happy one. If we are to see the end of a comedy as happy, the dramatist must give us some reason for supposing that another ending might have been less happy. And the less happy possibility arises, in a good comedy, from the characters of those involved. Thus the dramatist creates a comic effect when he arouses a tension between our hopes for a happy outcome, based upon our evaluation of the protagonists, and our fears, or rather our capacity for entertaining possible, unhappy alternatives. Decidedly the best comedies are those in which the threats to happiness or justice arise from the characters themselves. In other words, a comic hero is his own worst enemy: "the young lord", says Lafew of Bertram,

Did to his Majesty, his mother, and his lady,
Offence of mighty note; but to himself
The greatest wrong of all.

(V. iii. 12-15)

But Bertram is not alone in having a dual nature. The lives of those around him, in particular, Helena, are of a mingled yarn, and such contradictions, necessary to the comic plot, the poet underlines in developing paradoxes in his themes. Critical opinion in minimizing Bertram's virtues, in lauding Helena and the others, and in ignoring the ideas of the play, suggests that Bertram needs defending. Hence I defend him.

That Bertram grows up during the play makes him kin to many another hero. His problem is a human one: he must win his independence before he can surrender it. In his first speech, the second in the play, he asserts his loyalty to his dead father, his intention of removing himself from the grieving household, and his consciousness of his subjection to the King. Thus the dramatist makes reasonable our expectation of both his success and his revolt. In the second scene, the King's greeting and eulogy of Bertram's father (I. ii. 19-67) not only lead us to expect that Bertram will be like his father¹ but hint that Bertram's comic errors may be due to immaturity. Indeed, Helena's greater maturity, one

¹ Who were below him
He us'd as creatures of another place. (I. ii. 41-42)

of the prime differences between her and Bertram, which give rise to the dramatic conflict, appears in their relations to their fathers; Helena, in her first soliloquy, says: "I think not on my father" (I. i. 90), whereas Bertram is never allowed not to think on his.

The comic conflict arises in part from this lack of maturity. It also arises in part from values which we bring to the play and which lead us to find admirable traits in Bertram. Though we may feel comically superior to him in his rejection of Helena (II. iii), we can approve his desire to choose his own mate. "I cannot love her, nor will strive to do't" (II. iii. 152) is plain enough. And so when he submits his fancy to the King's eyes, he accepts a false birth of honor in wedding her. His submission comes from the reason and not from the heart. His heart is already allied to the wars and if to any woman, to Lafew's daughter (V. iii. 44-55). Even before Helena has earned him through her curing of the King, he has protested:

I am commanded here and kept a coil with—
"Too young," and "The next year," and "'Tis too early."

I shall stay here the forehorse to a smock,
Creaking my shoes on the plain masonry,
Till honour be bought up, and no sword worn
But one to dance with. By heaven, I'll steal away!

(II. i. 27-33)

And the two lords have encouraged him. So his leaving Helena is not a mere ungallantry, not a mere gesture, but an action probable in terms of the kind of hero he is—a refusal to be untrue to love, to his dream, and to his independence:

In such a business give me leave to use
The help of mine own eyes.

(II. iii. 114-115)

When the King tells him that

It is in us to plant thine honour where
We please to have it grow,

(II. iii. 163-164)

Bertram, according to the expectation already established by the dramatist, thinks otherwise. If Helena can earn honor by curing the King, surely Bertram, playing under the same code, must earn his. He explains to Helena:

You must not marvel, Helen, at my course

. Prepar'd I was not
For such a business; therefore am I found
So much unsettled. This drives me to entreat you
That presently you take your way for home,
And rather muse than ask why I entreat you;
For my respects are better than they seem,
And my appointments have in them a need
Greater than shows itself at the first view
To you that know them not.

(II. v. 63-74)

In the wars, he does win military honor (e.g., III.v.3-4) and needs no longer depend upon the honor inherited from his father, nurtured by his mother, decreed by the King, or reflected from his wife. More important, he comes to reject Parolles. Despite Helena's and Lafew's revelation of Parolles' worthlessness, Bertram has been constant to his friend. But by the middle of the play (III.vi), he is willing to put him to the test, and his rejection of Parolles (IV.iii), like Hal's of Falstaff, is symbolic of an increased maturity and establishes the probability that he will be able to change his mind and accept Helena. In his eyes she emerges as

she whom all men prais'd, and whom myself,
Since I have lost, have lov'd.

(V.iii.53-54)

When he merely thought himself and his truth to himself in danger, he fled; when Helena can make him "know . . . clearly" (V.iii.316), he is willing to accept her.

But what of his lies and evasions concerning Diana? To be sure, he blushes when confronted with the evidence (V.iii.195) and confesses the ring (V.iii.231)—but only the ring—and he allows Diana to be threatened with execution (V.iii.285). His action is probable in terms of his previous behavior and of his comic fault of trying to justify himself. Just as he rejected Helena when he felt that all occasions were conspiring against him, he now rejects Diana, whom his sins (real but not actual) are forcing upon him. Thus Helena's reappearance produces a happy ending of several comic dimensions. This ending would not be a happy one if a faultless Helena ended up with a virtueless Bertram. But if both have been comically chastened and both are in a happier state than at the beginning of the play, we rejoice at their union, and our sense of romance is satisfied. Second, by releasing him from one trap (Diana), Helena catches him in another of his own making, and our sense of comic justice is satisfied. He, like Kate, has been tamed as far as he ever will be. And third, he has won his independence. Still skeptical, he can demand the proof that independence requires (V.iii.316; cf. his trial of Parolles); and he can assert commitment—the only kind of any value—commitment based on independent judgment. Helena, for the first time in the play, allows him to judge:

If it appear not plain, and prove untrue,
Deadly divorce step between me and you!

(V.iii.318-319)

Our sense of what is right for romance and our sense of what is right for people are here together satisfied.

The justice of Bertram's cause appears not only in his actions and the maturing of his personality revealed in the events, but in his relations with other characters. In such a consideration, our main business lies, of course, with Helena. Even those who agree with Coleridge that Helena is Shakespeare's "loveliest character"² must admit that she pays a price for her cleverness. Like Bertram she has comic faults and commits comic errors. If we feel superior to

² *Lectures on Shakespeare, etc.* (Everyman's Library, 1930), p. 83.

Bertram for thinking he knows best (cf. II. v. 63-74), we must admit that Helena does so too:

Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven. The fated sky
Gives us free scope; only doth backward pull
Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull.

(I. i. 231-234)

This view of the "fated sky" is especially impressive in the context of the star imagery which she has used thrice previously in this scene (II. 97, 197, 205). Furthermore, if we feel superior to Bertram for misjudging people (notably Helena and Parolles), we must admit that she misjudges Bertram, and she loves the "notorious liar" Parolles for Bertram's sake (I. i. 110-111). In such comic errors, an excess of virtue—which triumphs, for this is a comedy—she effects both the happy outcome and previously thereto the unhappy embroilments of the play. Her degradation is not so serious as to be tragic, but it is real enough to be comic. Her wit, like that of Portia and Viola and Rosalind, because it can effect a resolution to Parolles' and Lavatch's views of virginity, Bertram's requirements of her as wife, and her own ambitions, gets her into trouble and ultimately and gloriously out of it. Moreover, if Bertram is guilty of lies and evasions, so is Helena; if he fails to respect her choice, she will allow him none; if he rejects her, she drives him from her; if he humiliates her by refusing her, she humiliates him by choosing him publicly (II. iii. 109-111), by readily suggesting that his intentions to Diana are unlawful (III. v. 72-73), and by forcing him publicly to acknowledge his treatment of Diana (V. iii. 157 ff.); if he would seduce Diana, she seduces him and causes Diana's calumny. If he is immature, she is not yet wise enough to know that capability and ambition are not enough to win a man.

Consider her duplicity. Her first speech (I. i. 62) hints of her problem and reveals her habit of concealing truths behind apparent realities. (See Coleridge again.) She hides behind arguments concerning station, when she protests that the Countess must not be a mother to her; we know that she does so for fear of losing Bertram as lover by gaining him as brother (I. iii. 145-166). She tries to evade the Countess' direct inquiry if she loves Bertram (I. iii. 189-195). She follows Bertram to Paris but swears to the Countess that she is going only to treat the King (I. iii. 224-241). She pretends before the court that her choice of Bertram is unpremeditated (II. iii. 58-111). She fools herself, too. Having forced marriage upon Bertram, she says, "In everything I wait upon his will" (II. iv. 55). Having driven him from home, she says that she will leave so that he can come back (III. ii. 125-132), but her flight takes her to Florence, where he is. She must trick the Countess in order to escape (III. iv. 20-23), and the Countess tells us:

Might you not know she would do as she has done
By sending me a letter?

(III. iv. 2-3)

To maintain her disguise, she is ambiguously evasive when Diana asks if she knows Bertram. "But by the ear", she answers,

that hears most nobly of him;
His face I know not.

(III. v. 53-54)

She pretends not to know Parolles (III. v. 87). The bedding trick, even the Widow, who is party to it, calls a "deceit so lawful" (III. vii. 38). And she pretends death and even corrupts a priest for confirmation (IV. iii. 67-69). Surely, if we accept comic morality for Helena, for whom the end justifies the means (IV. iv. 35-36), we must do so for Bertram.

And consider her own comic degradation. Trapped by love and by an excess of virtue, she must become unvirtuous in order to triumph. At first she is willing to stake her good name on her ability, to risk

Tax of impudence,
A strumpet's boldness, a divulged shame
Traduc'd by odious ballads; my maiden's name
Sear'd otherwise.

(II. i. 173-176)

The terms of such a risk establish the probability that she will be able to play the strumpet with her husband, stooping to the bedding trick. Finally, she will risk divorce for her truth (V. iii. 318-319). Like Bertram, then, she matures in love. Indeed, at first though she, like the Clown, may be "driven on by the flesh; and he must needs go that the devil drives" (I. iii. 31-32), she is outwardly diffident, afraid to reveal her love. Next, when Bertram rejects her, she can say, with some dignity, "Let the rest go" (II. iii. 155) and yet rely on the King's insistence on the match. But when she can say, "Let's about it" (III. vii. 48), her triumph becomes possible and her degradation inevitable. This degradation would be merely pathetic if she were not a comic character or if Bertram were not.

We can also defend Bertram by examining his relations with those who conspire with Helena to give him no choice. Certainly, the Countess is on Helena's side. She may be a beautiful old woman, but she, too, has comic faults. That we are not to expect her point of view or her will to be supreme is evident in the fact that Helena outwits her, as do the Clown and Bertram. That she spies on Helena through the steward (I. iii. 103-133), that she says that losing Bertram is like burying a second husband (I. i. 1-2), that she gives Polonius-like advice to her son and fails to trust him (I. i. 70-81), that in calling him back from the wars she would rather shame him than forgive him (III. iv. 29-42) suggest to me that Bertram has justification in wanting to live his own life. Critics who praise her and denigrate Bertram, by their own methods, must admit that he had his rearing at her hands. The king, too, is so intractable that we can understand Bertram's revolt. He will use Bertram to pay his debt to Helena (II. iii. 118). Although he admires Bertram's father for his spirit (I. ii. 52-67), he cannot allow Bertram a similar freedom. When he thinks that Diana is crossing him, he turns against her furiously (V. iii. 282-287). Though he prides himself on his flexibility, he is as capricious as the weather:

I am not a day of season,
For thou mayst see a sunshine and a hail
In me at once.

(V. iii. 32-34)

If Bertram justifiably rejects Parolles for inconstancy, he may well be suspicious of the King. For his part, Lafew is also an opinionated member of the older generation, which Bertram must fight if he is to be Bertram. The impediment to complete and immediate happiness which comedy, as I have suggested, demands, arises not from the perversity of a single character, Bertram, but from several.

I would not defend Bertram by underrating the virtues of Helena, the Countess, the King, and Lafew. Rather, as the Second Lord points out:

The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together. Our virtues would be proud if our faults whipp'd them not, and our crimes would despair if they were not cherish'd by our virtues.

(IV. iii. 83-87)

This sentiment is important to the thought of the play. Though Bertram and Helena are not mere symbols any more than Elizabeth and Darcy are, we have in them a kind of pride-and-prejudice struggle. Helena's virtues are whipp'd by her faults, and it is superbly ironic that she, the most virtuous, must become the least virtuous in order to succeed. And Bertram's crimes would despair if they were not cherish'd by his virtues.

The mingled yarns of Bertram's life appear in the paradoxes of his conflicting loyalties. He cannot both remain with his mother and go to court. He cannot both stay with the King and win honor in the wars. He cannot marry Helena and be loyal to his family honor. He cannot obey the King in marrying Helena and be true to himself. He cannot, finally, be true to Helena without being false to her. Since the resolution of these conflicts is a happy one, and since the title asserts the essential optimism of the play, we may well ask how bitter this comedy really is. All does end well.

This optimism and these paradoxes also appear in the poetic exploitation of several themes. If we believe with Shaw that youth is such a wonderful thing that it is a shame to waste it on young people, we must believe in Bertram. The first scene opens with a parade of people "all in black". They are mourning the death of Bertram's father. Helena's father, too, has died, and the King has, were it not for Helena, a mortal ailment. Though his heart will not admit his malady, he has given up hope (II. i. 8-10), and he resents his unfortunate state; he wishes he were with Bertram's dead father:

"Let me not live", quoth he,
 "After my flame lacks oil, to be the snuff
 Of younger spirits, whose apprehensive senses
 All but new things disdain; whose judgments are
 Mere fathers of their garments; whose constancies
 Expire before their fashions." This he wish'd.
 I, after him, do after him wish too,
 Since I nor wax nor honey can bring home,
 I quickly were dissolved from my hive,
 To give some labourers room.

(I. ii. 58-67)

Surrounded by death and decay, the young people must assert their youth. The hope of the action of the play, as of the whole world, lies in them. Sex and youth alone can frustrate decay. Lafew points out that "Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead; excessive grief the enemy to the living" (I.i.64-65). And the Countess replies: "If the living be enemy to the grief, the excess makes it soon mortal" (I.i.66-67). Though his excess of youth frustrates for a while the privilege of youth, Bertram is on the side of youth. The stricken King, Bertram's antagonist, relies heavily on the past as his eulogy of Bertram's father suggests, and "haggish age" has stolen on him (I.ii.24-67). Bertram's love rebels at his decrees, and Time eradicates them:

For we are old, and on our quick'st decrees
Th'inaudible and noiseless foot of Time
Steals, ere we can effect them.

(V. iii. 40-42)

The Countess, for her part, confesses that she loved when she was young, remembering love's pains (I.iii.134-136) and that her "age is weak" (III.iv.41). She blesses Bertram in terms of his father (I.i.70-71) and hopes to see her son again before she dies (IV.v.89-90). Since she would be young again (II.ii.40), she sports with the clown. She is clearly on the side of age and consciously approaching death.

As for Helena, her comic error in part relates to her reliance on the past. She uses the death of her father to cover her frustration in not getting Bertram; and Bertram's vow, made in the past, brings about her degradation. She expects present love from Bertram as a reward for past devotion. Not only age and reliance on the past but Time may defeat love:

love that comes too late,
Like a remorseful pardon slowly carried,
To the great sender turns a sour offence,
Crying, "That's good that's gone."

(V. iii. 57-60)

Success comes finally when the lovers can love in the present. As for Bertram, never does he plead youth as excuse for his unfruitful actions until he has grown in wisdom (V.iii.211). But the King (II.iii.171), the Countess (I.i.80; V.iii.4-8), Lafew (by implication, IV.v.1-7), and even Parolles (IV.iii.257) scorn his youth. That he has not come to terms with the past is evident; the ring that he buys his pleasure with is perhaps a symbol of his link with the past which he would foolishly break (III.vii.22-28; IV.ii.42-49; V.iii.196-198). Yet youth and love can frustrate death and disease. When Bertram errs, he has "sick desires" (IV.ii.35), and his hate is "deadly" (V.iii.117). "Th'ambition in" Helena's love "plagues itself" (I.i.101), and unfulfilled desire makes her eye "sick" (I.iii.142):

'Twas pretty, though a plague,
To see him every hour.

(I. i. 103-104)

His absence from her is as a death:

But now he's gone, and my idolatrous fancy
Must sanctify his relics.

(I. i. 108-109)

But the cure of such death lies in youth which can brave death. Though the older people are resigned to death, Helena must risk death to cure the king: "Not helping, death's my fee" (II. i. 192). Because she fears that she might be the cause of Bertram's death (III. ii. 115-119), she writes to the Countess that she will "embrace" death "to set him free" (III. iv. 16-17). Yet both she and Bertram must die (in a punning sense) before they both can live. Helena anticipates such a paradox in an early scene. "Give pity", she asks the Countess, to her who "riddle-like, lives sweetly where she dies" (I. iii. 219-223). The Clown echoes it: "Your son will not be kill'd so soon as I thought he would." The Countess asks: "Why should he be kill'd?" And the Clown replies:

So say I, madam, if he run away, as I hear he does. The danger is in standing to't; that's the loss of men, though it be the getting of children.

(III. ii. 39-45)

Hence the bedding trick. Diana underlines the implications involved in it:

I'll lie with him
When I am buried.

(IV. ii. 72-73)

And hence Helena's feigned death (IV. iii. 60-67), for just as honesty for Helena is in a stricter sense dishonesty, her death is not death. Diana agreeing to her plot says:

Let death and honesty
Go with your impositions, I am yours.

(IV. iv. 28-29)

Diana, like Helena, risks death in the plan. Such an acceptance of death, means life, death to death, just as Helena's skill, inherited from her father, is "the death of the King's disease" (I. i. 25-26).

Nature itself is opposed to decay (I. ii. 74) and is thus on the side of love. Helena says:

The mightiest space in fortune nature brings
To join like likes and kiss like native things.

(I. i. 237-238)

And the Countess recognizes that

It is the show and seal of nature's truth
Where love's strong passion is impress'd in youth.

(I. iii. 138-139)

Using animal imagery, Helena at first sees her union with Bertram as against nature and as involving death:

The hind that would be mated by the lion
Must die for love.

(I. i. 103-104)

Further, it would be against nature for Helena to love a brother; so she rightly rejects the Countess as mother (I. iii. 144-172). And, as I have suggested, the Countess' regarding Bertram as a surrogate husband (I. i. 1-2) is unnatural. The ways of the court, which the Clown satirizes (II. ii), seem to us artificial rather than natural; thus the King, though he is not their father, has "sovereign power and father's voice" over the noble bachelors (II. iii. 59-60). Likewise, the King fails to see that his "love and her desert" are not at all the same things as Bertram's love (II. iii. 160), and he proceeds to direct Bertram by fear rather than by love:

My honour's at the stake; which to defeat,
I must produce my power. Here, take her hand,
Proud scornful boy, unworthy this good gift,
That dost in vile misprision shackle up
My love and her desert; that canst not dream
We, poisoning us in her defective scale,
Shall weigh thee to the beam; that wilt not know
It is in us to plant thine honour where
We please to have it grow. Check thy contempt.
Obey our will, which travails in thy good.
Believe not thy disdain, but presently
Do thine own fortunes that obedient right
Which both thy duty owes and our power claims;
Or I will throw thee from my care for ever
Into the staggers and the careless lapse
Of youth and ignorance; both my revenge and hate
Loosing upon thee in the name of justice,
Without all terms of pity.

(II. iii. 156-173)

Ironically, if the poet elicits from us such views about love and nature, we are on the side of Parolles (I. i. 134-178) and of the Clown (I. iii. 25-59) in their distrust of virginity. Ironically too, Diana, whose name is that of the goddess of chastity (cf. I. iii. 215-219; IV. ii. 2), leads to love but remains chaste. Such thoughts as these concerning death and decay, the natural and the unnatural, and life and love underline the rightness of the triumph of the two lovers and the comic error of Bertram in refusing Helena's love.

Another complex of themes may also increase our appreciation of Bertram's dilemma, the themes of honor, desert, and service. Here too the poet exploits the paradoxes involved. Through his constant examination of love and honor, for example, the poet asks us to see that though honor is related to love, it is not identical with it. The King is as mistaken as Parolles about honor (II. iii. 296-300) in believing that the honor which he can "plant" (II. iii. 163-180) and love are somehow equivalent, for he would have the young men come "Not

to woo honour, but to wed it" (II.i.15). The theme of disease is also involved with that of honor. The Second Lord points out that "our gentry . . . are sick For breathing and exploit" (I.ii.16-17), and military service offers a "physic" for younger courtiers (III.i.17-19). The King says that honor without virtue is a "dropsied honour" (II.iii.135); yet "honour" (in another sense, that of the power of Helena's father's gift) is inimical to the King's disease (II.i.114-115). More than that of sickness, the theme of death meets that of honor. Helena in fearing death for Bertram would have him deny military honor and return home (III.ii.123-125; III.iv.8-9, 12-16). And such honor may have a mingling yarn of dishonor: the First Lord says of Bertram's decision to steal from the court, "There's honour in the theft" (II.i.34). Likewise, "honour" can threaten away love (II.iii.86-87). And in the wars, Bertram, though he receives an honorable scar (IV.v.105-106), receives a scar to his honor. As the poet exploits the connotations of "honour", he exploits sexual suggestions. Only to the mistaken Parolles is it honorable to deny sex (II.iii.295-300), and only to a mistaken Bertram is honesty a fault (III.vi.120). The final solution to the central dilemma of the play is underlined through a paradox related to honor ("lawful" and "guilty" are the terms used). Helena recognizes that her plot

if it speed,
Is wicked meaning in a lawful deed,
And lawful meaning in a wicked act,
Where both not sin, and yet a sinful fact.
(III.vii.44-47)

Diana points out the paradox of Bertram's final dilemma: "Because he's guilty, and he is not guilty" (V.iii.290). And when Helena resolves it and when he accepts her, he gets her both in name and in substance (V.iii.307-309) since "one that's dead is quick" (V.iii.304).

The paradox unfolds further when we contemplate a tangled relationship of love, honor, and desert. The central, obvious action of the play suggests that Bertram does not deserve Helena. But no more does John Tanner "deserve" Ann Whitefield. Both Shakespeare's and Shaw's evasive Don Juans are victims of the female life force. And though both capitulate comically and inevitably, both have another kind, their own kind, of deserving.

In details, too, the poet persistently asks us to examine the relationship of service and desert to love. Bertram in the wars does "worthy service" (III.v.51). Helena declares: "I His servant live and will his vassal die" (I.iii.164-165), and her healing the King is an act of service to him. For she must deserve him:

Nor would I have him till I do deserve him,
Yet never know how that desert should be.
(I.iii.205-206)

The Countess comes to believe that Helena "deserves a lord" (III.ii.83), and Helena offers Bertram her service when she would marry him:

I give
Me and my service, ever whilst I live,
Into your guiding power
(II.iii.109-111)

and not a word about her love. As she matures, she comes to recognize that

All her deserving
Is a reserved honesty.

(III. v. 64-65)

That one may get better than one deserves, in an unpleasant sense, Lafew twice points out to Parolles (II. iii. 228-234; II. v. 51-53). Moreover, the poet plainly exploits the sexual overtones of the word "service". The King characteristically rejects the idea that service may be sexual (II. i. 19-22), but Bertram, trying to seduce Diana, says:

I love thee
By love's own sweet constraint, and will for ever
Do thee all rights of service.

And Diana replies:

Ay, so you serve us
Till we serve you; but when you have our roses,
You barely leave our thorns to prick ourselves
And mock us with our bareness.

(IV. ii. 15-20)

And the Clown, in his wisdom, plays with "serve" in its basic sense (II. ii. 14, 60-61, 64), and later he and Lafew play on the sexual suggestions (IV. v. 25-39). In such ways the poet invites us to contemplate problems of value: service is not enough for love, he tells us in Helena's story, and honor, or service, he tells us in Bertram's is not enough without love, and in both their stories, neither love nor honor can flourish without truth.

Throughout this paper, I have tried to show that to view Helena as all white and Bertram as all black is to fail to grasp important elements in the play, which I see as a comedy and not a story of a patient Grissel. The progress of the hero, his relations with the other characters, and the thought expressed in the progress of the play and in the repetition of themes point to the happiness of the ending. All does end well.

The University of Arkansas

A Country new ligg betweene *Simon* and *Susan*, to be sung in merr
pastime Bachelors and Maydens. To the tune of
It is now will no longer be alone. Or, Falero lero lo.



O *Simon*.
Fine shew sweet heart,
and trowe it thou be true:
Do trowe we'll the time come,
that I shall marry you.
That I may give you kisses,
one, two, or three;
More sweeter then the honey,
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.
My Father is unwilling
that I should marry thee,
For I could wish in heart,
that to the same might be:
For now me thinks thou sauest,
more lowly unto me:
And freshen then the blossoms,
that blowe on the tree.

Simon.
The mother is most willing,
and will consent I know,
Thou let's to thy Father
now both together go:
Where if he give us his good will,
we to our match agree:
I will be sweeter then the honey
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.
Come goe, for I am willing,
and fast me be our guide:
From that which I have promised,
deare heart, No never live:
If that be doe but smile,
and I the same may see,
Is better then the blossoms,
that blowe upon the tree.

Simon.
But stay here comes my Mother,
we'll talke with her a word:
I doubt not but some comfort,
to be she may afford.

If comfort she will give us,
that we the same may see,
I will be sweeter then the honey,
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.
If Mother we are going
my Father for to pray,
That he will give me his good will
so long I cannot stay.
A young man I have chosen
a fitting match for me;
More sayer then the blossoms
that blowe on the tree.

Mother.
Daughter thou art old enough
to be a wedded wife,
You maydens are desirous
to lead a married life.
Then my consent and daughter
shall to thy wishes be.
For young thou art as blossoms
that blowe upon the tree.

Simon.
Then mother you are willing
your daughter I shall have:
And Susan thou art welcome
He keeps thee here and have.
And have thou wished blessings
bestow'd upon thee,
More sweeter then the honey
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.
Yet Simon I am minded
to lead a merry life,
And be as we've maintained
as any Clio wife:
And like a gallant mistress
at merriments that shall be
More sayer then the blossoms
that blowe upon the tree.

A New Country Jig between *Simon* and *Susan*, Part I. Reproduced with permission from Pepysian Ballads, I, 260, in the library of Magdalen College, Cambridge. See p. 138.

Prospero's Storm and Miracle

F. D. HOENIGER



HE literature on Shakespeare's *Tempest* is abundant, and some essays by critics past and present are illuminating. They reveal what is only to be expected with as subtle a play as *The Tempest*, that no two sensitive readers see it in quite the same way. Other people's interpretations may enrich one's own but can hardly replace it. I intend in this article to dwell in this spirit on two or three aspects of the play. No attempt will be made at comprehensiveness, but the aspects appear close enough to the play's center to affect, it seems to me, one's reading of the whole. I shall concentrate on Prospero and on some of his enemies, for I am convinced that the conception of the play's central figure—Prospero—is sometimes distorted, and usually, at any rate, not grasped fully enough.

If one reads *The Tempest* in the light of Shakespeare's other romances, *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*, one notices that Prospero has no counterpart in these plays. Rather he reminds us of the Duke in *Measure for Measure*.¹ Both direct an elaborate intrigue for a benevolent purpose; but Prospero's function is different and even more important. No character in the other Romances creates and directs the action in the sense in which Prospero does. Cerimon and Paulina, who exercise the gift of "lawful" magic (*WT*, V. iii. 105), anticipate Prospero somewhat in conception, but both are relatively minor figures.

Yet if Prospero has no "equivalent" in the plays immediately preceding *The Tempest*, it appears clearly that Shakespeare endows him with the power of those divine forces which in *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale* from time to time interfere in human affairs. The supernatural powers in these plays seem at first destructive, but their main victims are raised up in the end. In a similar way, Prospero punishes, forgives, and restores to joy his former enemies. The magician in *The Tempest* clearly takes the place of the divine powers in the other romances. It is no wonder then that the supernatural element in *The Tempest* assumes a different shape from that in the earlier plays. Caliban, Ariel, the pagan goddesses: they all are subject to Prospero's art.

Prospero's character is presented first in the play's second scene. On the extensive narration of the antecedent action in this scene critics have heaped much praise and much blame. As a dramatic device, it represents nothing unusual in Renaissance drama—Shakespeare himself had employed it before.² But leaving this aspect to others, I should like to draw attention to how this scene establishes what is the play's dominant perspective. Only Prospero could

¹ As recently pointed out by H. S. Wilson in "Action and Symbol in *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest*", *SQ*, IV (Oct. 1953), 375-384.

² See the final scenes of *Comedy of Errors* and III. iii of *Cymbeline*.

narrate the antecedent action, and, as it involves him more deeply than any other character, the manner in which he relates it is highly significant. Not only is it essential that he should inform Miranda of their own history, but it is natural that, at the very moment when he has begun to execute his master plan of punishment and reconciliation, memories of his main experiences—his brother's ungrateful treatment of him, Gonzalo's act of kindness, his first encounter with Ariel and Caliban—should crowd vividly upon his consciousness.

Shakespeare so plans the action that the reader sees the past mainly through Prospero's eyes. Seen in this perspective, the events of the present, of the action proper, take on a special significance which no other character in the action can grasp. Thus, as the play advances, Prospero's reactions are again and again contrasted with those of other characters: his view of the storm is juxtaposed with Miranda's; to her his treatment of Ferdinand seems highly unjust, and so on. Prospero's view of the events remains the dominant one, however emotionally the play's other characters at times respond to them. Moreover, Shakespeare is careful to indicate certain traits of character in the man who provides this view. Not merely is it the view of a benevolent intriguing magician, but markedly it is that of an old man. The lovers of *The Tempest*, as Dover Wilson has pointed out, are mainly presented through his eyes:

In *Romeo and Juliet*, the play, which is full of old people, we watch them, the Capulets and the Montagues, through the eyes of the young. In *The Tempest*, we contemplate the young through an elder's eyes, contemplate them pityingly ("Poor worm, thou art infected" or "'Tis new to thee!"), lovingly, and with anxiety.³

What applies to the lovers applies, in a marked degree, to the play's other important characters. In *The Winter's Tale* the action is presented objectively, in the present, rapidly flowing on over a large stretch of time, during which some die, others are born, and others again renew themselves. In *The Tempest* we are encouraged, with Prospero and, later on when under the spell of rebuking conscience, with his enemies, to wander back into the past. And past and present are given meaning through Prospero's action in accordance with divine providence.

Not to take account of Prospero's mental processes is, I think, to misunderstand the guiding principle of the play's structure. In the second scene Prospero does not merely narrate the past: he relives it. Emotions are by him recollected in anything but tranquillity. But at the end he is a different man, his anger having given away to quietude, the spirit of consolation—

There, sir, stop,
Let us not burthen our remembrance with
A heaviness that's gone (V. i. 198-200)

—and forgiveness. Critics have dwelt much on the problem of Prospero's angry moods, for several times in the play he seems unnecessarily harsh, not merely with his enemies, but with the innocent Ferdinand, with Ariel (in the second scene), and with his own daughter. This irascibility of Prospero's seems to subside only in the final act. Some have been content with attributing these outbursts

³ *The Meaning of The Tempest* (1936), p. 11.

mainly to his unsympathetic "schoolmasterish" character; others have tried to justify him by pointing out his anxiety that his careful plan should develop without obstacle; and Dover Wilson has expounded the thesis that Prospero is a tyrant until the beginning of Act V, where he is suddenly converted to mercy by Ariel.⁴

Wilson's explanation can be dismissed at once. From the very beginning of the action proper, Prospero planned not merely to punish but also to forgive; for what other reason should he bring Ferdinand and Miranda together? Yet Prospero is willing to become reconciled only after the punishment and humiliation of his enemies: they must be worthy of the happy future he has in store for them. Again and again in the play, the idea of a happy misfortune, a blessed wrong, or suffering for the sake of joy is given expression. Referring to Ferdinand immediately after his encounter with Miranda, Prospero remarks:

But this swift business
I must uneasy make, lest too light winning
Make the prize light (I. ii. 449-451)

words which recall those of Jupiter to Posthumus' parents in *Cymbeline*. When yielding Miranda to Ferdinand, shortly before the wedding masque, Prospero explains his action:

If I have too austere punish'd you,
Your compensation makes amends. (IV. i. 1-2)

As Gonzalo suggests in the final scene, the purpose of their party's sufferings is that "all of us [should have found] ourselves When no man was his own" (V. i. 212-213). The paradoxical idea of a blessed wrong is manifested by the nature and structure of the action in *The Tempest*, as by those of Shakespeare's other Romances. It is only to be expected that Prospero in the act of punishing should appear less merciful or sympathetic than in the act of reconciliation.

Nevertheless, Dover Wilson is right when he refers to a marked change of character in Prospero between the beginning and the end of the play, to which Ariel's expression of sympathy for his victims, early in the final act, contributes. The explanation for this is, I believe, that Shakespeare made Prospero partly reenact, in the course of the three hours of the action proper, the basic change in his mind, from the spirit of vengeance to that of "virtue", which he had slowly undergone since his expulsion from Milan. This must have been a long and painful inward battle; as the action unfolds itself, Prospero, though of course only to a degree, fights this battle over again. Struggles of this kind are not won once for all; they involve, at least, many rearguard actions. Like Posthumus in *Cymbeline*, Prospero is ready for reconciliation and the exercise of forgiveness towards his wrongdoers only when he has overcome his anger. But Prospero's anger is that of an old man, as he himself, after his outburst upon recalling Caliban's plot ("Never till this day Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd"), explains:

Sir, I am vex'd.
Bear with my weakness. My old brain is troubled.
Be not disturb'd with my infirmity.

⁴ In *The Meaning of The Tempest*.

... A turn or two I'll walk
To still my beating mind. (IV. i. 158-163)

Ferdinand and Miranda answer together: "We wish you peace". This sense of peace after vexation is reflected in Prospero's words and manner in the final act. Thus even while preparing his enemies for reconciliation, Prospero himself undergoes a similar process.

The Tempest, which opens with a storm, ends with the promise of "calm seas" (V. i. 314). Just as in *King Lear* and in *The Winter's Tale*, the movement from storm to peace in the outward action reflects a similar development in the minds of men. Alonso and his followers undergo a terrible tempest of the mind, when the forces of conscience are unleashed upon them; for a time the effect is similar to that in *King Lear*: utter distraction. Prospero likewise goes through an inward tempest. The sense of the ingratitude or wrong which he suffered from his brother, from King Alonso, and later from Caliban whom he has failed to civilize, crowds once more upon Prospero's mind and finds expression in his anger. So liable is he to extreme irritation that at the point of the action when he for once indicates that his powers are limited—he temporarily forgets Caliban's conspiracy—Ariel explains:

When I presented Ceres,
I thought to have told thee of it, but I fear'd
Lest I might anger thee. (IV. i. 167-169)

How much Prospero's mind has been perturbed by the wrong done to him, he recalls once more, in the famous lines which answer Ariel's pleading that he put an end to the severity of his punishment:

Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the quick,
Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury
Do I take part: the rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further. (V. i. 25-30)

Adopting a classical structure, and concentrating on the final phase of the action only, Shakespeare had to face the problem of how to make sufficiently real the evil forces with which his protagonist has to become reconciled. Unlike Leontes' injustice towards Hermione, or the Queen's scheming against Imogen and Posthumus, Antonio's plot against Prospero had to be presented indirectly, through Prospero's recollection. Partly for the sake of endowing the evil characters with greater reality, Shakespeare added the two intrigues of Antonio and Sebastian against Alonso, and of Caliban and his companions against Prospero. Sebastian hopes to get the crown of Italy, Stephano to become king of the island. Antonio hopes to be freed from the duty of paying tribute to Naples; Caliban likewise expects freedom, although his servile behaviour would not suggest it.⁵ But the real significance of the intrigue of Antonio and Sebastian is that it parallels the events which caused Prospero's exile, and which he is about to rectify. Antonio can be said to re-enact his past evil deed. Thus, to a degree, the past and present are combined, not only in the characterization of Prospero, but

⁵ See end of II. ii.

also in that of his enemies. One should further note that in Sebastian and Antonio evil assumes a particularly sinister form. At the end they show no clear sign of repentance. Even Prospero's magic power, which "pinches" their conscience, is not equipped to cure their kind of evil.

But Shakespeare uses Antonio and Sebastian for a still further purpose. Though unrepentant, they do not return to Italy unchanged. Their minds work rather like Iachimo's, always intent on selfish profit. But their response to the strange happenings on the island is not the same at the beginning as at the end. Their scoffing comments at the opening of the second act, when Adrian and Gonzalo refer to the miracle of their escape from the waves, are contrasted with Sebastian's exclamation upon beholding Ferdinand and Miranda, in the final scene: "A most high miracle!" (V.i.177). The impact of the miraculous upon reality forms one of the central themes of *The Tempest*, and Sebastian is the one who, in this respect, undergoes the greatest transformation. At the beginning of the second act he can, like Iachimo in *Cymbeline*, only speak of a wager (II.i.33), and he ridicules Gonzalo's ideal commonwealth. His comment upon Gonzalo's remark that his garments are strangely fresh, "which is indeed almost beyond credit", is derogatory (II.i.60). But, like Iachimo,⁶ he too is soon to change his tone. At the sight of the banquet, he exclaims:

Now I will believe
That there are unicorns; that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phoenix' throne; one phoenix
At this hour reigning there.

Antonio echoes:

I'll believe both;
And what does else want credit, come to me,
And I'll be sworn 'tis true: travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn 'em. (III. iii. 20-27)

Thus to learn better must have often been the experience of the sceptical man of the Renaissance, when he heard tales of strange continents and creatures he had never seen. In Shakespeare's day, romance was much closer to reality than it is in ours—though romance perhaps is coming into its own again. And *The Tempest* is Shakespeare's final testimony of a view of life which directs us to a core of reality behind romance, and which reveals to us that miracle has a place in life. In the play, it is Gonzalo who again and again expresses this view. Even at the sight of the banquet, which terrifies Alonso, he is unafraid. He reassures the king:

Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men
Whose heads stood in their breasts? which now we find
Each putter-out of five for one will bring us
Good warrant of. (III. iii. 43-49)

⁶ *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 15-18.

We have seen that in the course of the action, both the Italian party and Prospero undergo a deep searching of the soul. Antonio and Sebastian, essentially hard-headed though they remain, learn that miracles are possible; and Prospero completes a task which he has prepared for many years and which finally overcomes the rancor in him when, together with his former enemies, he watches the love of Miranda and Ferdinand. Many of the characters in this play prosper in the end. But Prospero prospers in a peculiar sense: not so much outwardly, though he has achieved his material purpose and regained his dukedom, as inwardly, which he intimates most clearly in the play's final scene:

And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave.

To him life is only a short interlude. Now that he has put into practice the maxim, "the rarer action is In virtue than in vengeance", and is assured that his child will be Milan's next duchess, his task has been fulfilled, and he can calmly and contentedly await life's end. If Shakespeare is Prospero, as has often been suggested, he returned in a serene state of mind to Stratford after writing *The Tempest*. With consummate artistry, he had set forth his final vision of life, a vision which not only reflects on noble action, but also reveals "that there are unicorns".

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Laying the Ghosts in *Pericles*

JOHN H. LONG



HE study of *Pericles* involves many problems. An additional complication is that it is also haunted by a group of dancing ladies whose dim forms appear and disappear in edition after edition of the play. They have flitted about since the early days of Shakespearian scholarship, seen by one editor here, unseen by an editor there.¹ It is the intent of this paper to lay these specters once and for all with the hope that, once exorcised, they will vex us no more, and that the dim corner of the play which they once inhabited will then assume a more rational form and content.

This shadowy corner is Act II, Scene iii. The outlines of the action in this scene are clear enough. Pericles, King Simonides, his daughter Thaisa, and several knights enter the banquet hall of the King's palace in Pentapolis. They have just come from a tourney in which Pericles, the unknown knight, has defeated all of the other knights at tilting. As a part of the evening's entertainment, two dances are performed. At the conclusion of the second dance the scene ends. The significance of the scene in general, and of the dances in particular, has apparently remained obscure; at least, none of the editors I know have attempted to explain the relationship of the dances to their context. This connection has been largely distorted by the ghostly ladies who sometimes take part in the second dance. Once the ghosts are banished, we will see that the scene becomes more coherent.

The proper method for exorcising spirits is usually to seek the sorcerer or cause for the appearance of the ghosts and, by rendering his charm ineffectual, to destroy the specters at their source. Pursuing this course, we soon discover that the dancing ladies make their first appearance in the Edmond Malone edition of 1790.² According to the 1609 and 1619 Quartos and the Third and Fourth Folios, the stage direction at the beginning of the scene in question states, *Enter the King and Knights from Tilting*.³ Pericles is presumably one of the knights, and Thaisa also enters, as the following dialogue indicates. But there is no mention of other ladies being present. When the dances commence, each dance is preceded by the stage direction, *They daunce*. Malone evidently suspected that the nature of the dances was significant, for he made some silent emendations to the stage directions. Preceding the first dance he substituted the direction, *The Knights dance*. For the second dance he substituted the direction, *The Knights and Ladies dance*. Subsequent editors have either retained the non-

¹ For examples, the Neilson and Hill edition of 1942 has the directions, page 437, *They dance* and *They dance*; that of Craig in 1951, the directions, *The Knights dance*, *The Knights and Ladies dance*.

² *The Works of Shakespeare*, III (London, 1790).

³ The copies in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

committall notes, *They daunce*, of the 1609 Quarto, or they have repeated Malone's emendations without attempting to explain or to contest them.

Malone saw the obvious necessity for clarifying the action of the scene and, in part, succeeded when he inserted the direction for the first dance, *The Knights dance*. Unfortunately, since he gave no explanation nor authority for the change, following editors have either ignored it or have accepted it on Malone's authority without comment. In this case, Malone was justified. The Knights do dance, but they dance without feminine partners. The evidence which Malone neglected to supply is partly internal, partly external.

Shortly after the King, Thaisa, Pericles, and the other knights enter the palace hall, the King exclaims, "Come Gentlemen, we sit too long on trifles,/ And waste the time which looks for other reuels?/ Euen in your Armour as you are address,/ Will well become a Souldiers daunce";⁴ the King addresses only the "Gentlemen", apparently including Pericles, and he describes the dance as a "Souldiers daunce" to be performed in full armor. That such a dance was performed during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods we know from a stage direction in Peele's *The Arraignement of Paris*, II. ii, which states, *Hereupon did enter Nine Knights treading a warlike almain, by drum and fife; . . .*⁵ The almain was a popular dance form marked by a strong four-beat or march-time rhythm. Shakespeare probably used this particular dance type because he found it in his source, Lawrence Twyne's *The patterne of Painfull Aduentures*. There Twyne describes the festivities following the marriage of Lucina and Appollonius including "liberal challenges made and proclaimed at the tilt, barriers, running at the ring, ioco di can, managing fierce horses, running a foote and dauncing in armour."⁶ Hence, Malone's direction, *The Knights dance*, seems beyond reproach.

The significance of this martial measure to the action of the play is not clear, however, except in terms of the second dance. Malone's description of it, *The Knights and Ladies dance*, should now be questioned.

In this case Malone has little support for his emendation. As we have seen, the stage direction opening the scene in the Quarto and Folio versions says nothing about ladies being present. In the dialogue there are only two references made to ladies, both of them general in nature. Following the first dance, King Simonides leads Pericles to Thaisa, saying, "Come sir;/ Heré is a lady that wants breathing too; and I have heard, you knights of Tyre/ Are excellent in making ladies trip;/ And that their measures are as excellent." The other reference occurs just before the knights dance, when the King, urging the knights to perform, exclaims, "I will not have excuse with saying this,/ Lowd musike is too harsh for Ladyes heads,/ Since they loue men in Armes, as well as beds".⁷

⁴ This quotation is from Q1 (1609), but, unless otherwise noted, subsequent quotations are taken from Craig's *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1951). The line numbers follow the Globe edition.

⁵ C. F. T. Brooke, and N. B. Paradise: *English Drama 1580-1642* (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1933), page 9. Contemporary discussions of dancing may be found in Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour*, Book I, (1523); Sir John Davies' *Orchestra or a Poem of Dancing* (1596); Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (1588), and Thomas Morley's *A Plaine & Easie Introduction to Practicall Music*, Part III (1597).

⁶ Lawrence Twyne: *The Patterne of Painfull Aduentures* (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Elston Press, 1903), page 31. (Apparently a reprint of the original edition of 1594.)

⁷ From Q1 (1609).

The "Ladies heads", in this instance, is the King's conceit for "maidenheads" and does not necessarily refer to any ladies present. Thus it would appear that Malone, confronted with the bare direction, *They daunce*, and finding no direct description of the dance, jumped to the conclusion that the second measure was in the customary form including both knights and ladies. This conclusion, I believe, is erroneous.

A close examination of the text of the play in relation to its primary source indicates that the second dance is a duet performed by Pericles and Thaisa. In the source, preceding the marriage of Lucina and Appollonius, a musical contest takes place between the couple, pages 22, 23. Lucina performs on the harp to great applause, but then Appollonius "entered into the parlour againe, playing before the king, and the residue with such cunning and sweetness, that he seemed rather to be Appollo then Appollonius, and the kings guests confessed that in al their liues they neuer heard the like before. But when Lucina had heard and scene what was done, she felt hir selfe sodainly mooved within, and was sharpelie surprised with the loue of Appollonius. . . ."

This event is omitted by the play, although Pericles refers to it in II. v. 24-30. The musical contest, of course, explains Lucina's decision to wed Appollonius, but, in the play, there is no direct explanation for the sudden love of Pericles and Thaisa. Why would Shakespeare choose to leave out such an important thread of the plot? Actually, he did not omit it. Motivated partly by the need for dramatic economy and partly by his alterations in the plot, he replaced Twyne's musical contest with the "pas de deux" of Pericles and Thaisa which symbolizes the union of their hearts. This alteration becomes clearer when we consider Twyne's version of the story and also Shakespeare's alterations of it.

In *The Patterne of Painfull Aduentures*, Appollonius appears at the court of King Altistrates. The musical contest occurs in which Lucina discovers her love for Appollonius. The wedding takes place, followed by a great celebration including the tourney previously described. In dramatizing the story, Shakespeare re-arranged and telescoped the events surrounding the wedding and the tourney. He placed the tourney before the wedding but shifted the soldiers' dance to the interior of the palace. The limitations of the stage partially motivate the shifts, but the significance of the dances also becomes apparent when we consider the text of the play.

When King Simonides and Thaisa request Pericles to identify himself following his victory in the lists, he replies, "A gentleman of Tyre; my name Pericles;/ My education been in arts and arms;/ . . ." Pericles, of course, is being tested under the rituals of chivalry and courtly love. His mastery at arms has been proved in the tilting; he is now to be tested on his skill at the arts. The Knights' dance represents the second contest. That Pericles is again victorious is clearly implied when, at the end of the dance, the King chooses him from among the other suitors, saying, "Come sir;/ Here is a lady that wants breathing too: . . ." He leads Pericles to Thaisa, and the couple are joined in the duet dance. This measure may represent the third test of Pericles in which his fitness in the art of love is examined. At any rate, the third time is the charm, and Thaisa loses her heart to Pericles just as Lucina lost her heart to Appollonius.

It is true that, in Shakespeare's version of the story, the dance does not cause a quick change of heart by Thaisa, as was the case with Lucina. Both Thaisa and the King were earlier impressed by the strange knight and rejoiced in his triumphs. Yet the second dance is apparently the decisive event in forwarding the marriage. At its close the King says, "Thanks, gentlemen, to all; all have done well, [To Per.] But you the best. Pages and lights to conduct/ These knights unto their several lodgings! [To Per.] Yours, sir,/ We have given order to be next our own." The King thus signifies his choice and, with a double meaning, admonishes the remaining knights, "Princes, it is too late to talk of love;/ And that's the mark I know you level at:/ . . ." The scene closes, and the next time the King appears, Scene v, he enters reading a letter from Thaisa, after which he informs the expectant knights that his daughter has vowed to remain unmarried for a year. The knights then take their leave as the King remarks, "So,/ They are well dispatch'd; now to my daughter's letter:/ She tells me here, she'll wed the stranger knight,/ Or never more to view day nor light."

That Shakespeare sometimes used the dance to symbolize or to underscore the union of lovers we know when we recall that in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as pointed out in the New Cambridge edition by Wilson and Quiller-Couch, page 53, the reconciliation of Oberon and Titania in IV. i, is symbolized by a duet dance executed by the fairy monarchs. Likewise, in *A Winter's Tale*, IV. iv, Florizel and Perdita are discovered to be affianced as they dance as partners in a shepherds' dance. Evidence of a negative nature appears in *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii, wherein the failure of the King of Navarre and his friends to win the hands of the Princess of France and her ladies is foreshadowed when the ladies turn their backs on the gentlemen and refuse to dance with them in the Mask of the Muscovites. In this practice, Shakespeare followed the accepted Renaissance belief about love and dancing which Sir John Davies expressed in his poem *Orchestra*, p. 28:

Kind nature first doth cause all things to love;
Love makes them dance and in just order move.⁸

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⁸ *Orchestra*, ed. Tillyard (London: Chatto & Windus, 1947). Elyot, in *The Governour* (Everyman's edition, page 94) also remarks: ". . . as by the association of a man and a woman in daunsinge may be signified matrimonie, I coulde in declarynge the dignitie and commoditie of that sacrament make intiere volumes, if it were not so communely knowen to all men. . . ."

The Marriage of Duke Vincentio and Isabella

NORMAN NATHAN



WITHIN the past dozen years many articles on *Measure for Measure* have thrown light on the play not so much because they sum up Shakespeare's meaning, as because they bring out aspects of the Elizabethan climate that enable the modern reader to comprehend details and characterization in the play itself. This note is an attempt to present one other aspect hitherto unmentioned as far as I have been able to discover. In *Basilikon Doron* James I writes,

Deferre not then to Marie till your aage: for it is ordeined for quenching the lust of your youth: Especially a King must tymouslie Marie for the weale of his people. Neither Marie yec, for any accessory cause or worldly respects, a woman unable, either through aage, nature, or accident, for procreation of children: for in a King that were a double fault, as well against his owne weale, as against the weale of his people. Neither also Marie one of knowne evill conditions, or vicious education: for the woman is ordeined to be a helper, and not a hinderer to man.¹

Duke Vincentio would appear to be a man unlikely to marry for lust.

No, holy father; throw away that thought.
Believe not that the dribbling dart of love
Can pierce a complete bosom. (I. iii. 1-3)²

But he is also displaying in words what he has shown in his conduct, that he has no interest in marriage or in providing an heir for the dukedom. This point would be ignored by a present day reader, but not by an audience of 1604. Only recently had they been removed from the uncertainties of the succession under Elizabeth, and the Duke's deficiency in preferring bachelorhood would hardly escape notice.

As a matter of fact, had Shakespeare been a lesser artist he might well have centered the play around the theme of the Duke's dereliction in not seeking to provide an heir. Then the Claudio-Angelo-Isabella situations could have served to stress two auxiliary points by repeated direct statement: (1) someone not born to rule cannot be trusted in a sovereign position, and (2) Isabella is worthy to be a duchess and would make a fit consort likely to produce a suitable heir.

¹ *The Political Works of James I*, ed. by Charles H. McIlwain (Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 35.

² References to the text of Shakespeare are from the *Complete Plays and Poems*, ed. by W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill (1941).

But Shakespeare chose to bring out these points only as part of the skeleton on which to hang the larger design of the play. The Duke was testing Angelo and, as Escalus says,

If any in Vienna be of worth
To undergo such ample grace and honour,
It is Lord Angelo. (I. i. 23-25)

Angelo's failure is symbolic of the failure of anyone ruling who was not born to do so.

Isabella's good qualities are never spoken of as making her an appropriate wife for the Duke. Nevertheless, it appears by the end of the play that, although we may not have recognized it previously, the Duke has been testing her, perhaps unconsciously at first. Her excusing Angelo is the proof that she has the ultimate quality of a ruler in her, a quality she did not possess earlier in the play. She now can judge calmly and temper that judgment with mercy even though she herself has been adversely affected by the offender for whom she seeks to obtain pardon. As John L. Harrison says,

The one sufficient reason . . . for concealing from Isabella the fact that Claudio lives, is to provide her with the opportunity to temper strict justice with mercy even when believing the object of her mercy guilty of her brother's death.⁸

She fits the requirements of James I and will be a real helpmate for the Duke.

That Shakespeare has chosen not to stress these points is ample proof that the providing of an heir is at most only a secondary theme in the play. Yet understanding this concept is important in that the theatrical plausibility of certain actions is involved. Objected to perhaps more strongly than Isabella's plea for forgiveness of Angelo is her proposed marriage to the Duke. The severest critics would condemn this as totally out of character for both of them. The mildest censure comes in the form of saying that, since the play is expected to end happily, every Jack must have his Jill and the question of previous characterization is aside from the point.

Both characters, however, have been spending five acts in an attempt to find themselves. Both cherish virtue, but have been imperfect in the practice of it. This is not to say that they have done evil; rather their concepts of virtue were incomplete. Among other things that both have learned is that a "complete bosom" must include love. Thus the Duke proposes marriage to Isabella and everyone appears to agree that she accepts him. How could she refuse to do her duty to her sovereign who is, in words that James himself stressed, God's anointed?

There has not been, nor is there at this point, any display of affection between the two, if by affection we mean something concerned with sexual attraction. The two at the end of the play love each other as they love virtue. If this seems strange (or absurd?) to a modern reader, so would James's advice to his son seem strange. The play, though clearly not a love story, deals with many

⁸ "The Convention of 'Heart and Tongue' and the Meaning of *Measure for Measure*," *SQ*, V (Jan. 1954), p. 9.

types of love between a man and a woman, the highest type being exemplified by the coming marriage of the Duke and Isabella.

It is interesting to note that we have here one more bit of evidence that, with the accession of James, Shakespeare altered his manner of paying tribute to his sovereign. References to Elizabeth had been flattering to her as a regal personage. The more subtle tribute to James depended upon echoing many of his expressed ideas. This is, of course, not to say that Shakespeare agreed with these ideas or omitted others which might have been antagonistic.

Utica College of Syracuse University

A Country new ligge betweene *Simon and Susan*, to be sung in merry
pastime by Bachelors and Maydes. To the tune of I can, nor
will no longer lye alog: Or, Falero lero lo.



Simon.

O Pine of one sweet heart,
and when wilt thou be true:

When wilt the time come,
that I shall marry you:
That I may give you kisses,
one, two, or three,
More sweeter then the hony,
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.

My Father is unwilling,
that I should marry thee:
Yet I could wish in heart,
that to the same might be.
For now me thinks thou seemest,
more lonely unto me:
And fresher then the Blossomes,
that blowen upon the Tree.

Simon.

The mother is most willing,
and will consent I know,
When let us to thy Father
now both together go:
Where if he give us his good will,
and to our match agree:
It will be sweeter then the hony,
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.

Come goe, for I am willing,
good fortune be our guide:
From that which I have promised,
neare heart we neuer lide.

If that he doe but smile,
and I the same may see:
It is sweeter then the blossomes,
that blowen upon the Tree.

Simon.

But say heere comes my mother,
weale talke with her a word,
I doubt not but some comfort,
to us she may afford:

If could I the will give thee,
that we the same my fa,
It will be sweeter then the hony,
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.

O Mother we are going
my Father for to pray:
That he will give me his good will;
for long I cannot stay.
A young man I have chosen;
a fitting match for me:
More sweeter then the blossomes,
that blowen upon the Tree.

Mother.

Daughter thou art old enough,
to be a wedded wife,
You gardeners are bestirred
to lead a married life.
Then my consent good Daughter,
shall to thy wishes be:
For young thou art as blossomes,
that blowen upon the Tree.

Simon.

Then Mother you are willing,
your Daughter I should have:
And Susan thou art welcome,
to keepe thee fine and brave.
And have those wished blessings
bestowen upon thee,
More sweeter then the hony,
that comes from the Bee.

Susan.

Yet Simon I am minded
to lead a merry life:
And be as well maintained,
as any City wife:
And live a gallant Gentleman
at gardeners that shall be
More sweeter then the blossomes,
that blowen upon the Tree.

Shakespeare and Legendary History: *Lear and Cymbeline*

IRVING RIBNER



HE editors of the First Folio divided Shakespeare's plays into comedies, histories, and tragedies, and modern critics have generally followed this threefold division. They have regarded as history plays only those ten which Heminges and Condell so labelled. But the Elizabethans made no sharp distinction between tragedy and history as dramatic types.¹ Among the plays which Heminges and Condell called tragedies, are some which are history plays as well. *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* are obvious examples. To understand such plays fully they must be read not only as tragedies, but also as history plays, with an understanding of the peculiar function of historical drama in Elizabethan England.

The excellent work which has been done on the ten plays on English history may furnish us with a starting point. Recent studies have established beyond question that in these plays Shakespeare fulfilled the function of historian as well as dramatist.² He used events of the past as Elizabethan historical theory held that they should be used: to teach political lessons of value to the present. And to do so he usually chose for dramatization historical events which strongly paralleled contemporary issues. He did not hesitate, moreover, to change his source material as he pleased in order to better effect his didactic purposes. In this he was in no sense unhistorical, for Renaissance historians generally accepted the didactic utility of their work as far more significant than any objective truth it might have, and they freely altered their material when it suited them to do so. The test of what is an Elizabethan history play and what is not can never be the truth or falsity of the matter from present day standards. Our criterion must be the extent to which the dramatist attempted to fulfill the serious purposes of the Elizabethan historian.

But Shakespeare was always the dramatist first and the historian second. His main concern was always with the complexities of human character. He never permitted his history plays to become mere political parables. Political issues manifest themselves always in personal conflicts, and political problems are always inseparable from ethical problems. This is as true of *Richard II* as it is of *Julius Caesar* or *Macbeth*, and it is perhaps partly because of all Shakespeare's political convictions his strongest was that good government rested ultimately upon the personality of the ruler. He saw the state in personal human terms. It

¹ Francis Meres, for instance, in his *Palladis Tamia* listed among the tragedies *King John*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and the *Henry IV* plays.

² Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (San Marino, 1947); E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York, 1947). See also Irving Ribner, "The Political Problem in Shakespeare's Lancastrian Tetralogy", *SP*, XLIX (1952), 171-184; and "The Tudor History Play: An Essay in Definition," *PMLA*, LXIX (1954), 591-609.

is perhaps for this reason, to at least some extent, that some of Shakespeare's great tragedies, which are actually as much history plays in the Elizabethan sense as are the ten plays so labelled by the editors of the First Folio, have not sufficiently been regarded as such.

The personal ethical problems of a play like *Macbeth*, for instance, have been so vital and absorbing that readers and critics have tended to ignore the fact that interwoven inseparably with those ethical problems are political problems with which Shakespeare and his contemporaries were deeply concerned. For Macbeth murders his king as well as his friend and guest. The theme of the play is not merely ambition. It is political ambition which leads to tyranny and the upsetting of the entire social order. Shakespeare deals in *Macbeth* with some of the most vital political questions of his day: the difference between king and tyrant, the rights and prerogatives of each, and the duties of a loyal subject under a tyranny.³ Thus seen, *Macbeth* is as much a history play as *Richard III* or *King John*. All three are derived from the same source, and in so far as objective truth is concerned, there is at least as much in *Macbeth* as in *King John*. That Shakespeare in *Macbeth* combined two separate accounts in Holinshed and drew upon others as well, is of little consequence in this respect, for such deliberate warping and combining of history for doctrinal or artistic purposes was common in the Renaissance.⁴

The story of Macbeth is drawn from that large part of Holinshed's *Chronicles* which we now call legendary history, but which most Elizabethans accepted for fact. It is perhaps because of our lack of historical perspective—our tendency to endow the Elizabethans with our own lines of demarcation between fact and fiction—that *Macbeth* has not generally been recognized as the history play which it is, although we have suspected for a long time—and Henry N. Paul has devoted his well documented volume to proving—that it was presented before King James I as a tribute to what he considered his actual, not mythical, ancestors. Shakespeare drew also upon Holinshed's legendary history for two other plays, *King Lear* and *Cymbeline*. These plays provide an interesting contrast, for the one is a history play and the other is not. By examining them together we may derive some interesting insights both into the nature of the Elizabethan history play in general and into these two plays in particular.

Both are drawn from the legend of King Brut and his descendants, first told by Geoffrey of Monmouth and faithfully repeated in almost all of the chronicles through those of Shakespeare's own time. The historicity of the legend had been questioned in the Middle Ages by William of Malmesbury and Giraldus Cambrensis. A few decades before Shakespeare, it had been questioned by Polydore Vergil who, writing in the Italian humanist tradition, had attempted to draw the humanist distinction between history and legend. In Shakespeare's own day it was being questioned by men like Edmund Bolton. But in spite of that we cannot doubt that the great majority of Elizabethans

³ Tillyard, pp. 315-318; Lily B. Campbell, "Political Ideas in *Macbeth*, IV. iii", *SQ*, II (1951), 281-286; Irving Ribner, "Political Doctrine in *Macbeth*", *SQ*, IV (1953), 202 ff.; Henry N. Paul, *The Royal Play of Macbeth* (New York, 1950), *passim*.

⁴ We need only consider Machiavelli's *Life of Castruccio Castracani* as a typical example. Here the tyrant of Lucca is endowed with characteristics borrowed from Diodorus Siculus' portrait of Agathocles of Syracuse. Machiavelli never hesitated to change the facts of history when it suited his doctrinal purposes to do so. His *Florentine History* affords many examples.

accepted implicitly the authenticity of Geoffrey's tales. They were defended by the great antiquary, John Leland, by the learned Dr. John Caius, and by others. Grafton's chronicle arranged them in a time sequence to coincide with the events in the Bible. Holinshed incorporated them religiously, and like Grafton he attempted to fit them into Biblical chronology. Of Lear, for instance, he wrote, "Leir the sonne of Bladud was admitted ruler over the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Juda." That he doubted the historicity of the Lear story cannot be supposed.

The Tudors, moreover, had deliberately revived interest in the legendary matter of Britain. With their all too shaky claim to the throne, they found it very convenient to claim direct descent from King Arthur. Polydore Vergil suffered disgrace for denying the truth of one of the most popular supports of his king's legitimate title. To deny the legend of Brut under the Tudors was a minor form of treason, and we have little reason to believe that Shakespeare shared in the dangerous skepticism of some of the scholars. Under King James the truth or falsity of the matter became of less importance, but men do not usually cast off traditional beliefs with the accession of a new king, and there is little reason to assume that Shakespeare did.

Shakespeare's chief source for *King Lear* was the old play, *The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his three daughters, Gonerill, Ragan and Cordella*. The very title indicates the historicity of the story to Elizabethans. But Shakespeare went to other accounts as well. He consulted Geoffrey of Monmouth, Holinshed, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and possibly William Warner's *Albion's England*.⁵ As a good historian, he read the account in every source he knew of, and he retold it to make clear the political doctrine inherent in it.

For *Lear* is not principally a play about ingratitude; nor is it about the consequences of a love contest. It is, as Professor Hardin Craig has brilliantly perceived,⁶ a play about kingship; its principal theme is authority and the consequences to the world when authority is abandoned. Like *Othello*, it is great personal tragedy; but unlike *Othello*, it is political tragedy as well. It deals with basic ethical problems, but these are inseparable from political problems. The arena of the tragedy is not the individual life of man, but the life of the state; and in typically Renaissance fashion, the state is seen as the middle link in a great chain, with the physical universe above it and man's personal family relations below it. Thus the tragedy of the state has its repercussions in the world of private man and in the world of physical nature as well.

Elizabethan political theory held that a king derived his authority from God, but that with this authority went certain obligations. He must rule with justice and for the good of his people, and he must never abandon his responsibility and prerogative to another. When Lear divides his kingdom and gives up his throne before God has relieved him of his duties by death, he commits primarily a political, not an ethical crime. And from that crime all chaos results. The country is immediately torn by war, both internal and against an invading foreign army. On the personal family level, children turn against their fathers,

⁵ See Wilfred Perrett, *The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1904); Madeleine Doran, "Elements in the Composition of *King Lear*", *SP*, XXX (1933), 34-58.

⁶ *An Interpretation of Shakespeare* (New York, 1948), pp. 206-219.

wives against their husbands, servants against their masters. And repercussions are felt in the world of physical nature which breaks forth in perhaps the most terrible storm in all of dramatic literature.

Much has been made of the love contest in the first scene, and critics have traditionally pointed to its incredibility, although Coleridge pointed out a long time ago that it was merely an old man's silly game and that "the grossness of the old king's rage is in part the natural result of a silly trick suddenly most unexpectedly baffled and disappointed."⁷ The division of the kingdom has been decided upon before the play opens; the love contest itself is inconsequential. Once the decision to divide the kingdom has been made, every sort of chaos and unreason is to be expected. The tragic stubbornness of Lear and Cordelia are only part of the general chaos which inevitably followed when a king disregarded the responsibility placed upon him by God.

The subplot of Gloucester and his sons is used to emphasize and reinforce the main plot, for Gloucester is merely Lear on a slightly lower plane in the social order. When he outlaws his legitimate heir and accepts the bastard Edmund in his place, he violates also the natural law of society ordained by God, the law which holds, as York points out in *Richard II* (II. i. 187 ff.), that nobles hold their estates "by fair sequence and succession", and that kingship itself becomes uncertain when the accepted bases of lesser rights are disregarded. The disinheritation of Edgar is, on a lesser scale, as much a mockery of God's order as is Lear's division of his kingdom.

But Shakespeare drew his subplot not from chronicles which he believed to be true, but from Sidney's *Arcadia*, an entirely fictitious romance. Does this make *King Lear* any less of a history play? In the Elizabethan sense, I do not think that it does. It does not, simply because the subplot is used to reinforce the legitimate historical purpose of the main plot. That fictional elements were commonly used in this manner in Elizabethan history plays may be seen from an examination of the anonymous *Edward III*, one of the better Elizabethan history plays, and one long attributed to Shakespeare himself. Here a major subplot involving King Edward and his relations with the Countess of Salisbury is drawn not from Holinshed, as is the rest of the play, but from an Italian *novella*. But this subplot is used entirely to reinforce the basic historical lessons of the play, to delineate the qualities of the good king. That many Elizabethans would have questioned the historicity of *Edward III* is inconceivable.

It is, moreover, interesting to speculate about what may have led Shakespeare to Sidney's *Arcadia* at the time he was thinking about *King Lear*. He had read the romance some years before; we know that he had used it in *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.⁸ He must have remembered that the principal theme of Sidney's work was royal responsibility, that it dealt in detail with what happened to a state when a king neglected his duty to rule. This is treated by Sidney both in his main plot of King Basilius and his daughters and in his subplot of the King of Paphlagonia and his sons, which Shakespeare adapted in *King Lear*. The subplot in Sidney's work is used,

⁷ *Notes and Lectures Upon Shakespeare* (London, 1849), I, 189.

⁸ Edwin A. Greenlaw, "Shakespeare's Pastorals", *SP*, XII (1916), 122-154; Fitzroy Pyle, "Twelfth Night, 'King Lear' and 'Arcadia'", *MLR*, XLIII (1948), 449-455; Michel Poirier, "Sidney's Influence Upon *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *SP*, XLIV (1947), 483-489.

moreover, just as it is in Shakespeare's: to reinforce the political lessons of the main plot. Shakespeare's very use of Sidney's *Arcadia* in the composition of *King Lear* offers external corroborative evidence that he was concerned with the political problems of royal authority and responsibility.

Shakespeare changed the story of *King Lear* which he found in his sources. He made changes both to better effect his tragic purposes and, in the orthodox tradition of Renaissance historiography, to better effect his political purposes. One of these changes is particularly significant. In Holinshed's version, King Lear flees to France where he is welcomed by his daughter, Cordeilla and her husband, Aganippus. Together the three embark upon an invasion of England, and when the French army has defeated the British army, Lear is restored to his throne. But in Shakespeare's play the British army is victorious, and Albany and Edgar, whose sympathies are entirely with Lear and Cordelia, moreover, fight on the side of Britain. If Shakespeare's purpose were merely to cause the death of Lear and Cordelia and thus heighten his tragic effect, he did not have to so alter his source in order to do so. His reason for this change, I believe, was largely political. He wished to affirm that even though one's sympathies might be on the side of the enemy, one's country had always to be defended and that one's country must always be victorious. This had been a principle of particular urgency under Elizabeth when a large Catholic opposition, following the edict of Pope Gregory XIII, had regarded the queen as a heretical usurper and was inclined to look with favor upon the papally supported designs of Spain. The doctrine expressed by Shakespeare in *King Lear* had been a principal means of insuring the loyalty of Catholics in times of great national danger. That it was effective may be seen from the Catholic support of the crown at the time invasion was threatened by the Armada. Under King James, the doctrine needed no less affirming.

King Lear uses history in order to teach important political lessons; it does so as completely as any of the plays on actual English history, and it is thus, in every Elizabethan sense, a history play. But what of *Cymbeline*, for which also Shakespeare went to Holinshed's history of legendary Britain. The fact that an Elizabethan play was drawn in part, or even entirely, from an historical source, does not make it a history play. The primary criterion must always be that of purpose; source questions are important but secondary.

We must distinguish carefully between the actual history play and a popular Elizabethan dramatic type which we may call historical romance—which bears about as much relation to the history play as a modern historical novel bears to actual history. Historical romance uses the settings of history, but does not try to accomplish what the Elizabethans would consider serious historical purposes. It uses history merely for the romance inherent in it. The usual method of historical romance was to adapt an Italian novella and place it in an historical setting, as Robert Greene does in *James IV*, where a tale from Cinthio is placed in the historical setting of the Scottish court. Or traditional English folk legendry might be used, as in *John a Kent and John a Cumber* or plays about the Earl of Huntingdon. But the matter of historical romance need not be fictitious. John Webster, for instance, in *The White Devil* drew upon actual events in the life of Vittoria Accorombona, but he used them to accomplish the entirely unhistorical purposes of revenge tragedy. The author of historical

romance does not attempt to further the serious political and didactic purposes of Elizabethan historiography; his emphasis is always upon non-historical concerns.

This type of historical romance was widely popular in Elizabethan England. There are scores of extant plays which fall within the category, and it is important to recognize it as a specific dramatic type, one distinct both from the history play and from plays based entirely upon fictitious matter. Of historical romance, Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* is a perfect example. It is important to recognize it as such, to realize that, by virtue of its historical setting, it belongs in a somewhat different category from a play like *The Winter's Tale*, with which it has traditionally been linked.

In *Cymbeline* Shakespeare uses the romantic technique developed by Robert Greene. The central incident of the play is the old wager plot, widely current in European literature, for which Shakespeare probably went directly to Boccaccio's version in the ninth novel of the second day of the *Decameron*. This story Shakespeare placed in the court of King Cymbeline, of whom he had read in Holinshed. He drew fully upon the romantic elements of his setting, using Britain's struggle against Rome to tie his story together. To further join his plot to his setting, he adapted elements from the old play, *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (1598), and he may have drawn upon other sources as well. The story of Belarius, Guiderius and Arviragus he took from Holinshed's account of the Scottish King Kenneth's war with the Danes, a matter completely unrelated to the *Cymbeline* story. By making the two boys kidnapped sons of Cymbeline, rather than sons of the peasant, Haie, as they are in Holinshed, he further welded his various divergent parts together. That he considered his historical setting important is clear from the fact that it furnished the name of the play.

There is in this mosaic of romance motifs little political purpose, although there are political overtones afforded by the historical setting. Few writers of historical romance neglected the opportunity for political preaching which their historical settings offered them, but the political doctrine in *Cymbeline*, as in other such plays, is of secondary importance, and it bears little relation to the basic problems of the play. Almost everything, including the historical setting of Roman Britain, is in the play to enhance the romantic qualities of the whole. Even Cloten's defiance of the Roman ambassador, Caius Lucius, which critics have traditionally pointed to as an example of patriotic nationalism not inconsistent with the history play tradition, is probably intended, as a recent writer has argued, to further display the boorishness and stupidity of Cloten. To the Jacobean audience the speech would probably not have been patriotic.⁹


When we consider Shakespeare's two plays on the legend of Brut together, the traditional designation of *Cymbeline* as a romance is completely affirmed. But we must recognize that it is a historical romance, the only play of this important type which Shakespeare wrote. In contrast with *Cymbeline*, the true historical elements of *King Lear* became obvious. The play is a great tragedy, but it is a history play as well, and to understand it completely we must read it within the framework of Elizabethan historical purpose and method.

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⁹ Warren D. Smith, "Cloten with Caius Lucius", *SP*, XLIX (1952), 185-194.

Horatio: a Shakespearian Confidant

FRANCIS G. SCHOFF

HE character of Horatio offers one of the many instances in *Hamlet* of subjects for critical disagreement. It forms a less important one than many; and the differences over it have fewer facets than have those concerning other problems. Such as they are, however, they form an exceptionally clear instance of the distortion and the contradictory points of view which may occur when one allows Shakespeare and his play to be dispossessed by one's own vision of what happens there, or what one thinks ought to happen.

The chief issue concerns the relationship Horatio bears to Hamlet, and his significance if any in evaluating Hamlet's character. His most ardent admirer is of course Professor Lily B. Campbell in her famous study of Shakespeare's tragic heroes. As everyone knows, she finds Horatio one of "the two characters in the play in whom reason has swayed passion". Hence, unlike everyone else except Fortinbras, he is not a puppet of Fortune. "And such", she points out, "is the lesson of tragedy".¹ But twelve years before her study Thomas M. Kettle had more than anticipated, so far as Horatio is concerned, later objectors to her thesis. In a casually humorous essay, he had argued that Horatio's record in the play is weak; that he is never of real assistance to Hamlet. "In fact", he wrote,

from beginning to end he is a wandering ineptitude who has never a single suggestion, and whose speech consists mainly of "Ay, my Lords," "That is most certain," "Is it possible," and other helpful phrases. . . . And this is the strong silent man after whom Hamlet should have modeled himself!²

Between these deadly serious and mildly humorous extremes lie other points of view; but almost all of them have in common one idea: that Shakespeare created in Horatio an individualized character of sufficient stature to warrant considered analysis and a qualitative comparison of him with the play's protagonist.

In this common assumption lies the root of the problem, and, I believe, a lesson worth remembering. For the evidence within the play points to a very different one. If the amount a character speaks and the things he does mean anything, Horatio is one of Shakespeare's most completely negative characters, scarcely developed at all, and even more than the Racinian confidant a mere reporter of events and auditor for the protagonist.

Since for a reason I shall mention shortly we all share a feeling that Horatio is an important figure in the play, it is necessary to begin with the concrete if irritating business of statistics. A rapid line count, in which part lines were counted as wholes until they reached the brevity of "E'en so", gave Horatio 290

¹ *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 146-147.

² "A New Way of Misunderstanding *Hamlet*", in his *The Day's Burden* (New York, 1918), p. 72.

lines out of the play's 3931.³ This figure is striking in itself. But a division of Horatio's lines among his nine appearances on stage is yet more revelatory than the total sum. In scenes i, ii, iv, and v of Act I he speaks 192 lines out of the scenes' 442. Thus he has had over forty per cent of the lines there; but at the same time, when this expository prologue is over, he has fewer than 100 lines left to speak in the entire play. He is now off stage completely through the long second act and the first scene of Act III; and, when he reappears at Hamlet's call in III.ii, Shakespeare has evidently considered it necessary to remind us through the famous little eulogy that he is a friend of Hamlet's. Horatio himself speaks 5 of 38 lines in the exchange, and then is silent until after the Mouse-trap, when he has 4 lines out of 23 before Rosencrantz and Guildenstern enter and he again becomes dumb. Once more off stage until IV. v, he has 2 lines in that scene. In IV. vi he has 8 lines with the sailors, plus 18 more if one counts as his the lines of the letter from Hamlet which he reads to us. Then he vanishes again, to reenter with Hamlet and speak 11 lines in the graveyard before the entrance of the cortege, and 1 after it. From that point until Hamlet's death in V. ii, he has 27 lines out of 370; after it, he has 22 lines of the play's remaining 44.

Thus, the only time that Horatio has anything like a sizable quantity or percentage of lines is when he has something to report: the tale of the elder Hamlet's duel and of young Fortinbras' "lawless resolute" in I. i; the story of the ghost in I. ii; the reading of Hamlet's letter in IV. vi; and the digest of events for Fortinbras and the English Ambassador at the end. In these scenes he speaks 223 lines, of which 116 are actual reporting. Elsewhere, he speaks fewer than 70 lines.

So much for the evidence of statistics: one hundred lines for Horatio during the four acts which form the body of the play; of his total number, but seventy in scenes during which he does not function as informant. Perhaps, however, his actions, like Cordelia's, contradict this sort of evidence?

On the contrary, they confirm it. He is, of course, on stage a good deal more than these figures suggest. But so far as the play's action is concerned he is almost entirely a passive or ineffectual character. He suggests that the appearance of the ghost be reported to Hamlet, and later that the Queen had best see the mad Ophelia; and these suggestions are carried out. Otherwise his rare bits of advice go unheeded. For example, Hamlet follows the Ghost in spite of Horatio's ten lines of warning; in the graveyard Hamlet continues to speculate on death in spite of Horatio's mild objection; and later in that scene Horatio's "Be quiet, my Lord", after the struggle at the grave, is virtually an introduction to Hamlet's dissertation on love and ranting. Similarly, when once or twice Horatio tries to do something he fails. He cannot get the Ghost to speak or stay at the beginning, nor can he commit suicide at the end. Even Rosencrantz and Guildenstern have a more active part in the development of the action than Horatio. At least they try to extract information from Hamlet, and after the play scene they assist in raising his fury and disgust to a peak. Horatio merely reports or listens or—watches.

Doubtless it is partly through the watching that we get our sense that Horatio is a significant character. As Harley Granville-Barker observed, Horatio

³ The total for the play is taken from Hardin Craig's *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1951), p. 38.

is made by Hamlet's faith in him and warmth for him, and by his own silent presence at critical times.⁴ In himself, however, judged by his speech and actions, it remains true that Horatio is very nearly a nobody. It is only through Hamlet that we are made aware of him as an individual; only through Hamlet that we feel that his presence on stage supplies Hamlet with one decent and loyal associate in the mad and rotten world in which he finds himself: one person on whose reports or testimony he can rely; one person to whom he can speak openly and freely. Otherwise, Horatio would remain for the audience merely a "Messenger", a "Nuncio".

Because of Hamlet's attitude, Horatio stands on a slightly higher step. We find his peers later, as I have suggested, in Doris and Arcas, in Pylade and Céphise, in Thérémène and Ismène; in, that is, Racine's *gouverneurs* and *confidents*, though they are likely to have more active roles than his. Like Horatio, these figures listen attentively, report events, make an occasional suggestion which as a rule has no effect. Like Horatio, they are devoted to their more important associates. Unlike Horatio, on the other hand, they often make it clear that though helpless they have definite opinions concerning the conduct of the people to whom they are attached; and occasionally they do in fact influence their conduct. Pylade, for instance, urges Oreste at some length, though futilely, to break the chains of his dotage on Hermione; and in the same play Cléone, by playing on jealousy and pride, actually persuades Hermione to give Oreste hope.⁵

Thus, these figures sometimes reveal themselves as individual entities in a manner that Horatio never does. True, he boggles at Alexander's dust stopping a bung-hole; and Hamlet thinks his friend has doubts concerning the ethics of his arrangements for the deaths of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; but in each situation Horatio's single line of comment is left undeveloped, and an instant later he is back in Hamlet's shadow. In fact, the real use of each of these remarks is most probably that it breaks up Hamlet's discussion and prevents it from being too obviously a monologue; only in tedious critical analysis of this sort does either one appear to have dramatic import.

Horatio, then, is a nonentity in the play except in the degree that Hamlet's treatment of him makes us feel otherwise. Because the hero loves and trusts him, we do. And thus, apart from being auditor and reporter, he becomes an embodiment of that helpless love for Hamlet which each member of the audience feels. That, and that only, is his meaningful function in the play. To take such a figure and analyze it, to find flaws in its conduct, seems hardly sound; and it seems even less sound to hold it up as in any way a counterpoise to Hamlet: to argue that it serves to mark a way of life which Hamlet should have followed, but did not.

In this connection it is necessary to consider Hamlet's eulogy of Horatio in III. ii, which is sometimes offered as evidence that Hamlet admired in Horatio qualities which he himself lacked. We have already noticed that this eulogy serves to remind the audience that Horatio, who has been out of sight for more than an act and might turn out to be just another Rosencrantz or Guildenstern,

⁴ *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Princeton University Press, 1946), I, 200-201.

⁵ Cf. *Andromaque*, I. i and II. i.

is in fact a trusted and reliable friend suitable for the position of assisting observer at the Mouse-trap. It also gives reasons why Hamlet values him: his stoical acceptance of adversity and his ability to control passion by reason. Now I must not here enter the merry battle over the character of Hamlet. But it seems not very controversial to suggest that if we are to take the character of Horatio, with his 290 lines, as a counterpoise to that of Hamlet we ought to be shown him putting these traits into action. And it is noteworthy that we do not. On the contrary, Horatio's one completely independent and positive action might easily be construed as refuting Hamlet's analysis. For Hamlet's death provides the only moment in the play in which Horatio is subjected to such emotional pressure as Hamlet has been feeling most of the way through it. And, ironically for Horatio's admirers, it is Horatio, not Hamlet, who under such pressure surrenders impetuously to the idea of self-slaughter. Thus Horatio's attempt at suicide could be used to demonstrate that when his emotions were aroused by a sharp personal blow he proved to have no stoicism or self-control at all. It was Hamlet's domination, not his own reason, which restrained him then. And so one might "prove"—as the saying goes when a Shakespearian incident is used to buttress an extraneous theory—that Horatio is not at all a man whose passion is controlled by his reason. Then, putting this "fact" side by side with Hamlet's eulogy, we might argue that evidently Hamlet was a poor judge of character, and . . . from there the road to a new interpretation of the play would be easy and interesting.⁶

Of course such a demonstration, the whole of it, would be unsound. Horatio gets his eulogy quite obviously because Hamlet is to have one reliable friend, and the sort of man he describes will fit excellently the inactive role Horatio is to play. Horatio's try at suicide two acts later has, again, no relationship with the eulogy. It is simply a dramatically logical development of the love for Hamlet which he has been embodying for us all along, and satisfies us as a climactic demonstration of the devotion Hamlet could inspire in a genuinely admirable person. To make more of either eulogy or would-be suicide than that, or to insist that a significant relationship exists between the two events, would be to fall into the trap which the play proves regularly to have set: the temptation to go behind or beyond the clear evidence of the play as a whole to prove a theory.

But succumbing to this temptation is, I would suggest, the basic danger in interpreting Shakespeare. It leads one, furthermore, into a second danger: use of the device I just toyed with of dismissing the play's movement in time and, by laying out its various scenes "spatially"⁷ and fitting them together like parts of a puzzle, discovering previously unnoticed possibilities in the relationships among them. Not that relationships do not exist among the different parts of a Shakespearian play. But if they are not clearly obvious without long study, or

⁶ Lest this notion seem past tolerance silly, let me hastily recall that no less a man than W. W. Greg once argued in print, from the premise that Claudius did not blench at the Mouse-trap's dumbshow, that Claudius did not murder his brother by pouring poison in his ear, and thence in due course that Hamlet saw no ghost. Cf. "Hamlet's Hallucination", *Modern Language Review*, XII (1917), 393-421. Later he good-humoredly surrendered most of his position; but there remain those thirty pages of dexterous argument to demonstrate an absurdity.

⁷ Professor G. Wilson Knight's well known term. Treating imagery after the same fashion, Robert Heilman refers to "semasiological relationships . . . different from those of the immediate grammatical context". Cf. *This Great Stage: Image and Structure in King Lear* (Baton Rouge, 1948), p. 6.

if they run counter to the total impact of the play in the theater, they ought surely to be tested against Shakespeare's known, repeated reliance on the theater audience's inattention to what is not hammered home. Criticism which neglects or pushes aside correctives like this has told us that Othello was an egoistic sexual voluptuary,⁸ and that he was sexually impotent.⁹ It has explained that Hamlet was the really evil element in Denmark,¹⁰ that he was hampered in obtaining his revenge by his new, Christian, point of view,¹¹ and that he was trying to escape from the problems of adult life.¹² It has pointed out many other mutually contradictory things about Shakespeare's characters and the possible significances of his plays. From it we learn a good deal about the various authors of Shakespearian criticism; but nothing about the works of the man who was, after all, the genius in the case: Shakespeare.

For all such criticism the small problem of Horatio may serve as a gentle warning. In considering one of Shakespeare's plays we need to remember always its over-all design as part of a drama moving in time, and to avoid letting our incidental perceptions of detail, determined as they usually are by our own personalities, throw out of balance Shakespeare's patterns. That is why it has seemed worth while to take time through this analysis to suggest what appears to be the fact about Horatio. He is not sufficiently developed as a character to justify anything but the most casual appraisal; still less is he a character of sufficient importance in the play's structure to be poised against Hamlet in any way. He remains everywhere Hamlet's devoted shadow, and no more: his confidant.

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⁸ F. R. Leavis, "Diabolic Intellect and the Noble Hero", *Scrutiny*, VI (1937), 259-283.

⁹ H. Somerville, *Madness in Shakespearian Tragedy* (London, 1929), pp. 72-76, *passim*.

¹⁰ G. Wilson Knight, "Hamlet's Melancholia", in his *The Wheel of Fire* (Oxford University Press, 1930).

¹¹ J. A. Chapman, *Hamlet* (Oxford University Press, 1932).

¹² L. C. Knights, "Prince Hamlet", *Scrutiny*, IX (1940), 148-160.

The second part,

to the same tune.



Simon.

Then shalt thou have thy Camellies,
before thou dost arise:
For Christy the beebes thine
and dangles therein lies,
Young Lilies must be cherisht,
with sweets that daintly be,
far sweeter then the honny,
that cometh from the Bee.

Mother.

Well said good son and Daughter,
this is the onely dget:
No pease a dainty young wite,
and keepe the house in quiet:
But say, where comes your faith?
His words I hope will be:
For sweeter then the blossomes,
that blome upon the Tree.

Father.

Why hold you Daughter Susan,
doe you intend to marry?
When in the o'd time,
tho twenty winters tarry:
Now in the times no former,
but you a wite will be:
And loose the sweetest blossomes,
that blome up on the Tree.

Susan.

It is for my preferment,
good Father say not nay:
For I have found a Husband kind,
and loving every way:
That shall to my fancy
will for ever agree:
Which is more sweet then honny,
that comes from the Bee.

Mother.

Hinder not your Daughter,
good Husband, least you bring
Her lower consuming times,
or else a worse thing:
When young married folks
loving times will be.

And sweet as is the honny,
which comes from the Bee.

Simon.

God Father be not cruel,
your Daughter is mine owne:
Her mother hath consented,
and is to liking givene.
And if your selfe will give it on,
her gentle hand to me,
Still sweeter be then honny,
that comes from the Bee.

Father.

God give thee thy deare Daughter,
there is no reason I,
should hinder thy proceeding,
and thou a Maiden be:
And after to lead Apes in hell,
as Whoredoms would be:
That sapper are then blossomes,
that blome upon the Tree.

Simon.

Then let's to the Parson,
and Clarke to say Amen:
Susan.

With all my heart good Simon,
we are concluded then:
My Father and Mother both,
doe willingly agree:
My Simon's sweet as honny,
that comes from the Bee.

All together sing.

You Maydens and Watchdogs,
we hope will lose no time:
Which learne it by experience,
that youth is in their prime,
And daily in their hearts desire,
Young married folks to be,
More sweeter then the blossomes,
that blome from the Tree.

FINIS.

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Simon and Susan, Part II, another edition. Reproduced with permission from Pepysian Ballads, I, 279, in the library of Magdalen College. Cambridge. See p. 128.

The Transmigration of the Crocodile

DANIEL STEMPEL

PERHAPS the greatest tribute that can be paid to Shakespeare's Cleopatra is that Antony was not her last conquest. The army of Shakespearian critics, past and present, includes a volunteer battalion of admirers large enough to rival the throng enthralled by La Belle Dame Sans Merci. The deification of Cleopatra originated in the romantic criticism of the nineteenth century, and, although the romantic point of view has been generally abandoned in our own century, paradoxically the cult has continued to grow in influence and popularity. It is amusing to find that even the most realistic of modern critics tacitly accept the basic assumptions of the romantic position. This is indeed a compliment to the lady's charms.

Throughout the nineteenth century, conventional morality and the romantic elevation of woman struggle for supremacy in critical studies of the character of Cleopatra. The struggle does not result in a clear-cut victory for either side; on the contrary, a number of attitudes of varying complexity emerge. In the eighteenth century, Dr. Johnson had singled out Cleopatra as the only thoroughly developed character in the play, distinguished by "her feminine arts, some of which are too low. . .".¹ This latter statement is not merely a gratuitous moral reprimand; it is an integral part of Johnson's general disapproval of the play. Most nineteenth-century critics, however, found it difficult to accept so brief and sweeping a dismissal of the play and its characters. They were unwilling to accept the major premise of Johnson's criticism—that *Antony and Cleopatra* was simply not a good play. First, it was written by Shakespeare, whose ranking position in literature went almost unquestioned by these critics; and second, as (ostensibly) a drama of noble love and tragic sacrifice, it was peculiarly attractive to the romantic temperament. Where the critic's moral judgment intervened, this instinctive admiration might be tempered or even nullified by a sober condemnation of Cleopatra's failings. Coleridge, for example, considers *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare's "most wonderful" play, but stigmatizes Cleopatra as inspired by a passion "which springs out of the habitual craving of a licentious nature. . .".²

Sometimes morality won a complete victory, with curious results. Cleopatra was converted into a heroine endowed with the Tennysonian virtues. Furness, the editor of the Variorum edition, simply refuses to believe that any breach of morality may be attributed to Cleopatra. She is, for him, the ideal Victorian

¹ "General Observations on the Plays of Shakespeare", *The Works of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford, 1825), V, 170. Quoted in *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. H. H. Furness, New Variorum Edition (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 477.

² *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism*, ed. Thomas M. Raysor (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), I, 86.

spouse—"the love for Anthony burned with the unflickering flame of wifely devotion" (p. xii).

Where the romantic critic rejected contemporary standards of morality, however, the rites of Cleopatra-worship were celebrated in their full glory. She is eulogized by Heine and Swinburne, those two great rebels against convention, for the very qualities which the moralists condemned. Swinburne, indeed, enthrones her as "the perfect and the everlasting woman".³ A. C. Bradley, the most scholarly and perspicacious of the romantics, confesses, "Many unpleasant things can be said of Cleopatra; and the more that are said the more wonderful she appears."⁴ It is this critical attitude which has proved that it is the fittest to survive in the struggle for existence of dogmas of Shakespearian criticism. With some changes in emphasis and phrasing, it persists in our own time.

Levin L. Schücking reopened the controversy in the twentieth century with his analysis of Cleopatra in *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1922). The character of Cleopatra, he held, is inconsistent. She is a vulgar courtesan in the first three acts and a noble queen in the last two (p. 127). Thus the conflict between morality and romantic deification which had perplexed the earlier critics was restated by Schücking, but it was now translated into the terms of twentieth-century formal and historical criticism, that is, in terms of the development of character construed according to the traditions and exigencies of the dramatic form utilized by Shakespeare.

The solution to this dilemma offered by modern critics is hauntingly familiar. E. E. Stoll, a "realistic" critic, takes issue with Schücking. Cleopatra is consistent in her inconsistency. "Caprice, conscious and unconscious, is her nature, as to be queen and coquette is her station in life. *La donna è mobile*, and she is quintessential woman."⁵ Although Stoll carefully traces the Egyptian queen's lapses from virtue to the end of the play in an attempt to show consistent development of character according to his broader definition of womanhood, it is noteworthy that his analysis is a loving enumeration of faults. His evaluation of Cleopatra is basically the same as that of Swinburne or Heine. At times, he even rises to the heights of "rapturous prose" which he ascribes to those earlier enthusiasts: "For she is alive, every inch of her, to her finger-tips; and her speech has the undulation of a bird's flight, or of a thoroughbred woman's gait of her own happy time, ere woman had heard of heels. Only it is not a walk, but a dance—or rather, a flight, which, for one who is equal to it, is, no doubt, more satisfying and exhilarating than either" (pp. 22-23).

Granville-Barker adopts much the same approach in his study of Cleopatra. Like Heine, he sees her as "at once too good and too bad for this world".⁶ She is "quick, jealous, imperious, mischievous, malicious, flagrant, subtle; but a delicate creature, too, and the light, glib verse seems to set her on tiptoe." She dies, "defiant, noble in her kind, shaming convenient righteousness, a miracle of

³ Quoted by Furness, p. 482.

⁴ Andrew Cecil Bradley, "Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra", *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, 2nd ed. (London, 1941), p. 300.

⁵ "Cleopatra", *Poets and Playwrights* (Minneapolis, 1930), p. 13.

⁶ Quoted by Furness, p. 501.

nature that—here is the tragedy—will not be reconciled to any gospel but its own.”⁷

If these level-headed students of Shakespeare are thus carried away, what are we to expect of the more enthusiastic of the critical clan? Two examples may suffice. The first is from G. Wilson Knight’s “Essay on Antony and Cleopatra”; it is an unequivocal statement of the attitude whose history we have been tracing: “Cleopatra is divine by nature of her divine variety and profusion.” Her evil qualities, when seen “from the view of eternity”, are merely part of her divine variety.⁸ And, finally, in a study entitled, “Professor Schücking’s Fatal Cleopatra”, J. I. M. Stuart takes issue with Schücking’s denigration of the Cleopatra of the earlier scenes. His argument is based on the poetry of the play:

Cleopatra has appeared a wanton, sunk beyond recall in a barren dream of sense; and only her poetry has spoken of something else. And yet this something else was the truth of her; through her sterile sensuality there has subterraneously run the quickening stream; and here at last is her monument—to our feeling vast and oppressive as the Ptolemies’ pyramids—like water cleaving the rock, her womanhood discloses itself in a mature and final splendour:

Husband, I come. . . .

Peace, peace:

Dost thou not see my Baby at my breast,

That sucks the Nurse asleep. . . .⁹

This refrain of “quintessential woman”, intoned with adoring worship, which echoes through criticism of the drama is symptomatic of a fundamental misreading. The latter-day critic is sophisticated enough to recognize that *The Merchant of Venice* is a comedy, not a tragic plea for religious tolerance. It is obvious that nineteenth-century humanitarianism cannot be superimposed on Shakespeare’s comedy without wrenching the structure and characters into forms totally foreign to the original intent of the author. But a similar process of misinterpretation, when applied to *Antony and Cleopatra*, is accepted almost without demurral. A recent newspaper review demonstrates the survival of the romantic approach to the play up to the present day. The reviewer uses such phrases as “epochal love story” and writes of the “rosy corridors of Shakespeare’s drama”. Cleopatra does not “go down whimpering but with pride and glory, looking grand in her regal vestments, looking cool, grave, and triumphant”.¹⁰ The popular conception of Cleopatra has not changed very much since Beerbohm Tree’s production in 1906, starring Constance Collier as Cleopatra. The London *Times* review, which appeared on January 4, 1907, describes the requirements of the role: “It is a terribly exacting part for any actress. She must have beauty, of course, and what is even more important, she must have glamour. She must be able to run at a rapid sweep through the whole gamut of emotion—from dove-like cooings to the rage of a tigress, from voluptuous languor to passion all

⁷ Harley Granville-Barker, “Antony and Cleopatra”, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, 2nd Ser. (London, 1930), pp. 207, 219.

⁸ *The Imperial Theme*, 3rd ed. (London, 1951), pp. 309-310.

⁹ *Character and Motive in Shakespeare* (London, 1949), p. 75.

¹⁰ *New York Times*, December 21, 1951, p. 22.

aflame, from the frenzy of a virago to the calm and statuesque majesty of one of the noblest death-scenes in all Shakespeare."¹¹

If we are to understand correctly the dramatic structure and characterization of *Antony and Cleopatra*, we cannot substitute our own values for Renaissance values. The theme of the play is *not* "all for love, or, the world well lost". A cursory comparison of the versions of Shakespeare and Dryden will show that Dryden's play turns out to be something totally different, but critics have persisted in treating the drama as an example of the triumph of love. As James E. Phillips has shown in his brilliant study, *The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays* (New York, 1940), the plays on classic themes are all concerned with the restoration of health to the diseased state. Stated in its broadest terms, the fundamental problem in these plays is the problem of order (p. 10).

For the Renaissance mind, the order of the universe meant something quite different from the cosmological order accepted by the modern mind. This fundamental distinction can be reduced to the following simplification: the Renaissance, following medieval practice, organized its cosmology by reasoning from biological analogies, that is, by organizing phenomena according to the principles governing living organisms, rather than by the use of mechanical analogies or mathematical descriptions, the methods pursued by post-Galilean thinkers.¹² The effect of this approach was to establish a hierarchy of realms of order, all organized on similar principles, so that general correspondences of structure and function could be formed between the different levels. Microcosm and macrocosm—nature, the state, and man—existed and operated according to the same rules of order.

In a cosmology of this sort, where location and value are interdependent, the change of place involves a change of value; not only is this a subversion of order on the level in which the change takes place, but also, through the destruction of the correspondence between that level and all others, it introduces a disturbance that reverberates throughout the cosmos. The most infinitesimal breach of order was an opening through which the floodwaters of chaos could pour.

The spread of chaos on the level of political organization, in particular, was feared by men of the Renaissance. Shakespeare's classical plays reflect this fear; it is the ultimate source of the conflict of values in all of them, including *Antony and Cleopatra*. Antony's domination by Cleopatra is an unnatural reversal of the roles of man and woman, and where there is a change of place, there is an inversion of values. On the psychological level, this change of values corresponds to the similarly unnatural dominance of reason by will in Antony's character, and, on the political level, it is mirrored by the struggle of Antony and Cleopatra against the rational Octavius.

Is this far-reaching disturbance of order merely a background for the portrayal of a great love or is it the dominant theme of the play? This is not an idle question, for it involves the major problem of plot structure and development. Even Phillips, who has carefully analyzed the political significance of the play, feels that this aspect is subordinate to the love story. "In *Antony and Cleopatra*", he writes, "the chief interest for Shakespeare, as for everyone who has encoun-

¹¹ Quoted by Furness, p. 592.

¹² See Philipp Frank, *Modern Science and its Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 288.

tered the play, is the splendid infatuation which the story presents" (p. 188). If this is true, why does Shakespeare prolong the action beyond the death of Antony by adding scenes depicting Cleopatra's dealings with Octavius and her final suicide? The splendid infatuation, for all practical purposes, ends with the death of Antony, and Cleopatra's death scene might well have been added without the intervening scenes which have distressed some critics because they seem to be an irrelevant postponement of the dénouement. If, however, the major theme is the safety of the state, then the death of Antony does not remove the chief danger to political stability—Cleopatra. She has ensnared Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Antony—how will Octavius fare? The last act shows us that Octavius is proof against the temptress, and the play ends, as it should, with the defeat and death of the rebel against order. The theme is worked out to its logical completion, and the play is an integrated whole, not merely a tragedy with a postscript.

If this is accepted as the dominant theme of the play, then the entire drama, both in general intent and in detailed interpretation, possesses a significance which is not apparent to those who follow the conventional romantic approach. The key to the problem lies in the character of Cleopatra and her relations with the other characters in the play. Here our knowledge of Elizabethan mores can come to our aid. The war between the sexes is perennial, of course, and its historians can be numbered in the thousands between the author of *Genesis* and James Thurber. The methods of warfare, however, became especially vicious in the sixteenth century. The well-stocked medieval arsenal of arguments against women supplied the weapons, and the old charges were leveled with a new fervor. The most extreme of these misogynic arguments was that, in effect, man was woman's faculty of reason. Woman was a creature of weak reason and strong passions, carnal in nature and governed by lust. She could be trusted only when guided by the wisdom of her natural superior, man. This point of view was fully developed by medieval clerics, to whom women were the slaves of their own insatiable desires, which goaded them on to subvert nature by dominating men. The accusation may be traced back to St. Paul and St. Jerome; and Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, who was a scholar's wife blessed with a retentive memory, has supplied us with an excellent bibliography of these clerical attacks.¹³

It is against this background that we must place Shakespeare's Cleopatra. If she is measured against the model of unbridled desire rising in revolt against the rule of reason, supplied by the extreme misogynists, her motives and the resulting actions become understandable. She is not so much a tragic slave of passion in herself as a symbol of Antony's slavery to desire. She is the tempter and the temptation; she destroys the balance of Antony's nature by arousing his physical desire to the point where it defeats his reason. And by making it his guide, she makes it the guide of the state. The paramount value in the classical plays is the stability of the state, and the Elizabethan mind would have seen no problem in judging the morality of Cleopatra's conduct. As Lawrence Babb writes, "To the Elizabethan, a conflict between reason and love would neces-

¹³ See *The Complete Works of Chaucer*, ed. Fred N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. 802—hereafter cited as Chaucer, *Works*.

sarily be a conflict between virtue and vice. Romanticism has greatly changed our thinking on this subject."¹⁴

The upheaval in the natural order of things which Cleopatra symbolizes is made amply clear in the direct statements of both protagonists. Both subordinate the welfare of the state to the gratification of their own desires. In the opening scene, Antony declaims:

Let Rome in Tiber melt and the wide arch
Of the rang'd empire fall! Here is my space.
Kingdoms are clay . . . (I. i. 34-36)¹⁵

In the same fashion, Cleopatra rages in her jealousy: "Melt Egypt into Nile!" (II. v. 77), and, farther on, expresses the wish:

O, I would thou didst,
So half my Egypt were submerg'd and made
A cistern for scal'd snakes! (II. v. 93-95)

This attitude, which seems so natural to the romantic and so perverse to the Elizabethan, has its roots in the destruction of Antony's psychological balance. Enobarbus comments that he "would make his will/ Lord of his reason" (III. xiii. 3-4). Externally, this is indicated by his submission to Cleopatra, and, specifically, by his interchange of roles with her. Octavius contemptuously describes him as

. . . not more manlike
Than Cleopatra, nor the queen of Ptolemy
More womanly than he. . . (I. iv. 5-7)

Cleopatra herself boasts that when he was drunk, she ". . . put my tires and mantles on him, whilst/ I wore his sword Philippan" (II. v. 22-23).¹⁶

Disorder is contagious in the Renaissance cosmos, and chaos spreads downward from Antony. Canidius, one of his soldiers, sees clearly where the danger lies: "So our leader's led,/ And we are women's men" (III. vii. 70-71). And later Antony, informed of Enobarbus' defection, recognizes himself as the source of the contagion: "O, my fortunes have/ Corrupted honest men!" (IV. v. 16-17). Octavius sums up the case against Antony when he grants that voluptuousness may have its proper occasion for satisfaction, but not when there are great causes at stake:

. . . 'tis to be chid
As we rate boys who, being mature in knowledge,
Pawn their experience to their present pleasure
And so rebel to judgment. (I. iv. 30-34)

The first step, then, toward clarifying our understanding of the play must be to divest ourselves of that admiration for Cleopatra which comes instinctively, it seems, to the modern mind. With the romantic veil removed, the breadth and

¹⁴ Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady* (East Lansing, 1951), p. 150.

¹⁵ Citations from Shakespeare are to *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

¹⁶ The wearing of men's attire by a courtesan is used as a sign of the degeneracy of the times by John Marston in his second Satire, published in 1598. See *The Works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1887), III, 273-274.

pervasiveness of the misogynic bias running through the play is gradually revealed; and it will be evident that it is not merely playful satire, the jesting of a good-natured Mercutio or Benedick. It is far more serious and far more deadly. Its influence molds both character and language; more important, it is so fundamental to the structure of the drama that the very genre of *Antony and Cleopatra* is determined by it.

It must not be assumed, of course, that all the characters react to Cleopatra with the open violence of a polemic pamphleteer. On the contrary, there are significant variations in the attitudes of Antony, Octavius, and Enobarbus. Antony's reaction is as extreme as his slavery. When he breaks free of her domination, he heaps on her such epithets as "Triple-turn'd whore!" (IV. xii. 13). His opinion of her reaches the depths of Philo's contemptuous remarks in the opening scene of the play. But his reaction is not rational; it is one extreme of the swing of passion's pendulum, and Antony dies still subject to her will. In contrast, the misogyny of Octavius is founded on right reason. His one general statement on the nature of woman echoes the sentiments of Shakespeare's contemporaries:

Women are not
In their best fortunes strong, but want will perjure
The ne'er-touch'd Vestal. (III. xii. 29-31)¹⁷

Both reactions are touchstones of character and of destiny. When the play ends, it is Octavius, the man who is shielded against temptation by reason, who triumphs. Antony vacillates between love and hate, but his behavior in either case is not rational. By Renaissance standards, the fall of Antony is the inevitable concomitant of the rise of Octavius, as the soothsayer warns Antony (II. iii. 18-23).

Enobarbus' attitude toward Cleopatra is an indication of a third and somewhat different type of motivation. Enobarbus is not an extremist. His position is that of the realist, to use the somewhat ambiguous term coined by David L. Stevenson.¹⁸ This attitude, according to Stevenson, is found in its purest form in goliardic poetry and in the fabliaux, where "love was presented sometimes grossly and obscenely, sometimes merely joyously and simply, but always with emphasis on the act of coition" (p. 39). An example familiar to the general reader appears in the vulgar (and commonsense) approach of the waterfowl in Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*:

"Ye quek!" yit seyde the doke, ful wel and fayre,
"There been mo sterres, God wot, than a payre."¹⁹

Thus Enobarbus does not rebuke Antony for his attachment to Cleopatra. When Antony, in his first expression of revulsion, says, "Would I had never seen her!" (I. ii. 158), Enobarbus replies, "O, sir, you had then left unseen a wonderful piece of work, which not to have been blest withal would have discredited your travel" (I. ii. 159-161). The famous description of Cleopatra by Enobarbus is not a romantic panegyric; it reflects the gross realism of the speak-

¹⁷ See Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass* (New York, 1936), pp. 131-132.

¹⁸ *The Love-Game Comedy* (New York, 1946), pp. 38-39.

¹⁹ Chaucer, *Works*, p. 370, lines 594-595.

er's attitude. He praises her for her "infinite variety", but the phrase indicates a much narrower meaning than that which romantic interpretation has assigned to it. His praise is for her sexual attractions alone, not for any other qualities, as the following lines clearly show. She is, to use that brief description by Ten Brink which Bradley borrowed, a "courtesan of genius", and Enobarbus, with his dispassionate sensuality, bestows on her the appreciation of a connoisseur (p. 298). In the earlier scenes Enobarbus makes no attempt to recall Antony to reason, but this does not mean that he too is blinded by passion. After Actium he bluntly places the blame for defeat on Antony, who is rebuked for his loss of reason and self-control:

The itch of his affection should not then
Have nick'd his captainship, at such a point,
When half to half the world oppos'd, he being
The meered question. (III. xiii. 7-10)

The amused irony of Enobarbus' early comments on his master's infatuation has turned to cynical rejection. He perceives the strength of Cleopatra's domination, which he has previously tolerated, and this is the immediate cause of his treason. Antony's weakness destroys the natural loyalty of this plain soldier and leads him to desert his general in the hour of failure. Antony, as we have seen, is aware of this. The fall of Enobarbus reflects the fall of Antony, but Enobarbus' weakness is not the weakness of Antony. He is not tempted by Cleopatra; he has simply underestimated her power.

Similarly, much of the imagery of the play derives from the misogynic hostility toward Cleopatra. The language is often coarse, not only on the level of the underlings, both Roman and Egyptian, but also in the exchanges of the major figures. Lust and physical gratification are constant themes. This is in keeping with the general premise, familiar to all in Shakespeare's time, that eroticism is the primary motivation of women.²⁰ There are also, however, more specific and less obvious trends of imagery which stem directly from Renaissance misogyny. These images are all associated with Cleopatra and fall into three classes: references to magic and witchcraft, to poisons, and to serpents. It is clear that these are actually a single group united by the common theme of witchcraft in its broadest (and worst) connotations. These references are not solely the product of Shakespeare's imagination; here too he followed certain hints in North's translation of Plutarch. According to Plutarch, Caesar charged "that Antonius was not Maister of himselfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beside himselfe, by her charmes and amarus poysons. . .".²¹ Shakespeare's source also refers to "the charmes and inchantment of her passing beautie and grace", and to her experiments with poisons which resulted in the choice of the asp.²²

Witch-hunting was the most virulent manifestation of the hatred for women in Renaissance society; the arguments used by the foes of witchcraft have the authentic ring of medieval antifeminism. James I, a notable misogynist, stated the case against women in its simplest terms in his *Daemonologie* (1597):

²⁰ See Charles Carroll Camden, *The Elizabethan Woman* (Houston, 1952), pp. 27-28.

²¹ Quoted by Furness, p. 399.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 402-403. For the connection between witchcraft and poisons see James I, *Daemonologie* (1597), ed. G. B. Harrison (London, 1924), p. 44.

Philomathes: . . . What can be the cause that there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where ther is one man?

Epistemon: The reason is easie, for as that sexe is frailer than man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Deuill, as was ouer well proued to be true, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine. (Pp. 43-44.)

The most encyclopedic study of witchcraft was the famous *Malleus Maleficarum* (ca. 1484), which, Kittredge tells us, was familiar to educated Englishmen.²³ According to this treatise, the "natural reason" for the attraction of women to witchcraft is that "she is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations". Woman is constantly seeking domination over man, and the result of this is of great consequence. "If we inquire, we find that nearly all the kingdoms of the world have been overthrown by women." Significantly, one of the classic examples is the following: "The kingdom of the Romans endured much evil through Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, that worst of women." The authors go on to describe that type of woman who, more than other women, is found "to be superstitious and infected with witchcraft. . .":

. . . it must be said, as was shown in the preceding inquiry, that three general vices appear to have special dominion over wicked women, namely, infidelity, ambition, and lust. Therefore they are more than others inclined towards witchcraft, who more than others are given to these vices. Again, since of these three vices the last chiefly predominates, women being insatiable, etc., it follows that those among ambitious women are more deeply infected who are more hot to satisfy their filthy lusts; and such are adulteresses, fornicatrices, and the concubines of the Great.²⁴

It can be seen, then, that the connotations of witchcraft were not quite those which we associate with the romantic glamor of the nineteenth-century *femme fatale*. Renaissance references to witchcraft imply a definitely pejorative view of the nature of woman. Because of her inherent lack of resistance to the passions, she becomes a focus for the subversion of order in nature and society.

The references to witchcraft in the play are both general and specific. Egypt itself, since the time of Exodus, has been considered a land of magicians. The term "Egyptian", then, connotes sorcery, as does its derivative form, "Gypsy", both of which are applied freely to Cleopatra. The following specific references form a thread which runs through the play. Philo's speech, which opens the play, condemns Antony for becoming "the bellows and the fan/ To cool a gypsy's lust" (I. i. 10-11). After being summoned back to Rome, Antony resolves, "I must from this enchanting queen break off" (I. ii. 132). One of the clearest statements is Pompey's adjuration to the absent Cleopatra:

But all the charms of love,
Salt Cleopatra, soften thy wan'd lip!
Let witchcraft join with beauty, lust with both! (II. i. 20-22)

After Actium, Scarus calls Antony ". . . The noble ruin of her magic . . ." (III.

²³ George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 249.

²⁴ Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. and ed. Rev. Montague Summers (London, 1948), pp. 44, 46-47.

x. 19). In IV. ii. 37, Antony swears, "Now the witch take me if I meant it thus", ironically unaware that the witch has already taken him. After his defeat, Antony turns on Cleopatra in revulsion:

O this false soul of Egypt! This grave charm—
Whose eye beck'd forth my wars and call'd them home,
Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end—
Like a right gypsy hath at fast and loose
Beguil'd me to the very heart of loss! (IV. xii. 25-29)

When Cleopatra enters immediately after this speech, he greets her with the formula of exorcism: "Ah, thou spell! Avaunt!" (IV. xii. 30). He resolves that "The witch shall die" (IV. xii. 47). But her spell is renewed and Antony remains her thrall until his death.

The themes of poison and serpents are intertwined throughout the play, culminating in the final scene when the asp, a poisonous serpent, cuts the knot intricate and ends Cleopatra's career. One of Cleopatra's speeches, if read correctly, identifies her, by her own words, as a poisonous serpent:

He's speaking now,
Or murmuring "Where's my serpent of old Nile?"
For so he calls me. Now I feed myself
With most delicious poison. (I. v. 24-27)

The emphasis should be on *myself*. The implication of these lines in Cleopatra's reverie is that hitherto she has been feeding her delicious poison to Antony. Antony himself refers to his stay in Egypt as "poisoned hours" (II. ii. 90). Twice Cleopatra curses Egypt with the plague of serpents in her jealous reaction to the news of Antony's marriage. At the meeting of the triumvirate, Lepidus attempts to stir up Antony's anger by impertinent questions on the fauna of Egypt—specifically, the crocodile—which are obvious references to Cleopatra. Antony's evasive answers leave Lepidus with the weak retort: "'Tis a strange serpent." To which Antony replies, "'Tis so. And the tears of it are wet" (II. vii. 54-55). The poison theme also appears independently of the serpent theme in two references. In III. xiii. 158-161, Cleopatra invokes death by poison for herself if she has been faithless to Antony. And in Antony's rebellion against Cleopatra he compares his rage and pain to the pangs of the shirt of Nessus which poisoned Alcides (IV. xii. 43).

Both characterization and language are meaningful only within the total dramatic situation, and in *Antony and Cleopatra* they reinforce and support the development of the action from beginning to end. There are no violent reversals of intention; the pattern is worked out in full detail through the play, unmarred by the rapid shifting from scene to scene which is characteristic of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

The opening scene is vital to a proper reading of the drama. Philo introduces the protagonists with a bitter and cynical analysis of their relationship. Against this background, Antony and Cleopatra exchange professions and boasts of love. These speeches have been taken as great poetry, but the more finely attuned ear detects the flat note of fustian. Granville-Barker curtly remarks of the opening exchange, "This is convention itself", and of Antony's

declamatory rejection of empire, "Pure rhetoric" (p. 205). Here we have the setting of tone for the whole play: a tawdry infatuation whose empty boasts are easily penetrated by the cynical jibes of an inferior. There is then, at the very beginning, a lowering of the level of the play to satirical incongruity, rather than a transcendent heightening of emotion. Much has been made of images of spaciousness and regal power in *Antony and Cleopatra*, particularly in the opening scene, but this merely demonstrates the danger of placing the enumeration of images above the dramatic purpose to which they are put in specific speeches. Against the background of worlds and empires, the spectacle of Antony become the bellows to fan a gypsy's lust appears truly ironic, as it is diminished to its proper ignoble proportions. To place lust, the expense of spirit in a waste of shame, in the balance against the destiny of a great empire, as Shakespeare does, is a masterpiece of *saeva indignatio* worthy of Swift. The degradation of Antony, the servant of chaos, is profound. The ironic juxtaposition of high rank and ignoble conduct applies not only to Antony, but also to the triumvirate at their carousal, where only Octavius keeps his dignity; and it is, of course, exemplified in Cleopatra's treatment of the messenger from Rome, as well as in other instances.

The first three acts may perhaps be conceded to the *advocatus diaboli* by the romantic defenders of Cleopatra; their triumph, traditionally, is the death scene of Cleopatra. Schücking, as we have seen, could not reconcile the noble end of Cleopatra with her earlier sensuous and wilful nature. Other critics simply swept the seeming inconsistencies into one heap and affixed the label, "Woman", thus neatly avoiding the necessity for judging Cleopatra by any standards, moral or otherwise. Their refuge was the ineffable nature of woman. W. H. Clemen, for example, describes Cleopatra as "neither solely queen, nor solely harlot, nor solely witch, but unites in her person all these contrasting natures."²⁵ This is true enough, as far as it goes, but Clemen does not ask why Shakespeare has brought these contrasting qualities together. The romantic critic replies, "To create a magnificent woman". But contrast, incongruous contrast, is also the very essence of irony and satire. If this is kept in mind, the final scenes of the play will be seen to demonstrate a thoroughly consistent development of character in accordance with the narrower and more clearly defined Renaissance attitude toward women. The death of Cleopatra grows naturally from the unfolding of the plot and theme; it is foreshadowed in the language and imagery of the earlier acts. It is, in point of fact, the only fitting conclusion to the drama; it is not merely a sudden change of level from scurrility to nobility, nor, as some think, an escape to Elysium.

Cleopatra's outburst of grief for Antony seems to set a new standard of conduct for her, not Egyptian but Roman. It also, however, brings her a moment of insight into her own nature. To Iras' "Royal Egypt! / Empress!", she replies,

No more but e'en a woman, and commanded
By such poor passion as the maid that milks
And does the meanest chares. (IV. xv. 70-75)

She is governed by no specifically noble passion, but by that passion which is the same for all women. Her titles are meaningless, incongruous. John Knox,

²⁵ *The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery* (London, 1951), p. 167.

indeed, had claimed that all queens were unnatural reversals of the pattern of order, since the rule of the state could not be properly carried out by a creature governed by passion; and perhaps there were those, even under Elizabeth, who agreed.²⁶

This speech concludes with a call for the "briefest end", but that noble resolution wavers as she postpones her death to test her powers on Octavius. She pretends to relinquish her instinctive quest for domination and requests, with assumed humility, a personal interview with Octavius:

I hourly learn
A doctrine of obedience, and would gladly
Look him i' the face. (V. ii. 30-32)

This is the supreme test for Octavius—and for Cleopatra. She appears penitent, subordinate, and conscious of her frailties as a woman.

Sole sir o' th' world,
I cannot project mine own cause so well
To make it clear; but do confess I have
Been laden with like frailties which before
Have often sham'd our sex. (V. ii. 120-124)

But to her final plea, "My master and my lord!", Octavius counters a decisive refusal of her proffered dominion, "Not so. Adieu" (V. ii. 189-190). He has successfully rejected her, and now there is indeed only one way out. If she cannot rule, she will die.

Her next lines show where she has been wounded most deeply—in her ambitious pride. "He words me, girls, he words me, that I should not/ Be noble to myself!" (V. ii. 191-192). No word of Antony here. Her deepest allegiance is to her own nature and to the lust for power which that nature enforces on her. This is the fundamental motivation that drives her inexorably to suicide, and Antony becomes the symbol of the height of her power, a reminder of past glories which she uses as a spur to drive her on to death. She torments herself with the thought that this liaison with Antony, the climax of her career, will be mocked and degraded by the Romans in their triumph.

The theme of the nature of woman dominates the death scene. Cleopatra introduces it:

My resolution's plac'd, and I have nothing
Of woman in me. Now from head to foot
I am marble-constant. Now the fleeting moon
No planet is of mine. (V. ii. 231-234)

But the theme falls into the hands of the rustic clown, who ironically twists it with jests which might have been taken verbatim from the satires on women:

You must not think I am so simple but I know the devil
himself will not eat a woman. I know that a woman is
a dish for the gods, if the devil dress her not. But
truly, these same whoreson devils do the gods great

²⁶ "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women", 1558, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh, 1855), IV, 363-420. Also see Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 466.

harm in their women; for in every ten that they make,
the devils mar five. (V. ii. 273-279)

Cleopatra prepares for death, calling on Antony to witness the nobility of her act and the thwarting of Caesar's purpose. She divests herself of the base elements of nature and assumes the title of wife: "I am fire and air, my other elements/ I give to baser life" (V. ii. 292-293). This is an ironic echo of earlier lines. We recall Lepidus' sly question: "What manner of thing is your crocodile" (II. vii. 46)? Antony replies, "It is shap'd, sir, like itself, and it is as broad as it hath breadth. It is just so high as it is, and moves with its own organs. It lives by that which nourisheth it, and the elements once out of it, it transmigrates" (II. vii. 47-51). This is the transmigration of the crocodile, the death of the serpent of old Nile.

But the transmigration is not quite complete. When Iras faints, a sudden fancy strikes Cleopatra, and her instinctive jealousy revives:

This proves me base.
If she first meet the curled Antony,
He'll make demand of her, and spend that kiss
Which is my heaven to have. (V. ii. 303-306)

The nature of Antony's demand is not, of course, so innocent as Dr. Johnson imagined. He interpreted this line to mean "He will enquire of her concerning me, and kiss her for giving him intelligence."²⁷ Cleopatra cannot rise above the level of eroticism; she knows well the passion to which Antony has been enslaved, and its indifference to its objects.

The lines

Peace, peace!
Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,
That sucks the nurse asleep? (V. ii. 311-313)

have been taken as the height of tender pathos, and many romantic souls have been stirred by them. But they are neither pathetic nor tragic. What more fitting end for the serpent who has fed Antony with delicious poison than to die by her own weapon? The asp is indeed her "baby", and she is the proper nurse for an asp. The current of serpent imagery reaches its logical and dramatic conclusion; it is the climax of earlier references, and points the irony of the final scene.

Similarly, there is ironic justice in Charmian's epitaph for Cleopatra. She is truly a "lass unparalleled" as well as a queen. The death of a queen is leveled to the death of a woman, an exceptional woman, but still only a woman, with all that that term implies in the context of the play. She is no more than the meanest milkmaid, although her rank is that of royalty and her stage has been the realms of the earth. Even Octavius, who has a generous word for his enemies in death, cannot withhold a brief reference to the gift for evil domination which this woman possesses above all the rest of her sex:

... she looks like sleep,
As she would catch another Antony
In her strong toil of grace. (V. ii. 349-351)

²⁷ Quoted by Furness, p. 366, n. 355.

No tragedy can bear the brunt of this pointed satire and remain a tragedy. Even Bradley, who firmly clung to the belief that *Antony and Cleopatra* was a great tragedy, felt that the play did not meet the criteria of tragedy found in Shakespeare's other plays. "It attempts something different", Bradley wrote, "and succeeds as triumphantly as *Othello* itself" (p. 305). Bradley did not tell us what this "something different" is, but a modern scholar has given us the key to the mystery.

Professor Oscar J. Campbell has advanced the theory that *Timon of Athens* and *Coriolanus* represent a mixed genre, tragical satire, which was modeled on Jonson's *Sejanus*. The current of satire which sprang into being in the last decade of the sixteenth century was diverted into the theatre and spread through Jacobean drama. Campbell considers *Coriolanus* the most successful of Shakespeare's experiments in this genre, surpassing his first crude attempt in *Timon of Athens*. But a third play can be added to this list. Almost every test which Campbell applies to *Coriolanus* is met by *Antony and Cleopatra*. In both plays, the dominant tone is set in the first scene by uncomplimentary references to the protagonists. Both Antony and Coriolanus (not to speak of Cleopatra) are slaves to an overpowering passion, which is revealed again and again by their actions; their conflicts are entirely external. Both vacillate between "unnatural extremes of emotion", symbolized by a divided loyalty. The deaths of the protagonists are not tragic: Coriolanus, reacting automatically to deliberate provocation, is trapped into arousing the mob which destroys him; Antony kills himself because of a false report of Cleopatra's death which she herself has concocted to test his reaction; Cleopatra, as we have seen, meets an ironically just demise.²⁸

Professor Campbell describes *Coriolanus* as a "satiric representation of a slave of passion designed to teach an important political lesson" (p. 215). A close analysis of *Antony and Cleopatra* shows that this description is completely applicable to this play as well. The degradation of a strong man enslaved by lust to a woman who is the embodiment of physical desire in its most attractive form is traced to its disastrous conclusion. The point of the play, however, is that Antony is one of the contenders for the rule of an empire, and that the morbid disease which has destroyed him must be removed completely as a source of danger to the state. With the death of Cleopatra, the end which Octavius has envisioned is finally reached:

The time of universal peace is near.
Prove this a prosperous day, the three nook'd world
Shall bear the olive freely. (IV. vi. 5-7)

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²⁸ Oscar James Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire* (New York, 1943), pp. 198-217.

Cleopatra's Magnanimity: the Dismissal of the Messenger

JOSEPH S. STULL

Cleo. Oh that his fault should make a knaue of thee,
That art not what th'art sure of. Get thee hence,
The Marchandize which thou hast brought from Rome
Are all too deere for me:
Lye they vpon thy hand, and be vndone by em.

IN the New Variorum edition H. H. Furness devoted two pages to attempts which had been made to emend or explicate "That art not what th'art sure of" but cited nothing to indicate that the rest of the speech had attracted the attention of commentators.¹ Nor, though Cleopatra's harrying of the messenger is frequently a topic for comment, is there any specific reference to the meaning or dramatic significance of the second sentence in later extensively annotated editions or later major discussions of the play in general or of the character of Cleopatra in particular.

Cleopatra's dismissal of the messenger is, nevertheless, something of a crux in the interpretation of her character, and has, when not ignored, apparently been consistently misread by the commentators. Professor Schücking found the Cleopatra of the first acts irreconcilable with the Cleopatra of the end of the play. In the "first acts" she has "hardly a trace of nobility", is "heartless" and incapable of magnanimity; and Shakespeare's failure to insert any incident which shows her exhibiting any attractive quality is not a mere oversight but intentional.² According to G. Wilson Knight "she shows the most callous and inhuman cruelty", and, in this scene specifically, is "merciless, a Jezebel of wrath".³ Both critics, I suspect, find some of the justification for these views in a literal reading of Cleopatra's final remark to the messenger here, though neither refers to it directly.⁴

¹ H. H. Furness, ed., *The Tragedie of Anthonie, and Cleopatra*, New Variorum Edition (Philadelphia, 1907), III. v. 132-136, pp. 138-141. In the Globe edition, which is followed in all succeeding references to this and other plays of Shakespeare, this passage is II. v. 103-106. Except as remarked below, the second sentence of this speech is not specifically commented upon, except in the way of gloss or grammatical explication, by such editors as R. H. Case (1906, 1912, 1918, 1920, 1926), H. N. Hillebrand (1926), G. L. Kittredge (1941), or J. D. Wilson (1950), or in such discussions of the play as those by A. C. Bradley (1909), M. W. MacCallum (1910), L. L. Schücking (1922), H. Granville-Barker (1930), E. E. Stoll (1930), G. Wilson Knight (1931), J. M. Murry (1936), S. L. Bethell (1944), Lord David Cecil (1944), Hardin Craig (1948), D. A. Stauffer (1949), J. I. M. Stewart (1949), Willard Farnham (1950), H. C. Goddard (1951), or M. R. Ridley (1954).

² L. L. Schücking, *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1948), pp. 126-127, 132.

³ G. Wilson Knight, *The Imperial Theme* (London, [1951]), pp. 290, 299.

⁴ It may perhaps be inferred from J. D. Wilson's comment on lines 105-106, "Commercial language. . . ; meant to insult", and from H. Granville-Barker's remarks on the harrying of the messenger (*Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Princeton, 1947, I, 441) that these commentators take the second sentence literally.

If we do take this sentence literally we must assume that the messenger, who is not a merchant but a long-time member of Cleopatra's court (II. v. 26-27; III. iii. 45-47), has bought wares in Rome on a venture, hoping to sell them to Cleopatra, and that she not only refuses to buy them but prohibits him from vending them elsewhere—or at least hopes that he will be unable to dispose of them—with the result that he will lose not only his profit but his investment and so suffer financial ruin. If this were the case, then, particularly in view of the fact that she has already spent her jealous rage upon the innocent messenger, and is now no longer speaking and acting in uncontrolled anger, she would indeed be showing not merely a mean vindictiveness but a completely unmotivated malignity. She has nothing to gain by ruining the messenger unless, as Schücking suggests, Shakespeare here presents her as “a mere shrew, devoid of all power of self-control, who, believing that wrong has been done to her, vents her annoyance and rage upon innocent people in order to find distraction in their sufferings.”⁵

The necessity of drawing such a conclusion from a literal interpretation of the words with which she dismisses the messenger is a primary argument against adopting such a reading. That Cleopatra should exhibit, even momentarily, such cold-hearted malevolence violates the spirit of a play in which, as G. Wilson Knight argues at length,⁶ there are no evil characters, and in which real and grave faults are, characteristically, freely and nobly forgiven. No other incident in the play lends support to the charge that Cleopatra is “heartless”, “merciless”, or callously cruel. The messenger, as one of her retinue who had “seen some majesty”, could be expected to realize that her earlier monstrous threats against him were in reality hyperbolic “passions” directed against Antony and to make allowance for the extremity of the provocation of the greatest of those “greater storms and tempests than almanacs can report”. Her threats to be even with Enobarbus (III. vii. 1) and to scratch out Seleucus' eyes (V. ii. 153-157) can, considering the circumstances, hardly be adduced as instances of heartless cruelty, and her alleged callousness concerning the fate of her children is one of those critical deductions which have no dramatic existence.

Other reasons for rejecting a literal reading of the passage in question are the inherent improbability of the situation which it implies and the immediate context of the speech. It is simply not plausible that the messenger, presumably one of those “posts” dispatched daily by Cleopatra in her eagerness for news of Antony (I. v. 61-65), would delay in Rome to accumulate and embark a cargo of merchandise, or, having neglected the urgent business of such a royal mistress for his own profit, that he would attempt to vend his wares, whatever they were, to her. And if he had brought merchandise from Rome, there is nothing in the text to inform Cleopatra of the fact. Then in the immediate context Cleopatra has just been reminded by Charmian that “The man is innocent”, has twice promised Charmian to do him no further harm, has expressed to herself regret at her lack of nobility in having struck him for what, finally, was her own fault.

⁵ *Character Problems*, p. 123. Professor Schücking's reading of Cleopatra has been dealt with at length by E. E. Stoll (*Poets and Playwrights*, Minneapolis, 1930, pp. 1-30), Hardin Craig (*An Interpretation of Shakespeare*, New York, 1948, pp. 270-273), and J. I. M. Stewart (*Character and Motive in Shakespeare*, London, 1949, pp. 59-78).

⁶ *The Imperial Theme*, pp. 261-274.

And in the sentence immediately preceding that in question she has said "O that his fault should make a knave of thee/ That art not what thou'rt sure of"—which might be freely read as "O how unfair it is that Antony's offense should have led me to treat you, who are innocent of the treachery you report so positively, as if you were a villain (and should still, against reason, make the sight of you unbearable)." From the rage in which she harried the messenger her mood has progressed, constantly falling in emotional intensity, through several stages before it modulates through this momentarily impersonal regret that the innocent messenger should have suffered into dulled self-pity, varied for a moment by curiosity concerning Octavia before the dying fall at the end of the scene. Logical, psychological, and aesthetic considerations all tell against the idea that in the course of sinking into what for her is almost apathy, she should exhibit a recrudescence of the passion of lines 61-74 or, having just recognized and regretted the injustice and ignobility of her treatment of the messenger, turn upon him again with a new cold-hearted malevolence.

Two important and closely related motifs in the play are lavish giving—bounty on no merely princely but an imperial scale—and, conversely, the despising of earthly treasures or power, or life itself, weighed in the balance against noble feelings: love, primarily, but also honor, loyalty, and generosity. Pompey, without a struggle, spurns the chance to become master of the world and its wealth by one treacherous act (II. vii. 61-86); Enobarbus, without pausing to see his treasure, sent after him with Antony's bounty overplus, unloaded at his tent, gives it to Caesar's soldier and wanders off to expiate his desertion of Antony by dying in a ditch (IV. vi). Caesar himself, in a speech very apposite to that now in question, returns to Cleopatra not the half of her treasure which she had reserved, as in Plutarch, but the whole of it, "money, plate, and jewels":

Caesar's no merchant, to make prize with you
Of things that merchants sold. (V. ii. 183-184)

One of the primary devices used to suggest the heroic largeness of Antony's nature is frequent reference to a liberality pushing the limit of the Aristotelian virtue of Magnificence towards excess, even for the emperor of the East. Antony gives "a kingdom for a mirth" (I. iv. 18); he is a very Jove in giving, "a mine of bounty" (IV. vi. 20-34):

For his bounty,
There was no winter in't; an autumn 't was
That grew the more by reaping: . . .
. . . realms and islands were
As plates dropped from his pocket. (V. ii. 86-92)

We see two different messengers reporting to Cleopatra with news of Antony after his return to Rome. Alexas, as he greets Cleopatra, presents Antony's gift, a pearl—presumably magnificent enough to be visible to the audience—which is not only itself a messenger of love, upon which Antony had bestowed "many doubled kisses", but a mere earnest of far richer gifts to come:

"Good friend," quoth he,
"Say the firm Roman to great Egypt sends
This treasure of an oyster; at whose foot,

To mend the petty present, I will piece
Her opulent throne with kingdoms. . . ." (I. v. 34-47)

Cleopatra shows no interest in the jewel, but eager attention for any reported hint of the constancy of the love which it symbolizes. For us any doubt of this constancy which the chilly arrangement of the marriage to Octavia might suggest should be at once erased by Enobarbus' account of Cleopatra's infinite charm (II. ii. 190-245) and Antony's decision, even before the marriage, to return to Egypt (II. iii. 38-40). Before the second messenger leaves Rome⁷ Antony looks forward to rejoining Cleopatra. Is it probable, then, in view of his more than imperial munificence and a situation which even from a niggard would call for something rather special as a propitiatory offering, that Antony should send Cleopatra's messenger back empty-handed to break the news of his marriage of state?

Aside from entrances and exits, calls for music, and so forth, stage directions are meager in the Folio text of the play, those indicating properties or business totalling hardly fifty words. Editors have added numerous directions inferred from the text, and more or less necessary to clarify the action. I suggest that when the second messenger enters (II. v. 23) he carries a small casket, richly ornamented or gilt and jewelled, which an audience would take to contain something precious, which, having seen Alexas present the orient pearl in the last Cleopatra scene, it would assume to be a gift from Antony. If the desirability of a stage direction to this effect were obvious—as obvious, for instance, as that which has been adopted calling for the Clown to enter carrying a basket (V. ii. 241)—an early editor would of course have inserted it. The desirability of such a direction is not immediately obvious in this case because eighty lines carrying some of the play's most striking business separate the messenger's entrance from the lines which indicate that he must have carried something—a pedlar's pack, perhaps, if one prefers a literal reading of the lines in question (II. v. 104-106).

Perhaps the messenger lays the casket at her feet as he kneels upon entering, or perhaps he tenders it to her once or oftener or even attempts to display the contents during Cleopatra's importunate questioning, which permits him to do no more than beg leave to speak before his news is forced from him and the storm breaks. It is worth noting that she promises to set him "in a shower of gold, and hail/ Rich pearls" upon him if he will report that Antony is friends with Caesar or even not captive to him. After she has punished him as irrationally and unjustly for ill tidings as she had promised to reward him for good, and has recollected and calmed herself, and regretted treating him as a knave guilty of the thing he merely reports, her magnanimity awakes. In a regal gesture which is wryly qualified by the persistence of her irrational antipathy for the bringer of bad news—and which also serves to express symbolically her disdainful if temporary rejection of Antony—she spurns Antony's gifts, thus, in effect, making the messenger a present of them.

Get thee hence;
The merchandise which thou hast brought from Rome

⁷ In this connection compare the opening stage direction for II. iii and the messenger's remark, III. iii. 11-13.

Are all too dear for me: lie they upon thy hand,
And be undone by 'em! (II. v. 103-106)

The "merchandise" are Antony's gifts, presumably jewels or pieces of jewelry. She rejects them in a spirit similar to that which Ophelia professes when she returns Hamlet's "remembrances"—if they came to her as tokens of Antony's constancy, his love would make "the things more rich", but "to the noble mind/ Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind" (*Hamlet*, III. i. 93-102). So they are to her mere trade goods, articles of commercial value, things that merchants buy and sell, one implication being, perhaps, that Antony cannot buy her forgiveness. The gifts are "all too dear" for her, far too expensive for her to buy, because their cost, she fears, is the loss of Antony; at the least the price she must pay for them would be the condoning of his faithlessness. And "lie they upon thy hand"—"let them remain unsold in your possession"—carrying on the commercial metaphor, means both that she refuses to accept or "buy" them at such a price and that she presents them to the messenger, partly, perhaps, in reparation for the injuries she has unjustly inflicted, but primarily, I think, in the spirit in which Enobarbus says, of something for which he has no use and which is a reminder of something he does not wish to think upon, "I give it you" to the soldier who informs him of the arrival of his treasure, augmented by new gifts from Antony. "And be undone by 'em" no doubt expresses some residual animus against the messenger as a bearer of evil tidings and perhaps the idea that the jewels, which for her are associated with misfortune, will prove unlucky for future owners. The primary idea, however, is one familiar enough in Shakespeare: wealth is a curse. "There's more gold", says Timon to the mistresses of Alcibiades; "Do you damn others, and let this damn you. . . ." Gold is "worse poison to men's souls", says Romeo, "doing more murders in this loathsome world" than the poisons the apothecary is forbidden to sell (*Romeo and Juliet*, V. i. 80-83).

Since it is wiser not to take the magnificent dramatic gestures of queens too literally, the messenger, whose very just comments about Octavia prove him perspicacious, would have been well advised to make another attempt to present Antony's gifts, and this he probably did at his next audience, where the Folio direction is "*Enter the Messenger as before*" (III. ii. 2). "As before" could mean "reluctantly, cringing", if that had been his manner upon entering at II. v. 84, but such a manner does not square with the impression one receives of him throughout II. v, where he does not speak like a servile or unmanly creature nor like a comic figure, particularly in lines 75, 85, 93, and 99-101. "As before", I think, means that he enters carrying the jewel casket, as in II. v, which, kneeling, he again presents to Cleopatra or lays at her feet. And he does receive, though not the province of Cleopatra's hyperbole, nor even a hail of pearls, both the gold he had been promised and an apology (III. iii. 37-43).

There is a third possible reading of the lines with which Cleopatra dismisses the messenger, which also would absolve her from the charge of malignity, and which also is sufficiently Cleopatran, as the literal reading is not. She could mean simply "This news which you are trying to get me to accept is incredible;

* *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 164-65. Timon speaks to the same effect at greater length in his apostrophe to gold, IV. iii. 382-393, and in presenting gold to the banditti, IV. iii. 431-452.

I refuse to credit it; keep it for yourself, and bad luck to you for so persistently insisting upon its truth!" The reading for which I have argued, however, seems preferable upon all counts, and requires only the assumption that Shakespeare's first editors inadvertently dropped or neglected to insert one brief stage direction, the presence of which, in their recollection of performances if not in their copy, may be suggested by their direction for his entrance in the second scene in which he appears—"as before".

Mt. San Antonio College

Current Theatre Notes

ALICE GRIFFIN



ALTHOUGH this listing of Shakespearian productions for the year October 1954 to October 1955 could not hope to be all-inclusive, it is believed to be representative. As such, it strikes several hopeful notes. There is cause for rejoicing in the very number of productions being offered throughout the world, whether on million-dollar stages with professional casts or on makeshift platforms by touring college students. For Shakespeare's plays were written for the theatre, and every such representation, whether a first and cautious effort or a polished and inspired production, brings the play to the viewer in its proper medium.

In addition there is apparent in many of the reports here listed a considerable amount of imagination in the staging of the work. Rather than conforming strictly to acting texts furnished them by the play distributors, numerous organizations have explored possibilities of new interpretations and modes of presentation. The reports here noted reflect a trend toward simplification in the physical production, with use of skeletonized scenery or unit settings on which the action can flow continuously. There seems to be an increased desire to let the lines speak for themselves in establishing the scene, and a decrease in the fustian that characterized productions at the turn of the century. The use of either modern or non-period dress also reflects this tendency toward simplicity, as demonstrated by the Cleveland Play House production of *Julius Caesar* (see illustration, opposite p. 97), or the Pennsylvania State College *Taming of the Shrew*, in which characters were dressed in identical costumes to which identifying touches were added.

In the United States, colleges and universities are still the leading producers of Shakespeare. Increased production is noted, however, among many community theatres, some of which offer a Shakespeare play annually. One interesting development is an increase in the number of summer theatres in this country now offering Shakespearian plays, in addition to the festival theatres at Yellow Springs, Ohio; Ashland, Oregon; Stratford, Connecticut; and San Diego, California.

The interest of the community theatre in Shakespeare is all the more commendable when one considers that such a production is much more difficult to mount successfully than the average contemporary play, and that in most cases the cast and the director, unlike university students, have full-time jobs during the day. Among the organizations offering a Shakespeare play for the first time in England are the Progress Theatre in Reading and the Bridgnorth Players, who announced that, although they had been badly supported, the effort was worth-while and they would continue with more Shakespeare plays. One of the

reasons for the activity in producing Shakespeare in the community theatre may be that these groups more and more are feeling it a civic responsibility to contribute to the culture of the community. And the majority of organizations make some provision for having school children attend, either as guests or at special admission rates. Festivals too are on the increase, Brooklyn College in New York having inaugurated their first in a beautiful new theatre with a student production, a symposium, a concert reading by a professional group, and an exhibit.

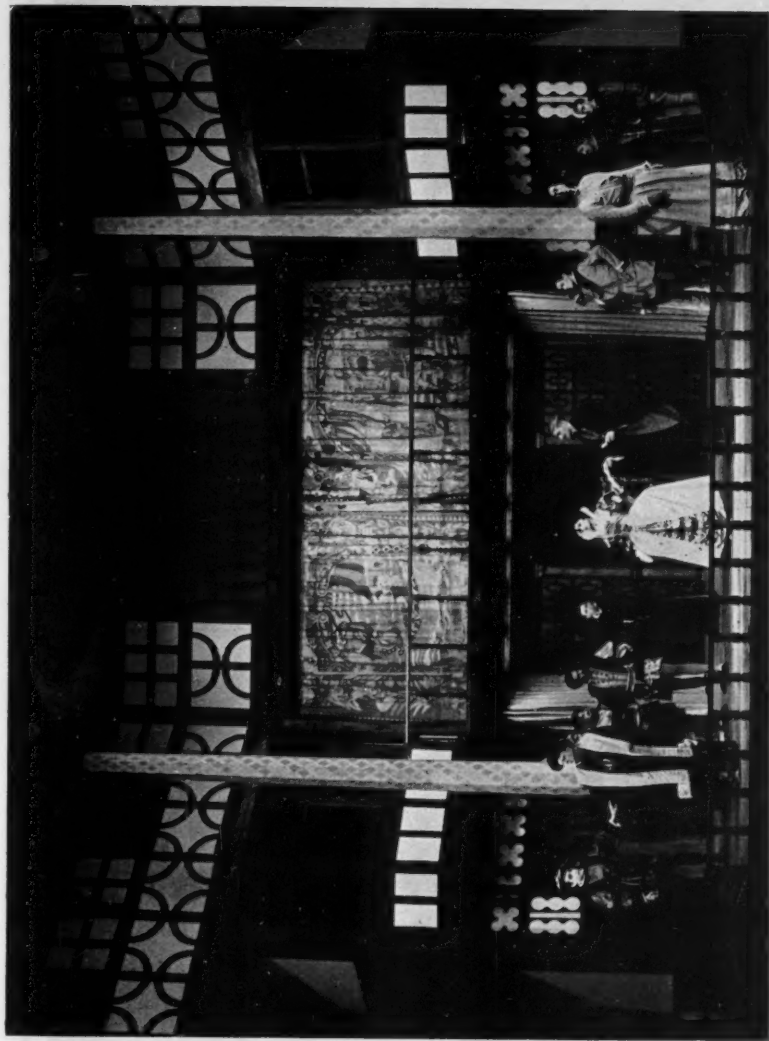
A less encouraging aspect of the current report is that the first season of the long-awaited, widely-heralded American Shakespeare Festival at Stratford, Connecticut, was generally conceded to be a disappointment. Neither the conventional new theatre building nor the uninspired productions made important contributions to the advancement of Shakespeare in the professional theatre.

Equally discouraging was the fact that in the period covered there was no professional Broadway production of a Shakespeare play. There was, however, considerable off-Broadway activity, and the City Center brought the Brattle Shakespeare Players to New York City for a limited run.

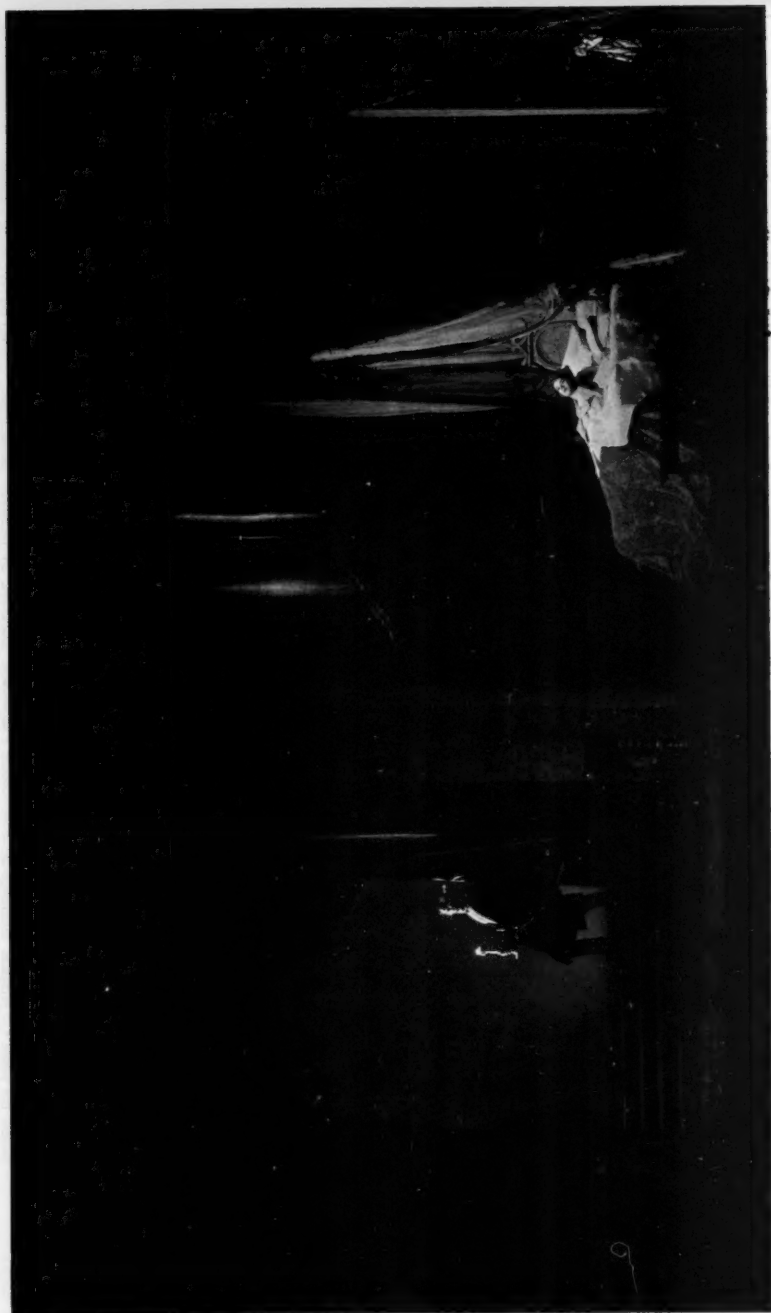
Since the Restoration, most stage productions of Shakespeare have concentrated on relatively few of the plays, and the practice still continues. Nevertheless, it might not be amiss to suggest to readers that such plays as *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, *King John* and *All's Well that Ends Well* are eminently stageworthy and would offer audiences a change from *Twelfth Night* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. On the other hand, it is not difficult to see why productions of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are so popular in England and so scarce in this country, when one considers that its English setting is so exactly defined and so important to the play as a whole, in contrast to the other comedies and the tragedies. In discussing the plays which have not achieved great popularity on the stage, it may be worth noting that *Titus Andronicus* as presented at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, was probably the most talked-about Shakespeare production on a professional stage in the period covered, and possibly the most popular.

Of the major professional organizations devoted to producing Shakespeare, the Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon enjoyed a very successful season, with a galaxy of English stars, headed by Sir Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh at its home theatre, and Sir John Gielgud and Peggy Ashcroft in its other company on tour of England and the continent. Meanwhile, the Old Vic scored a notable success with the *Histories*, directed by Douglas Seale. Although it lacked major stars, a young actor, John Neville, attracted considerable attention with his Richard II and Antony.

The announcement that the Stratford, Canada, Shakespeare Festival would present *The Merchant of Venice* aroused a controversy over charges of anti-Semitism, but the arguments seem to have been dispelled by the magic of the play as directed by Tyrone Guthrie. The news that Dr. Guthrie, who shares with Glen Byam Shaw the distinction of leading the way in staging Shakespeare today, would no longer direct plays at the Canadian festival, left many wondering whether this organization would retain the fine reputation it had established in three short years of existence.



Othello presented at the Hofstra College Shakespeare Festival, Hempstead, New York. A replica Elizabethan stage based on John C. Adams' findings in *The Globe Playhouse*. Directed by Bernard Beckerman. Photo by Wendell Kilmer.



Othello at the University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis. Directed by Frank Whiting. Photo by University of Minnesota Photographic Laboratory.

From all reports, the most significant interpretation of a major role by a leading actor was probably Sir Laurence Olivier's Macbeth at the Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon, directed by Glen Byam Shaw. The most controversial production would seem to have been Sir John Gielgud's *King Lear*. This was due not so much to his interpretation of the character, although it was a new one, as to the scenery and costumes by Japanese artist Isamu Noguchi, who in attempting to divorce the play from association with a particular period, seemed to divert attention from the play's substance to its trappings.

Most encouraging in any such compilation as this one is the fact that the diversity of interpretations, the imagination of many of the productions, the tremendous geographical spread, and the enthusiasm of the audiences demonstrate anew the universality of Shakespeare on the living stage.

In addition to the facts of production listed, brief comments by critics on the major professional productions (Stratford-upon-Avon; Stratford, Canada; Stratford, Connecticut; the Old Vic) are also included.

This annual report would be impossible without the cooperation of the many organizations and individuals who submit the information on which the survey is based. To them, grateful acknowledgment is made for their contribution. To increase the number of production groups from whom material is requested, it is suggested that readers who see Shakespearian productions during the year mail the program or announcement to Dr. Alice Griffin, 200 West 108 Street, New York 25, New York.

Special appreciation is expressed for the splendid cooperation of *Theatre Arts Magazine*, whose interest in the regional theatre in America takes the very concrete form of excellent files on the college and community theatres. Our gratitude, too, to Mrs. DONALD F. HYDE and to Dr. McMANAWAY for their consistent contribution of production news, to DAVID STELLING of London and F. J. PATRICK, City Librarian, Birmingham, for their helpful assistance and reports on the British theatre, and to Dean ROBERT DAVRIL of the University of Rennes, France, for his contribution on French productions. In gathering information on Shakespeare abroad, we acknowledge the contributions of Miss DEE DAY of Stephen Goerl Associates on German presentations, Mr. KENN REED of the Swiss National Travel Office on productions in Switzerland, and Professor KRISTIAN SMIDT of the University of Oslo British Institute on Shakespeare in Norway.

Hunter College

All's Well That Ends Well

December 31, 1954-January 15, 1955. Santa Barbara Repertory Theatre, California. Charles Metten as King of France, Honor Love as Countess of Rousillon, Patricia Metten as Helena. Directed by Hans Pusch, with the assistance of Lawrence Willson. Costume design by Olive Smith. Played in three parts, with a minimum of stylized scenery.

Opened April 26. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Joyce Redman as Helena, Alan Webb as King of France, Michael Denison as Bertram. Directed by Noel Willman, scenery and costumes by Mariano Andreu. Music by Antony Hopkins. In repertory through November. "... Taking it out of Boccaccio's time and resetting it in the seventeenth century is fascinating in its outcome, renews interest in a not very popular comedy and results in an access of dignity to the action as well as to the stage pictures." Harold Matthews, *Theatre World*, England.

July 23-August 31. Open-air performances in the Heidelberg Castle Court, Germany.

Opened August 3. One of the plays produced in the fifteenth season of the Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association, Ashland, Oregon, on an outdoor stage built from the dimensions of the Fortune Playhouse. Richard Graham as King of France, Joan Kugell as Helena, Donald E. Soule as Bertram. Directed by Robert B. Loper. In repertory through August 27.

As You Like It

November 19-December 18, 1954. Margo Jones Theatre '54, Dallas, Texas. James Field as Orlando, Louise Latham as Rosalind, Harry Bergman as Touchstone. Directed by Margo Jones, costumes by Sarah Lee Massey. Annual Shakespeare production in-the-round.

November 29-December 4. Leeds University Union Theatre Group, Leeds, England.

December. Milwaukee Players, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Harriet Borger as Rosalind, Dolores Wozaldo as Celia, Charles Borgwardt as Orlando. Directed by Robert E. Freidel, setting by Elmer Peterson, costumes by Art Vanderkin.

February 11-12, 15-19, 22-27, 1955. Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theatre, The Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois. Doug Winn as Orlando, Ann Eggert as Rosalind, Kenneth Edward Ruta as Touchstone. Directed by Bella D. Itkin, settings by Charles Ray Muth, costumes by Leonor Travis.

February 22. The David Lewis Theatre, Liverpool, England. Directed by Thomas G. Read.

February 18-26. Grand Rapids Civic Theatre, Michigan. Directed by Sydney H. Spayde.

Opened March 1. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London. Virginia McKenna as Rosalind, John Neville as Orlando, Eric Porter as Jaques, Paul Rogers as Touchstone. Directed by Robert Helpmann, settings and costumes by Domenico Gnoli, music by Gordon Jacob. "Mr. Helpmann's is a straightforward lyric production, with touches of pure poetry in the grouping and the lighting and a really fine discretion in matching the parts. The comings, above all, are delightfully toned down and do their fooling in a reflection from that romantic light which glows over the main parts. The romantically absurd is the tone that is caught and held—and it is the right one." T. C. Worsley, *The New Statesman and Nation*, England.

March 14-19. Ithaca College, New York. Jack Holcomb as Orlando, Suzanne Parkhill as Rosalind, Henry Neuman as Jaques. Directed by Eugene R. Wood, stage design by George R. Hoerner.

March 15. Northampton Repertory Theatre, England. Directed by Alex Reeve.

March 25-27. The Milwaukee Players production above.

March. Bradford Civic Playhouse, England. Jean Oldfield as Rosalind, Tony Haigh as Orlando. Directed by Mrs. Dorothy White.

April 26. The Festival Players, London, England. Amateur cast. Costumes and properties designed by the company. Directed by Eileen Butler.

June 13-25. The Old Vic Company production above. Opera House, Belfast, Ireland. June 27-July 2. Olympia Theatre, Dublin, Ireland. In repertory with *Macbeth*.

June 15. Oxford University Dramatic Society, Oxford, England. Penny Hopkins as Rosalind, Jeffery Wickham as Orlando, Allan Shallcross as Touchstone. Directed by Nevill Coghill. In Worcester College Gardens.

July 6-August 15. Eight performances during this period at the Trier Festival, Trier, Germany.

Opened July 6. One of the plays in the Antioch Area Theatre Shakespeare Festival, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Robert Blackburn as Orlando, Pauline Flanagan as Rosalind, Ellis Rabb as Touchstone. Directed by Meredith Dallas, setting by Budd Steinhilber, costumes by Jeanne Button.

July 8-August 7. One of the plays in the Idyllwild Arts Foundation Annual Shakespearean Festival, Idyllwild, California. Directed by Howard M. Banks.

August 8. The Steep Shakespeare Players, Ashford Chace open-air theatre, England. Michael Cormack as Orlando, Jill Tyler as Rosalind, Donald Beves as Touchstone. Directed by Geoffrey Crump.

August 9-20. Players Incorporated, Olney Theatre, Maryland. Margaret Phillips as Rosalind, William Prince as Orlando, J. Robert Dietz as Jaques. Directed by Leo Brady, settings by James D. Waring, costumes by Joseph Lewis.

August 18-20. University of Colorado, Boulder. Annual outdoor Shakespeare production.

Opened September 3. Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Anne-Marie Blanc as Rosalind, Wolfgang Stendar as Orlando. Directed by Leopold Lindtberg, settings by Teo Otto, music by Rolf Langnese. Translated into German by August Wilhelm von Schlegel.

The Comedy of Errors

July 1, 1955. Bellac, France. Presented by a local company for the second festival.

Coriolanus

July 7, 10, 1955. La Compagnie Raymond Hermantier. Nîmes, France.

Cymbeline

Opened July 27, 1955. One of the plays in the fourth annual Shakespeare festival of the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Arthur Lithgow as Cymbeline, Pauline Flanagan as Imogen, Eugene Picciano as Iachimo. Directed by Meredith Dallas, setting designed by Budd Steinhilber, costumes by Jeanne Button. In repertory through September 9.

August 2. Presented at Sarlat, France. Direction and setting by Maurice Jacquemont.

August 20. One of the plays at the Southwark Shakespeare Festival, England. Presented in an open-air performance by the Hovenden Players, in the George Inn Courtyard, following a tradition of courtyard playing which pre-dates the Elizabethan theatre. Wilson Featherston as Cymbeline, Moira O'Sullivan as Imogen, John Garton as Iachimo.

Hamlet

October 20-23, 1954. The Stannington Players, England. Eric Chapman as Hamlet, Stuart Baines as Claudius, Margaret Bird as Gertrude. Directed and adapted by Mr. Chapman. The blue shirt worn by Hamlet was lent to the Players by Sir Laurence Olivier, who wore it in the film of this play. The third Shakespearian production by the Players.

October. Worthing Theatre Company, the Connaught Theatre, Worthing, England. Directed by Jack Williams.

November 17-19. The Millsaps Players and Alpha Psi Omega, Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi. Hardy Nall as Hamlet, Richard Blount as Claudius, Sara Gaby as Gertrude. Directed by Lance Goss. Used music by Lehman Engel which was composed for the New York production starring Maurice Evans.

December 6-10. Richmond Civic Theatre, Indiana. Eric G. Curtis as Hamlet, Henrietta Hirshburg as Ophelia, Mary Whitesell as Gertrude. Directed by Norbert Silbiger, set by Max Scudder.

January 31, 1955. The Elizabethan Theatre Company on tour, under the auspices of the Arts Council of Great Britain. Richard Gale as Hamlet. Directed by Peter Wood.

January. At the Mayakovsky Theatre in Moscow, Russia. The producer, Nikolai Okhlopkov, said of the interpretation: "The tragedy of Hamlet is linked with the idea of the struggle of advanced mankind against the dark forces of reaction."

February 3. The Amateur Dramatic Company of the University of Cambridge, England. Directed by Henry Burke.

April 6-27. The Cleveland Play House, Ohio. Rolf Engelhardt as Hamlet, William Paterson as Claudius, Dolly Wheaton as Gertrude. Directed by Frederic McConnell. Original music by Theodore Maters, costumes by Muriel Stein. Performed in the evenings on a unit set designed by William McCreary and Mr. McConnell, which was used also for concurrent production of *Julius Caesar* offered at matinees. The set used a multiple step and platform arrangement.

April 22-30. Drama Department, University of Texas, Austin. Ted Van Griethuysen, Jr., as Hamlet, Judy Galbraith and Kathryn Young alternating as Gertrude. Directed by B. Iden Payne, stage design by Joe Johnston, costumes by Lucy Barton. Because the theatre was being air-conditioned the annual Shakespeare play was presented in an especially constructed 1,000-seat tent, where it played to more than 8,000 people, including students from over seventy Texas schools and colleges.

April 27-30. Drama Workshop of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. Robert Leppert as Hamlet, Lester L. Moore as Claudius, Bettie Sage as Gertrude. Directed and

designed by Paul Kozelka, costumes by Esther Bialo. The play was done as "an experiment in closeup effects", achieved by a platform extending into the audience.

May 3-6. The Blue Masque, Catawba College, Salisbury, North Carolina. Oliver Link as Hamlet, Bill Young as Claudius, Kathy Abernethy as Gertrude, Pat Chappell as Ophelia. Directed and designed by Arnold Colbath, costumes by Claire Pinkerton.

May 14-23. New Park Theatre Club, London, England. Geraint Vaughan as Hamlet. Produced by Vera G. Edgley.

June 10-July 17. During this period offered as one of the Ruhr Festival plays, Recklinghausen, Germany. Will Quadflieg as Hamlet. Staged by Karl Heinz Stroux.

June 17-20. La Compagnie Jean-Louis Barrault. Acted in the ruined castle of Chateau-Gaillard. Near "Les Andelys". Jean Dessailly as Hamlet, Simone Valère as Ophelia, Pierre Bertin as Polonius. Translation by André Gide. This production also revived in Paris "for several performances, mostly to student audiences".

July 2-24. During this period offered by the ensemble of the Stuttgart State Theater at play festival at Hersfeld, Germany. Staged by Paul Hoffman.

Opened July 22. One of the plays in the San Diego National Shakespeare Festival, California. William Ball as Hamlet, Judy Galbraith as Gertrude, Tommy Riggs as Polonius. Directed by Allen Fletcher. The sixth annual festival in a Shakespearian theatre. In repertory through September 4.

August 2-5. Drama Workshop of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. Revival of production listed above (April 27-30). Robert Leppert as Hamlet, Charles Kleinpeter as Claudius, Lucile Paris as Gertrude. Designed and directed by Paul Kozelka, costumes by Esther Bialo.

August 12-17. Groupe d'Action Théâtrale de la Maison des Jeunes. Nuits théâtrales d'Annecy, France.

Julius Caesar

January, 1955. Bayerisches Staatsschauspiel, Munich, Germany.

April 20-May 20. Cleveland Play House, Ohio. Robert Allman as Caesar, Clayton Corzatte as Antony, Frank Cover as Brutus. Directed by Kirk Willis. The annual Shakespeare festival for high school students from over one hundred different schools, held since 1934. Staged at morning and matinee performances in modern military dress on a unit set used in evenings for a production of *Hamlet*. The Play House's Euclid-77th Street Theatre has an apron stage designed with Shakespearian plays in mind.

May 6-8. The Carolina Playmakers, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Walter L. Smith as Caesar, Donald Treat as Antony, Robert P. Sonkowsky as Brutus. Directed by Thomas M. Patterson and Kai Jurgensen, settings by James Riley, costumes by June Craft.

Opened June 27. One of the plays presented by the Stratford Shakespearian Festival Foundation of Canada, Stratford, Ontario. Robert Christie as Caesar, Lorne Greene as Brutus, Donald Davis as Mark Antony, Lloyd Bochner as Cassius, Donald Harron as Octavius. Directed by Michael Langham, designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, music by Louis Applebaum. Presented on the Festival's unique Elizabethan-type stage, designed by Miss Moiseiwitsch. In repertory through August 27. "Lacked the impression of unity of theme and purpose . . . interesting in isolated instances . . . additions did not seem to be justified by the text." *Theatre Arts Magazine*.

July 9. La Compagnie Raymond Hermantier, Nîmes, France.

Opened July 12. The American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Connecticut. Hurd Hatfield as Caesar, Raymond Massey as Brutus, Christopher Plummer as Antony, Jack Palance as Cassius. Directed by Denis Carey, settings by Horace Armistead, costumes by Robert Fletcher. In repertory through September 3. "There are some big noisy scenes. . . . But there is little of the urgency of good theatre in either the staging or the acting." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*.

August. Presented in the Roman theater at Mérida, Spain, the third act in the nearby amphitheatre. Directed by José Tamayo. Free Spanish version by José María Pemán. Music by Richard Klatovsky. Company included Mary Carrillo, Guillermo Marin, Francisco Rabal—and fifty horses.

Opened August 22. The Old Vic production, at the Edinburgh Festival, Scotland. Opened at Swansea, Wales, week of August 8, played Liverpool week of August 15, opened at the Old Vic Theatre, London, September 7. Gerald Cross as Caesar, John Neville as Antony, Paul Rogers as Brutus, Richard Wordsworth as Cassius. Directed by Michael Benthall, setting and costumes by Audrey Cruddas, music by Frederick Marshall. In repertory after September 28. "As human drama, as politics, or as a study of character, the play emerges very shakily amid gloomy lighting and with costumes by Audrey Cruddas that strike one as belonging more to the stage of John Philip Kemble than to Caesar's Rome or a fresh mounting of the play." *The Stage*, England.

King Henry IV, Part 1

March 29-April 3, 1955. Brooklyn College, New York. Roy Reardon as Henry IV, Sheldon M. Baron as Hal, Dave M. Keller as Falstaff. Directed by Vance M. Morton, setting by William E. Hatch. Presented at the college's first Shakespeare festival, which included an exhibit, a symposium, Elizabethan dances, and a reading.

April 19-21. Stetson University, Deland, Florida. Ted Cassidy as Falstaff, William Armstrong as Prince Hal, William Crayton as Henry IV. Directed and designed by O. G. Brockett. "Probably the largest Falstaff in history—6' 9".

Opened April 27. The Old Vic Theatre, London. Eric Porter as Henry IV, Robert Hardy as Prince Hal, Paul Rogers as Falstaff. Directed by Douglas Seale, setting and costumes by Audrey Cruddas, music by Christopher Whelen. Text edited by Sir Barry Jackson. Played on alternate evenings with Part 2. "The production moves smoothly and swiftly, helped for the most part by Audrey Cruddas's permanent set, though at times the great central stairway seemed more of a handicap than an asset." *Theatre World*, England.

Opened July 18. Brattle Shakespeare Festival, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Thayer David as Henry IV, Michael Wager as Prince Hal, Jerome Kilty as Falstaff. Directed by Mr. Kilty, sets by Robert O'Hearn, costumes by Robert Fletcher.

Opened July 20. Group 20 Players, Theatre on the Green, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Played on alternate nights with Part 2, through July 30, in an outdoor amphitheatre. Michael Higgins as Henry IV, Louis Edmonds as Prince Hal, Thomas Gomez as Falstaff. Alison Ridley Evans, director; William Roberts, designer.

September 21-October 2. New York City Center, New York City. The Brattle Shakespeare Players' production above, with the same principals. "There are some vivid scenes in it. . . . But the inner vitality of *Henry IV, Part 1* has somehow escaped the Brattle Players." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*.

Summer. Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Heinz Woester as Henry IV, Will Quadflieg as Hal, Carl Kuhlmann as Falstaff. Directed by Leopold Lindtberg, setting by Teo Otto, music by Tibor Kasics.

King Henry IV, Part 2

Opened April 28, 1955. The Old Vic Theatre, London. Eric Porter as Henry IV, Robert Hardy as Prince Hal, Paul Rogers as Falstaff. Directed by Douglas Seale, setting and costumes by Audrey Cruddas, music by Christopher Whelen. Text edited by Sir Barry Jackson. Played on alternate evenings with Part 1. ". . . The Company . . . lacking as it does real star quality, encompasses this pair of plays without star parts, perfectly. . . . The Falstaff of Paul Rogers was more subdued than is usual, being more cunning than boisterous. . . ." *Theatre World*, England.

Opened July 21. Group 20 Players, Theatre on the Green, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Played on alternate nights with Part 1, through July 31, in an outdoor amphitheatre. Michael Higgins as Henry IV, Louis Edmonds as Prince Hal, Thomas Gomez as Falstaff. Directed by Alison Ridley Evans, designed by William Roberts.

King Henry V

March 23-26, 1955. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, England. K. Edmonds Gateley, director and Henry V. The group's eighth season.

April. University of Connecticut, Storrs. Directed by W. Adelsperger, stage design by O. K. Larson.

King Henry VI, Part 3

Opened August 4, 1955. One of the plays presented by the Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association, Ashland. H. Paul Kliss as Henry VI, Irene G. Baird as Margaret, Brad Curtis as Richard Plantagenet, Tom Luce as Clifford. Directed by James Sandoe. In repertory through August 28.

King Lear

February 15-28, 1955. British Empire Shakespeare Society, Derby Festival, England. With *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Opened April 21. The Habimah Theatre, Tel Aviv, Israel. Aharon Meskin and Simon Finkel alternated as Lear. Directed by Julius Gelner, settings by Barach Kadari. Translated by Abraham Shlonsky.

June 14. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, production opened at the Theatre Royal, Brighton, England. Followed by tour to Vienna, Zurich, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Berlin, Hamburg, Oslo, Copenhagen, and appearances in London, Stratford-upon-Avon, and six other cities in the United Kingdom. John Gielgud as Lear, Claire Bloom as Cordelia, Moira Lister as Regan, Helen Cherry as Goneril. Directed by George Devine. The setting and costumes by the Japanese artist Isamu Noguchi were divorced from historical and decorative associations in order to emphasize the universal and mythical quality of the story. The décor aroused a great deal of controversy and the criticism of it was generally unfavorable in the British press. Eric Johns in *Theatre World* reports that Gielgud's interpretation differs from his previous ones, for in the latest production "he sees Lear as a victim, but the victim of his own tyranny . . . even after he has been purged through suffering, he still does not see life through the eyes of a noble being."

September. Players Incorporated sixth national tour opened. The group's headquarters are in Washington, D. C. Dick Sykes as Lear, Jeanne Davis as Cordelia, Naomi Vincent as Goneril, Pat Barnett as Regan. Directed by Robert B. Moore, set by James D. Waring, costumes by Joseph Lewis. On tour with *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Southport Repertory Company, England. Directed by Donald Bodley.

King Richard II

Opened October 4, 1954. The Elizabethan Theatre Company, Arts Theatre, Cambridge. On tour. Toby Robertson as Richard. Directed by John Barton.

October 11-16. Salisbury Arts Theatre, Salisbury, England. Gerald Flood as Richard, Frederick Peisley as Gaunt, Ronald Allen as Bolingbroke. Directed by Richard Scott, stage design by Jean Adams, costumes by Kate Servian.

Opened January 17, 1955. Theatre Workshop, Theatre Royal, Stratford, East London, England. Harry Corbett as Richard, George Cooper as Bolingbroke, Howard Goorney as Gaunt. Directed by Joan Littlewood, settings by John Bury, costumes by Josephine Wilkinson and Shirley Jones.

Opened January 18. The Old Vic Theatre, London. John Neville as Richard, Eric Porter as Bolingbroke, Meredith Edwards as Gaunt. Directed by Michael Benthall, décor and costumes by Leslie Hurry, music by Christopher Whelen. "Though somewhat uncertain in the early scenes [John Neville] conveyed a deep sense of poignancy as this wayward young King's tragedy developed, and spoke Richard's noble lines most nobly." *Theatre World*, England.

January 26-February 5. Fylde College Theatre Group, Blackpool Technical College and School of Art, Blackpool, England. Robert McDonald as Richard, Paul Tarnet as Gaunt, Ian Scott as Bolingbroke. Directed by Frank Winfield. "Our first venture into Shakespearean production . . . played to nearly 3,000."

March 8. The Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed by Royston Morley.

March. University of Detroit, Michigan. J. Donald MacQueen as Richard, Nelson Philipps as Bolingbroke. Directed and designed by Richard J. Burgwin, costumes by Jeri Rich Burgwin.

Opened May 2. Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, London, for the second week of South-west's Shakespeare Festival. Alan Bates as Richard, Vernon Agopowicz as Bolingbroke, Roy Kinnear as Gaunt and Head Gardener. Directed by Lilian Harrison.

Opened June 21. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Jack May as Richard, Bernard Hepton as Gaunt, Alan Bridges as Bolingbroke. Directed by Douglas Seale, settings by Finlay James.

King Richard III

October 15, 16, 22, 23, 1954. San Francisco State College, Division of Creative Arts, San Francisco, California. Ray Fry as Richard, Rudy Solari as Buckingham, Myrl Britton as Margaret. Directed by Jules Irving, stage design by Waldemar Johansen, costumes by Jack Cook. Staged on a unit set with revolving pieces placed in the unit.

December 3-18. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Philip Bosco as Richard, Ed Torrance as Buckingham, Barbara French as Margaret. Direction and setting by James D. Waring, costumes by Joseph Lewis.

March 16-19, 1955. University of Kansas Theatre, Lawrence. Alec Ross as Richard, Rupert Murrill as Buckingham, Marjorie Englund as Elizabeth. Directed by Charles Holt, set and costumes by Milton Howarth. Exhibits of rare books, prints and costume sketches, and pictures of other productions of this play.

May 27, 31. The Classic Players of Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Bob Jones, Jr., as Richard, John Mahler as Buckingham. Directed by Robert Pratt, designed by Murray Havens. The Colly Cibber version.

Love's Labour's Lost

December 8-11, 1954. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, Wales. John Fulcher as Berowne, Raie Hardy as Rosaline. Directed by K. Edmonds Gateley.

Macbeth

September 22-24, 1954. Rhodes University Dramatic Society, Grahamstown, South Africa. Directed by Gustav Cross, set designer, Cyril Todd. A mobile unit set was used, and the witches wore surrealistic costumes. The apparitions were painted in luminous paint in a large book onto which infra-red rays were directed, and the pages were turned by Hecate.

Fall 1954-Spring 1955. On national tour by the Barter Theatre of Virginia.

Opened November 15. The Midland Theatre Company, Coventry, England. Directed by Frank Hauser.

November. The Maskrafters, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky.

December 15-16. Ripon College Theatre, Wisconsin. Robert N. Wendt as Macbeth, Pudge Healy as Lady Macbeth. Directed and designed by Walter Boughton. "Overture to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* opus 9" composed and conducted by Clyde D. Dollar.

February 5-12, 1955. The Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by J. Roose Evans.

February 24-March 25. National Theatret, Oslo, Norway. Bjørseth Rasmussen as Macbeth, Tore Segelcke as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Knut Hergel.

March 10-12. University of Colorado Theatre, Boulder. Fowler Osborn as Macbeth, Ann Seielstad as Lady Macbeth. Directed and designed by J. H. Crouch. On a new semi-permanent platform unit with upper and inner stages.

March 31-April 7. Progress Theatre, Reading, England. Roy Longman as Macbeth, Katherine Sansome as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Norman Bishop, setting by Alan Stanford. The group's first Shakespearian production. An introductory program was held for members, and a coffee discussion arranged after the production had finished, so that comments could be made. The witches were mimed onstage, with their voices coming from amplifiers in the auditorium.

April 14-16. The Kerwin Players, Eltham Little Theatre, England. Norman Bryce as Macbeth, Madge Waters as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Barbara Hood, setting by Norman Bryce.

April 16-23. Fourth Annual Memphis Shakespeare Festival, Memphis State College, Tennessee. Gordon Lawhead as Macbeth, Dorothy Fisher as Lady Macbeth. 2,365 persons attended the play. The festival also included two films of Shakespeare's works, a concert, and scenes from the plays.

May 13-14. The Dramatics Club, Gallaudet College, Washington, D. C. Allan Sussman as Macbeth, Elinor Casey as Lady Macbeth, Frank LaRosa as Macduff. Directed by Douglas J. Burke. Gallaudet is a college for deaf and blind students.

Opened June 7. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England, the ninety-sixth season. Sir Laurence Olivier as Macbeth, Vivien Leigh as Lady Macbeth, Keith Michell as Macduff. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw, settings and costumes by Roger Furse, music by Antony Hopkins. In repertory until November. "This Macbeth is paralysed with guilt before the curtain rises . . . he greets the air-drawn dagger with sad familiarity; it is a fixture in the crooked furniture of his brain. Uxoriousness leads him to the act, which unexpectedly purges him of remorse . . . seeking security, he is seized with fits of desperate bewilderment as the prize is snatched out of reach. . . . At the heart we find, beautifully projected, the anguish of the *de facto* ruler who dares not admit that he lacks the essential qualities of kingship." Kenneth Tynan, *The Observer*, London.

June 13-25. The Old Vic production, Opera House, Belfast, Northern Ireland. Paul Rogers as Macbeth, Ann Todd as Lady Macbeth. Produced by Michael Benthall, décor and costumes by Audrey Cruddas, music by Brian Easdale. June 27-July 2, Olympia Theatre, Dublin, Ireland. With *As You Like It*.

June 17-August 31. Schiller's version performed in rotation with two non-Shakespeare classics every Friday, Saturday, and Sunday out-of-doors in the Romanesque cloisters at Feuchtwangen, Germany.

July 1. Meridian Theatre, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. Scenes from *Macbeth* and *Othello* in the first of four Friday lunchtime programs of excerpts from Shakespeare during July. Reginald Jessup as Macbeth, Adrienne Erroll as Lady Macbeth.

July 11-16. One of the plays presented by the Earle Grey Festival Company, Toronto, Canada, in their seventh annual open-air Shakespeare festival in the Trinity College Quadrangle. Earle Grey as Macbeth, Mary Godwin as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Mr. Grey. The coronation cloak worn by Miss Godwin formerly belonged to Ellen Terry.

July 18-23, August 1-5. The Minack Theatre, Porthcurno, Penzance, England. Maurice Jenkin as Macbeth, Jean Martin as Lady Macbeth.

Opened July 20. One of the plays in the Antioch Area Theatre Fourth Annual Shakespeare Festival, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Jack Bittner as Macbeth, Jacqueline Brookes as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Jack Landau, settings by Budd Steinhilber, costumes by Jeanne Button. In repertory through September 8.

Opened August 2. One of the plays presented by the Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association, Ashland. Robert B. Loper as Macbeth, Marjorie Schaffer as Lady Macbeth. Directed by H. Paul Kliss. Performed outdoors on a Shakespearian stage. In repertory through August 30.

Théâtre National Populaire. Maria Casarès as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Jean Vilar.

Measure for Measure

October 29-November 1, 1954. Adelphi College, Garden City, New York. A reading performance. Charles Supin as Angelo, Nancy Higgins as Isabella. Directed by Josephine Nichols. Performed during the remainder of the season for various community groups on Long Island.

July, 1955. The London Players, The Royal Theatre, Stratford, East London. Directed by Tony Richardson, décor by Jocelyn Herbert.

July 22-September 4. Presented in repertory with two additional plays at the San Diego National Shakespeare Festival, California. Sixth annual summer season at the Shakespearian theatre. Michael Ebert as Angelo, Astrid Willsrud as Isabella. Directed by B. Iden Payne.

The Merchant of Venice

November 1, 1954. Guilford Theatre, Guilford, England. Directed by Roger Winton.

November 8. The Perth Theatre Company, Perth, Scotland. Directed by Graham Evans.

November 8. The Intimate Theatre, Palmers Green, London, England. Directed by Peter Coleman.

November 10-13. Malvern College Dramatic Society, Malvern, England.

December. The University of Indiana Theatre, Bloomington.

Opened January 7, 1955. The Club Theatre, Finch College, New York City. Clarence Derwent as Shylock, Lesley Woods as Portia, Whitford Kane as Old Gobbo. Directed by Iza Itkin, set by John A. Abbate, costumes by Ruth Morley.

February 11-13. Philippine Theater, Far Eastern University, Manila. Tito Guingona as Shylock, Winnie Powell as Portia. Directed by Jean Edades.

Opened February 22. The Shakespearwrights, Jan Hus Auditorium, New York City. Thomas Barbour as Shylock, Laurinda Barrett as Portia. Staged by Marjorie Hildreth, setting by Willis Knighton.

Opened March 1. Bristol Old Vic Company, the Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Directed by John Moody.

April 10-19. Leicester Drama Society, England.

April 20-23, 29-30. University of Illinois Theatre, Urbana. Eugene Griffith as Shylock, Joyce Chalcraft as Portia. Directed by Clara Behringer, set design by John Ahart, costumes by Genevieve Richardson. Performed on a permanent set, with costumes, late Gothic-inspired, made chiefly of lined terry cloth.

Opened June 29. One of two plays by Shakespeare presented by the Stratford Shakespearian Festival Foundation of Canada, Stratford, Ontario. Frederick Valk as Shylock, Frances Hyland as Portia, Robert Goodier as Antonio, Donald Harron as Bassanio. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie, designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, music by John Cook. In repertory through August 27. "Shylock stands for justice, Antonio for mercy. Although Antonio has less to say and do than Shylock, the former . . . was prominent throughout. . . . It was a directorial and acting triumph that both Antonio and Shylock were portrayed as intensely human beings. . . . This Shylock had dignity and self-assurance which perhaps stemmed from his intense attachment to three things: his business . . . his Jewish faith and his family. . . . To the man who threatened the security of any one of these—as did Antonio to Shylock's business—he would be unrelenting in his revenge." *Theatre Arts Magazine*.

July 18-30. One of three plays presented by the Earle Grey Festival Company, seventh season of the open-air Shakespeare festival in Trinity College Quadrangle, Toronto, Canada. Earle Grey as Shylock, Mary Godwin as Portia. Directed by Mr. Grey. Three Sunday evening concerts of Elizabethan music were a feature of the festival.

Le Centre Dramatique de l'Ouest. Touring production in Western France, also presented in Paris. Directed by Hubert Gignoux.

The Merry Wives of Windsor

February 11, 1955. Boston University Division of Theatre Arts and the College of Music, Boston, Massachusetts. Ralph Vaughan Williams' operatic version, *Sir John in Love*. The American première.

Opened June 29. Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio, fourth Shakespearian festival. Jack Bittner as Falstaff, Pauline Flanagan as Mistress Page, Frances Oliver as Mistress Ford. Directed by David Hooks. In repertory through September 5.

Opened July 12. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Anthony Quayle as Falstaff, Angela Baddeley as Mistress Page, Joyce Redman as Mistress Ford, Keith Michell as Ford. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw. Designed by Motley to suggest "a Christmas-card setting, with red cheeks, frosty days, and costumes based to some extent on the paintings of Breughel." Music by Leslie Bridgewater. In repertory until November. "Anthony Quayle's Falstaff is a most engaging performance. With loaded body and larded voice, with the leer of invitation in its eye and gathering round it some flourishing reminiscences of an old gentility, this Falstaff is rich in humanity and wit." Harold Hobson, the *Sunday Times*, London.

Opened September 27. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London. Paul Rogers as Falstaff, Margaret Rawlings as Mistress Ford, Wendy Hiller as Mistress Page. Directed by Douglas Seale, stage and costume design by Paul Shelving, music by John Hotchkiss. Cavalier period costumes. "Paul Rogers must be the fattest Fat Knight of all time. He is a veritable Humpty Dumpty of a man, a monstrous human balloon whose conduct is a mixture of peevish babyhood and extremely determined manhood . . . superbly ridiculous." *The Stage*, England.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

December 9-11, 1954. E 52 University Theatre, University of Delaware, Newark.

December. The Southend Shakespeare Society, Palace Theatre, Westcliff, England, for one week.

December. Hall Green Little Theatre, Birmingham, England.

April 26-30, 1955. Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida. Dick Dickson as Oberon, Wilbur Dorsett as Bottom. Directed by Peter Dearing, designed by Dick Hill, with sets and costumes in black and white.

May. Performed at theatre festival honoring the 300th anniversary of the Theatre Guild of Biberach-on-the-Riss, the town where it is believed that Shakespeare's plays were first performed in Germany.

Opened June 24. Folio Theatre Company, Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London. Robert Atkins as Bottom, Arthur White as Puck, Robert Eddison as Oberon. Directed by Mr. Atkins, costumes by J. Gower Parks and Richard Carey.

June. Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Peter Brogle as Puck, Gustav Knuth as Bottom. Directed by Oskar Wälterlin, costumes by Teo Otto, music by Mendelssohn.

June 25, 30, July 2, 7, 9, 13, 16, 19, 23. Open-air performances at Diever, the Netherlands.

July and August. Performed with *Julius Caesar* at the Munich Festival, Germany.

Opened August 1. One of the plays presented by the Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association, fifteenth season, Ashland, Oregon. Richard T. Jones as Bottom, John S. Sandoe as Puck. Directed by James Sandoe on the open-air Elizabethan replica stage. In repertory through August 31.

August 9-13. Huron Playhouse, Bowling Green State University, Huron, Ohio. Directed by Eldon T. Smith, stage design by John Heplow, costumes by R. D. Richeu.

Much Ado About Nothing

October 18, 1954. The Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow, Scotland. Producer, Richard Mathews.

Opened October 19. The Bristol Old Vic Company, Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Produced by John Moody.

March 18-19, 1955. Experimental Theatre, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York. Gretchen von Everbach as Beatrice, Edith de Rham as Benedick. Directed by Tom Hill. Presented for International Theatre Month.

March. Victoria University College Drama Club, New Zealand. Maria Dronke, producer.

May 10-14. Department of Drama, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Directed by Howard M. Banks.

May 13-21. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by J. Roose Evans. Stage designer, B. Wilkes. Performed on an apron stage with a unit set.

Opened June 6. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Company, of Stratford-upon-Avon, on tour with *King Lear*, began at Brighton, followed by Vienna, Zurich, The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Berlin, Bremen, Hanover, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Oslo, London, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, and Liverpool, returning to Stratford-upon-Avon at end of tour, in December. Sir John Gielgud as Benedick, Peggy Ashcroft as Beatrice. Directed by Sir John, décor by Mariano Andreu, music by Leslie Bridgewater. A revival of the highly-successful Stratford production of 1949 and 1950.

July 4-9. The Tunbridge Wells Drama Club, the Pantiles open-air Theatre, England. Mary Vincent Smith as Beatrice, David Maitland as Benedick. Produced by Roy Douglas, costumes by E. Marshall Wood. In the past ten years the group has presented six Shakespeare plays on an apron stage in this theatre.

July 9-15. The Grenier de Toulouse, France, presented at the Paris International Festival, at the Théâtre Hébertot.

August. The American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Connecticut. A special production for matinee performances. Gwen Anderson as Beatrice, Francis Bethencourt as Benedick, Anthony Kemble Cooper as Don Pedro. Directed by John Burrell, designed by Robert Fletcher. A simple unit set was used, with most of the action taking place on the apron.

August 9-20. Brattle Shakespeare Festival, Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Jan Farrand as Beatrice, Jerome Kilty as Benedick. Directed by Richard Baldrige and Miles Morgan, sets by Robert O'Hearn, costumes by Robert Fletcher. Décor suggested Spain during

the Napoleonic invasion, costumes influenced by Goya; flamenco and regional Spanish dancing. Set was the patio of a large white Spanish house. In trick ending Don John pays off Dogberry and escapes with his life.

September. Players Incorporated, Washington, D. C., opened national tour. Dick Sykes as Benedick, Naomi Vincent as Beatrice. Directed by Rev. Gilbert V. Hartke, O.P. Set by James D. Waring, costumes by Joseph Lewis.

Autumn. Palo Alto Community Players, Palo Alto Community Theatre, California. Presented in the outdoor Patio Theatre. Directed by Ralph Schram. Carroll Alexander, set designer, Raymond Barrett, costume designer.

Othello

November 1954. Robert Academy, Robert College, Turkey.

November 8. The Queen's Theatre, Hornchurch, England. Directed by Stuart Burge.

December 10-11. Joint Services School for Linguists, Bodmin, England.

January 24, 1955. The Sheffield Repertory Company, The Playhouse, Sheffield, England.

February 17-22. The Loras College Players, Dubuque, Iowa. Thomas Ryan as Othello, Kathie Burke as Desdemona, Robert Kaliban as Iago. Directed by Rev. Karl G. Schroeder, setting by Rev. Edward P. Sullivan.

February 24-March 1. The Masquers of Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. Norman Amaker (a negro student) as Othello, Anne Cooper as Desdemona, Frederic Levy as Iago. Directed by Edwin Burr Pettet, setting and costumes by Charles Rogers, music by Michael Sahl. Performed on a functional stage free from denotations of place.

February 24-March 5. University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Directed by Frank Whiting. Special matinees for high school students in addition to regular performances.

April 5-May 1. Folkteatret, Oslo, Norway. Hans Jacob Nilsen as Othello, Ola Isene as Iago. Directed by Aud Richter. Othello presented as a negro, Iago "blond and bland".

April 14-16, June 16-18. Wyoming University Theatre, Laramie. Robert Shockley as Othello, Cecile Kochiros and Barbara Smith as Desdemona. Directed by Richard R. Dunham, set by J. M. Boyle, costumes by Charles M. Parker.

May 2-8. Hofstra College, Hempstead, Long Island, New York. Sixth Annual Shakespeare Festival. Hyman Enzer as Othello, Marjorie Darby as Desdemona, Walter Thomson as Iago. Directed by Bernard Beckerman, music by Herbert Deutsch. Performed on a replica of the stage of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, based on the findings in *The Globe Playhouse* by John C. Adams. Stage reconstruction planned and supervised by Donald H. Swinney. Other events of the festival included scenes from Shakespeare's plays by dramatic societies of Long Island high schools, a symposium, an exhibit, and a program of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music.

May 4-7. Brigham Young University Theatre, Provo, Utah. Harold Oaks as Othello, RaNae Eldredge as Desdemona, Fred Adams as Iago. Directed and designed by Harold I. Hansen, costumes by Winnifred Bowers. The production marked the first use of double turn-tables in the staging.

May 16-21. Little Theatre of Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, New York. Art Sweeney as Othello, Robert Merrick as Iago, Elizabeth Phillips as Desdemona. Directed by E. E. Griffith. Sets under the direction of James Ritter.

May 18-21. The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Connecticut. Marcellus Winston as Othello, Shaun La Roche as Iago, Allie-Lou Kurten as Desdemona. Directed by Russell A. Edwards, designed by John L. Kurten.

June 15-18. University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Revival of February production (above), directed by Frank Whiting.

July 1. Meridian Theatre, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. Scenes from *Othello* and *Macbeth* as the first of four Friday lunchtime programs of excerpts from Shakespeare during July. Kenneth McClellan as Othello, Reginald Jessup as Iago, Lesley Lloyd as Desdemona.

July 26-August 6. Brattle Shakespeare Festival, Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. William Marshall as Othello, Jerome Kilty as Iago, Jan Farrand as Desdemona. Directed by John Stix, sets by Robert O'Hearn, costumes by Robert Fletcher.

September 7-18. The Brattle Shakespeare Players, New York City Center, New York City. Production from the Brattle Shakespeare Festival in Cambridge (above) with the same principals. "Mr. Marshall is a handsome commanding figure . . . his voice if anything, has a little too much benediction in it. . . . As the evening mounts in fury, Mr. Marshall's wrath tends to become mechanical; he is, at the last, just one more raging voice in a noisy chamber . . . this is an 'Othello' that is bound to seem thin and bumpious to someone looking for majesty and eloquence." Walter Kerr, New York *Herald Tribune*.

Romeo and Juliet

October 1954. The Repertory Theatre, High Wycombe, England. Directed by Neil Gibson.

November 1. Nottingham Playhouse, England. Produced by John Harrison.

November. Northwestern University Theatre, Evanston, Illinois. Fred Posner as Romeo, Bari Prosterman and Mary Linn as Juliet, Jerry Orbach as Mercutio. Directed by Lee Mitchell, stage designer, H. Philippi, costumes by Ida Mae Goe, music by Robert Behrens.

December 1-3. The Drama Workshop, Emerson College, Boston, Massachusetts. Presented in a festival of outstanding plays as part of the seventy-fifth anniversary program of the college.

January 27-28, 1955. Central Missouri State College Players, Warrensburg, Missouri. William Neeley as Romeo, Rozanne Lewis as Juliet. Directed and designed by Henry G. Lee. Produced on an approximation of the Elizabethan stage with decoration in Italian Renaissance style applied to this background.

Opened February 1. La Comédie de l'Est, Centre Dramatique de l'Est, Strasbourg, France. Première of this production at Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, after which the play was offered in numerous cities and towns in Eastern France, through March 29. Its summer tour, listed below, opened June 8. Michel Bernardy as Romeo, Mireille Calvo-Platero as Juliet, Serge Bossac as Mercutio. Directed by Michel Saint-Denis, settings and costumes by Abd'El Kader Farrah. Translation by Pierre-Jean Jouve and Georges Pitoëff.

March 1-5. Kansas City University Playhouse, Kansas City, Missouri. Mary Jo Randall as Juliet, Jack Jensen as Romeo. Directed and designed by J. Morton Walker, costumes by Ruth Saunders-White, music by Marleen Forsberg. Played uncut. Setting adapted from Walter Hodges' recent research. Music played onstage by ensemble of violin, 'cello, two recorders, and virginals.

April 5-9. The Pasadena Playhouse, College of Theatre Arts, West Balcony Theatre, Pasadena, California. Van Michaels as Romeo, Sarah E. Collingwood as Juliet. Directed by Jack Lynn, setting by Ronald McLendon. The Playhouse has presented the entire Shakespeare canon.

April 18-25. The Susquehanna University Players, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania. Frank Chango as Romeo, Charlotte Sandt as Juliet. Directed by Alex R. Kleinsorg. Shakespearian consultant, Arthur H. Wilson. Settings by Allen Hazen and Kenneth Erdly.

April 20-23. University of California at Los Angeles. Philippa Scott as Juliet, John Stackpole as Romeo. Directed by William Melnitz, set and costumes by John Jones. The production offered twenty-four scenes on a revolving stage.

April 21-23. Taylor University Third Annual Shakespeare Festival, Upland, Indiana. Donald Phillips as Romeo, Rosalyn Coburn as Juliet, Joseph Kipfer as Mercutio. Directed by Elsa Buckner. Festival events included Shakespearian films, music, exhibits, readings, and discussions.

May 3-15. Arena Theatre, Rochester, New York. Stratton Walling as Romeo, Yvonne Clifford as Juliet, Sarah Scott as Nurse. Directed by Dorothy Chernuck, setting by Bertram Heckel, costumes by Marcelline Newell. Presented in contemporary costumes in arena style.

Opened June 10. Tour of La Comédie de L'Est, Centre Dramatique de L'Est, opened at Colmar, France, and presented thereafter out of doors in nine towns and cities through July 23. Michel Bernardy as Romeo, Mireille Calvo-Platero as Juliet, Serge Bossac as Mercutio. Directed by Michel Saint-Denis. Settings and costumes by Abd'El Kader Farrah. Translation by Pierre-Jean Jouve and Georges Pitoëff.

July 29-August 7. One of the plays presented at Idyllwild Arts Foundation Shakespeare Festival, Idyllwild, California. Directed by Howard M. Banks.

The Taming of the Shrew

October 30-31, 1954. Philaetheia, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

Opened November 30. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Ann Todd as Katherina, Paul Rogers as Petruchio. Directed by Denis Carey, costumes and scenery by Kenneth Rowell, music by Julian Slade. "A most extraordinary pantomime hotchpotch of fantastic costumes and décor. . . . But in the welter of 'business' the characters of Petruchio and Katherina are somewhat submerged. . . ." *Theatre World*, England.

November. Howard University, Washington, D. C.

December 3-4. University Players, University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, Burlington. Richard Ireland as Petruchio, Rosalind Faber as Katherina. Directed by Greg Falls.

December 3-4, 9-11. Wayne University Theatre, Detroit, Michigan. Robert Gray as Petruchio, Merylyn Lancaster as Katherina. Directed and designed by Richard D. Spear. Production emphasized the idea of the strolling players, featuring musical pantomimes to the music of Kabalevsky's "The Comedians". A unit set, with changes of locale indicated by "window-shades" in a triple arch unit. Changes were made to music by the players themselves.

February 15-28, 1955. British Empire Shakespeare Society, Derby Festival, England. With *King Lear*.

March 3-5. Miami University Theatre, Oxford, Ohio. Thomas McNally as Petruchio, Betty Rebholz as Katherina. Directed by Homer N. Abegglen, designed by Francis Sloat. An epilogue was added, and Sly was kept throughout in front of the curtain on an extension of the stage. A "gift performance" was presented to some eight hundred high school students within a radius of fifty miles of Oxford, a tradition followed since 1935.

Opened April 1. The Penn State Players, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania. Karl Held as Petruchio, Elizabeth Jones as Katherina. Directed by Walter H. Walters, settings and costumes by Russell G. Whaley. Presented in the round. To stress character, every actor was dressed alike in a basic costume, non-period, with accessories and properties which would catch the essence of the personality.

April 19-23. Yale University Department of Drama, New Haven, Connecticut. Phyllis C. Johnson as Katherina, Phil Bruns as Petruchio. Directed by Frank McMullan, costumes by Frank Bevan, setting by Jacqueline Beymer, music by Richard Gofton. A unit setting incorporating features of the Elizabethan stage, with inner and upper stages. Sly's bed on upper stage. The main play was presented as a dream of Sly's (Phil Bruns, who also played the character of Petruchio).

April 22-30, May 6, 7, 12. Montana Masquers, Montana State University, Missoula. Theron DeJarnette as Petruchio, Marjorie Lovberg as Katherina. Directed by LeRoy W. Hinz, Jeanene Schilling, costume designer. On tour to seven Montana towns April 22-30, on campus for May dates.

June 16-August. Sommerteatret, Frogner Park, Oslo, Norway. Rolf Sjøder as Petruchio, Ingebjørg Sem as Katherina. Directed by Alfred Solaas. Open-air stage.

July 22-September 4. One of the plays offered in repertory during this period at the San Diego National Shakespeare Festival, California. Dee Moore as Katherina, Michael Ebert as Petruchio. Directed by Craig Noel and presented on an Elizabethan stage. The production incorporated a few passages from *The Taming of A Shrew*.

July 25-30. Princeton Community Players, Princeton, New Jersey, at the Murray Dodge Theatre. A. Munroe Wade as Petruchio, Josephine Cornforth as Katherina. Directed by Thomas Potter and Mr. Wade. A modern-dress version.

July 26-31. Canal Fulton Summer Theatre, Canal Fulton, Ohio. Patricia Falkenhain as Katherina, Charles Macaulay as Petruchio.

September 5-17. Playwrights Theatre, Chicago, Illinois. Rolf Forsberg as Petruchio, Barbara Foley as Katherina. Directed by Mr. Forsberg, sets by Vernon Schwartz.

September. The Byre Theatre Company, St. Andrews, Scotland. Una McLean as Katherina, Roy Boucher as Petruchio. Directed by Mr. Boucher, set by Ronald Todd.

The Tempest

December 3-4, 1954. The Antioch Area Theatre presented the dramatic portion of the program when the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, Cincinnati, Ohio, gave the American première of Jean Sibelius' score for the play. Conducted by Thor Johnson.

Opened January 1955. A four-month tour, the Auckland Community Arts Theatre, New Zealand.

March 31, April 3. Concert reading at Brooklyn College, New York, for their Shakespeare festival. Arnold Moss as Prospero, Pat Breslin as Ariel, Christopher Plummer as Ferdinand. Version prepared by Mr. Moss.

May 18, 20, 22. Théâtre Graslin, Nantes, France. Jean Davy as Prospero, Jeanne Boitel as Ariel. Translation and adaptation by Pellissane, music by Henri Sauguet, choreography by Serge Lifar.

Opened June 1. The Folio Theatre Company, Open Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London. Robert Eddison as Prospero, James Maxwell as Ariel, Robert Atkins as Caliban. Directed by David William, costumes by Malcolm Pride. An outdoor production.

June 23-28. Buskins, Worcester College, Oxford, England. Julian Stanford as Prospero, Sally Page as Miranda. Directed by Roger Musgrave, stage design by John Read and Susan Clark, costumes by Marianne Breslau. Performed by the lakeside, a tree used for Ariel's haunt; at the end the cast sailed away over the lake in a home-constructed boat.

June 25. Théâtre de Verdure de Châlon sur Saône. With Odile Versois, Marina Vlady, and Grégoire Aslan. Also presented at Dijon at the Ducal Palace.

Opened July 26. One of the plays offered by the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Raymond Massey as Prospero, Roddy McDowall as Ariel, Christopher Plummer as Ferdinand, Jack Palance as Caliban. Directed by Denis Carey, scenery by Horace Armistead, costumes by Robert Fletcher, score by Ernst Bacon. In repertory through September 3. "Roddy McDowall plays . . . with genuine skill . . . gets around the stage with effortless agility, speaks his lines ardently and sings his catches well. . . . The whole performance [lacks] the harmony of an organized work. There is no central point of view. There is no basic style. There is very little musical speech. . . . The performance as a whole does not match the sweet lyricism and forgiving gentleness of the text." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*.

Timon of Athens

August 23, 29, 1955. One of five plays offered by the Oregon Shakespearean Festival Association, Ashland, Oregon. Richard T. Jones as Timon, Richard Graham as Alcibiades, Edward F. D'Arms as Ventidius. Directed by Robert B. Loper. The fifteenth Shakespeare festival at Ashland on an outdoor Elizabethan replica stage.

Titus Andronicus

Opened October 17, 1954. Artists' Theatre, London, England. Keith Matthews as Titus, Marjory Woodall as Tamora. Directed by P. A. Bucknell. Set in Medieval Japan.

Opened August 16, 1955. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Laurence Olivier as Titus, Vivien Leigh as Lavinia, Anthony Quayle as Aaron, Maxine Audley as Tamora. Directed and designed by Peter Brook, who also composed the music. Mr. Brook finds the play ". . . an austere and grim Roman tragedy: horrifying indeed but with a real primitive strength and achieving at times even a barbaric dignity." "Sir Laurence Olivier justly starts by playing Titus in the naturalistic vein . . . here is an old man still vigorous, but pushed about both by life and the wars. . . . Moments of great strength and pathos . . . grandeur and affection. . . ." Harold Hobson, *The Sunday Times*, London.

Troilus and Cressida

Opened October 1, 1955. The Schiller Theater, by its resident group, as part of the Festival of Berlin, Germany.

Twelfth Night

October 6, 1954. Belgian National Theatre, Brussels. René Hainaux as Malvolio, Catherine Fally as Maria, Charles Mahieu as Sir Toby, Serge Michel as Feste. Directed by Denis Carey, settings and costumes by Denis Martin. Adaptation by Jean Anouilh.

November 15-20. Queens Theatre Guild, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Directed by Anetta L. Wood, acted by students of Rutgers University. Donald B. Crabs, stage designer.

November 17-19. Department of Theatre, Smith College. Julia Tucker as Viola, Kenneth J. Rucinski as Malvolio. Directed by George Brendan Dowell, designed by Denton Snyder, costumes by Joan Blumberg.

November 25-26. The Classic Players, Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Eunice Nethery as Viola, Charles Vander Meer as Malvolio. Directed by Elizabeth Edwards.

Opened December 1. Hedgerow Theatre, Academy of Music Foyer, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Lee Stephans and Phyllis Nappe as Viola, Ronald Bishop as Malvolio. Directed by Jasper Deeter, scenery by Robert Chase, costumes by Dolores Tanner and Eleanor Kahoe. The stage has a six-foot apron and inside the regular draw curtain is a second one, in front of which are played street scenes. Behind that are draw curtains making a triangular room with benches, for drinking scene, etc. These drawn, reveal full stage, also in triangle, a platform center containing a form that is a sun dial in Olivia's garden, and reversed, Orsino's throne. "Permits rapid changes of scene and enables us to play the whole text uncut in something less than three hours." In repertory.

December 9-12. Macalester College Theatre, St. Paul, Minnesota. Directed by Hilding Peterson. Margaret Webster as guest of honor and visiting artist.

January 4-6, 1955. Bridgnorth Players, The Castle Hall, Bridgnorth, England. Joan Blakemore as Viola, Alfred Rudd as Malvolio. Produced by Bert Amies. Emphasis was placed on lighting, used instead of front curtain. The group's first Shakespearian production. "Although we were badly supported it was worth the effort and we intend to repeat more Shakespeare plays. . . ." Performance also presented at Birmingham January 29.

January 17-March 30. Riksteatret (Norwegian state-sponsored touring company). Vibeke Falk as Viola, Per Gjersø as Malvolio. Directed by Barthold Halle.

February 2-5. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, England. Diana Robson as Viola, Geoffrey Eagar as Malvolio. K. Edmonds Gateley, director.

February 15-19. The Pasadena Playhouse, West Balcony Theatre, California. Michele Reiner as Viola, David Johnstone as Malvolio. Directed by Jack Lynn.

February 17-20. Cornell Dramatic Club, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Jane Plunkett as Viola, Robert Machover as Malvolio. Directed by David G. Schaal, set by George P. Crepeau.

February 28. The Ipswich Theatre, Ipswich, England. Produced by Val May.

March 7-10. Virginia Players, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. Mary Boles as Viola, James Helms as Malvolio. Directed by David Wiley, scenery and costumes by David Weiss. A stylized production, with actors often making an entrance from the auditorium, where they spoke their lines to members of the audience. First night performance for local high school children.

March 15-18. Coronado Playmakers, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, State College. Judith Leslie as Viola, John Bellamy as Malvolio. Directed by Hershel Zohn, set by Ray Veitch; choreography by Jayne Partridge consisted of steps from the pavan and the galliard. Presented on a bare stage, with two pillars surrounded by benches. Backdrop was a skelton sketch of the Globe Playhouse.

Opened March 25. University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi. Ray Goodman as Malvolio, Doris Tulpin as Viola. Produced by Charles M. Getchell, directed and designed by Elizabeth L. Hilton. A dumb-show induction represented a group of itinerant players arriving at a rural inn, and they then presented the play in the inn yard, without intermission.

Opened April 12. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Sir Laurence Olivier as Malvolio, Vivien Leigh as Viola, Alan Webb as Sir Toby. Directed by Sir John Gielgud, settings and costumes by Malcolm Pride, music by Leslie Bridgewater. In repertory until November. "Sir Laurence Olivier is a superb comedian capable of those touches that take the breath away in admiration; and these touches were on show on all the edges of the part, lighting up some quite unemphatic phrase like 'Madam, I will' with all the chiaroscuro of character—pomposity, self-importance, servility." T. C. Worsley, *The New Statesman and Nation*, England.

April 27-29. William and Mary Theatre, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Shirley Stephenson as Viola, Jeremy Clulow as Malvolio. Directed by Althea Hunt, settings and costumes by Roger Sherman.

Opened May 3. The Shakespearewrights, Jan Hus Auditorium, New York City. Laurie Vendig as Viola, Thomas Barbour as Malvolio. Directed by Norman Peck, produced and designed by Donald H. Goldman. Incidental music by Ellen Bower. Offered in repertory with *The Merchant of Venice*.

May 5-7. The Little Theatre of the Rockies, Colorado State College, Greeley. Sidney Derington as Viola, Jack Schaeffe as Malvolio. Directed by Helen Langworthy, setting and costumes by Welby Wolfe. A revolving stage used "in such a way that the scene changes became an integral part of the action".

June 3-4. Eltham Little Theatre, Eltham, England.

June 10-12. Cornell Dramatic Club, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Jane Plunkett as Viola, William I. Oliver as Malvolio. Directed by David G. Schaal, designed by George P. Crepeau.

July 13-17. Manistee Summer Theatre, Manistee, Michigan. Directed by Madge Skelly.

Opened July 13. One of the plays presented at the Antioch Area Theatre Fourth Annual Shakespeare Festival. Nancy Brougham as Viola, Meredith Dallas as Malvolio. Directed by Arthur Lithgow, setting by Budd Steinhilber, costumes by Jeanne Button. In repertory through September 7.

July. The St. Austell Society Players, St. Austell, Cornwall, England. Margaret Barron as Viola, Jack Hunkin as Malvolio. Produced by Norman H. Lawrence, costumes by D. M. Brown. Presented on an arena stage. The group offered *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* in the two preceding years.

Summer. Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland. Orna Porat as Viola, Werner Hinz as Malvolio. Directed by Oskar Walterlin, settings by Teo Otto, Music by Boris Merisson. Translated into German by August Wilhelm v. Schlegel.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona

June 27-July 9, 1955. One of the plays offered by the Earle Grey Festival Company's 1955 Shakespeare Festival, presented out of doors in the Trinity College Quadrangle, Toronto, Canada. Leslie Moxon as Valentine, Edward King as Proteus, Paddy Gillard-Thomas as Silvia, Mary Godwin as Julia. Costumes in the Medici period of the Italian Renaissance.

The Two Noble Kinsmen

Opened August 10, 1955. One of the plays in the Antioch Area Theatre Fourth Annual Shakespeare Festival, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Nancy Brougham as Emilia, Ellis Rabb as Palamon, Richard Longman as Arcite. In repertory through September 11. The Festival has presented all but seven of Shakespeare's works. These will be offered in 1956.

The Winter's Tale

March 31-April 2, 1955. William Jewell College Players, Liberty, Missouri. Stewart Carson as Leontes, Shirlee Wille as Hermione. Directed by Austin Edwards. An annual Shakespeare play is presented. Each act opened with actors posed as puppets and brought to life by the character of Time. The symbols of the rose for innocence and the griffin for jealousy were used throughout. A striking program cover embodying these two motifs was designed by Kansas City artist Rod Cofran.

April 22-May 20. Syracuse University, Civic University Theatre, Syracuse, New York. Gerald Reidenbaugh as Leontes, Barbara Hush as Hermione. Directed by Sawyer Falk. Stage design by John Moore, costumes by Millicent Aurbach. Presented in celebration of International Theatre Month "both as an English play and as a comment on the reconciliation of opposed forces."

Opened May 10. The Bristol Old Vic, Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Rosemary Harris as Hermione, Michael Allinson as Leontes. Directed by John Moody, designs by Patrick Robertson.

Opened August 3. One of the plays presented by the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio, in their Fourth Annual Shakespeare Festival. Ellis Rabb as Leontes, Pauline Flanagan as Hermione. Directed by David Hooks, setting by Budd Steinhilber, costumes by Jeanne Button. In repertory through September 10.

Opened September 15. E.D.G. (a group of undergraduates from Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, and London Universities), The Irving Theatre, London. Douglas Livingstone as Leontes, Margaret Keep as Hermione. Directed by Jane Howell. Six performances followed by a short tour.



The Taming of the Shrew, Yale University. Directed by Frank McMullan, costumes by Frank Bevan, setting by Jacqueline Beymer incorporating the inner and upper stages of the Elizabethan theatre.



Romeo and Juliet. The Centre Dramatique de l'Est. The ball scene. Directed by Michel Saint-Denis, settings and costumes by Abd'El Kader Farrah. The production toured Eastern France.



Julius Caesar, The Cleveland Play House, Ohio. First forum scene. Staged in modern military dress at daytime performances for students on a unit set used in evenings for a production of *Hamlet*. Directed by Kirk Willis. Photo by Hastings-Willinger & Associates.

Reviews

The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History. By W. W. GREG. New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. xvi + 496. \$6.75.

Sir Walter Greg, our greatest authority on Elizabethan dramatic texts, here presents the most comprehensive account ever written of the making of the First Folio—from its inception, several years before it finally appeared, to its actual publication late in 1623. Yet the book is not merely, nor even primarily, a history. Its chief concern is with the *problems* that must be faced by all who work critically with Shakespeare's text, and with the solutions that have so far been attained. The statement in the Preface that "the work makes no pretense to originality" means only that the book is not intended as a report of discoveries newly made by the author. "All I have tried to do", Sir Walter continues, "is to set out the evidence and summarize on each point under discussion the view now generally held by scholars, or, if there is no commonly accepted opinion, the view that seems in best accord with the evidence." Because most of the views now held have been gradually developed since the turn of the present century, a good deal of attention is given to the original inquiries of Pollard and McKerrow, who (with Greg himself) were chiefly responsible for the triumph of "the new bibliography" over the less rigorous scholarship of Sir Sidney Lee. Hence the book is in some measure a synthesis of over fifty years of Shakespearian textual studies. Most essentially, however, it is a detailed critical analysis of the dominant present views—and by the scholar who is beyond all doubt best qualified to summarize and appraise them.

The book is in four sections: Planning the Collection (Chapter I), Questions of Copyright (Chapter II), Editorial Problems (Chapters III-V), and The Printing (Chapter VI); but the first two of these, as well as the first two of the three chapters devoted to editorial problems, are in the main only introductory to the detailed consideration of the kind of copy from which we may suppose each of the thirty-six plays in the Folio was printed. This, the exclusive subject of the more than 250 pages of Chapter V, is clearly the primary concern of the book as a whole; for the central problem of Shakespearian textual investigation is taken to be the determination of the nature and authority of the copy used by the printers of the substantive editions of the individual plays.

From what kinds of copy, then, were the plays in the First Folio printed? From a great many different kinds, of course; and "one cannot help being impressed by the variety of textual history revealed" (p. 431). Yet much of the variety is accounted for by relatively few plays (such as 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, *Troilus*, *Othello*, and *Lear*) which in one way or another represent departures from what may be regarded as the more usual courses of textual transmission and so present special problems. The ordinary courses not only are relatively simple but provide the basis for an eminently optimistic view. Despite the diversity of materials directly or indirectly made use of by the printers, the great bulk of our substantive texts are at no long remove from Shakespeare's autograph versions, the majority of these texts, indeed, being for the most part immediately derived from his "foul papers". As a general rule, Sir Walter's argument goes, Shakespeare's foul papers—a draft of "the play more or less as the author intended it to stand, but not itself clean or tidy enough to serve as a

prompt-book" (p. 106)—went to the theater. After examination by the Company and after, in many cases, at least a certain amount of annotation by the book-keeper, these papers were transcribed; and the transcript became not only the prompt-book but the Company's official version of the play, usually bearing at the end a record of the Master of the Revels' license to act it. The Players would not ordinarily, of course, be willing to part with their "allowed book" of the play: it would represent a more valuable property to them than the autograph foul papers—which, however, would be retained in their archives by way of insuring their interests should the official version of the play be lost or damaged or worn out or if, for any other reason, a new transcript of the original papers should be required. Hence foul papers are what the Players would be most likely to produce whenever they consented to the publication of a play, and it seems clear that most of the plays were first printed from materials emanating from the playhouse. Shakespeare's foul papers are accordingly what we should expect to be the immediate source both of the "good" quartos and, of course, of the texts first printed in the Folio. And this seems to be borne out by the texts themselves—except that the foul papers for a few of the plays appear not to have been available at the time the Folio was printed: several First Folio texts seem to have been printed either from the prompt-book or from a transcript of it. Plays that had already been published in quarto were in the Folio normally printed from a quarto, but often, and especially if the authenticity of its text was for some reason regarded as doubtful, only after the quarto had been collated with the Company's official prompt-book: the Folio editors were, according to their lights, conscientious men and "at times went to considerable trouble to provide their readers with what they believed to be an authentic text" (p. 431). Thus the copy for our substantive texts of Shakespeare's plays was, in most cases, the author's own foul papers; but the Folio version of a number of the plays was set from a quarto which, though itself based on foul papers, had been to some extent collated with a prompt-book; and a few Folio texts appear to reproduce the prompt-book only, or merely a transcript of it—such a transcript, rather than the prompt-book itself, being "perhaps always to be assumed" in these cases (p. 429).

This general view of the usual processes of textual transmission is admitted to be essentially pragmatic: external evidence supporting it is not abundant, but it is consistent with all that we certainly know and it accounts for much that is otherwise hard to explain in the extant texts. The internal evidence—the testimony furnished by the substantive texts themselves as to the nature of the copy from which they were printed—is also less conclusive than we would wish. It consists of generally minor peculiarities, both substantive and accidental: the "false starts" and textual tangles, the anomalous spellings, the ghost characters and mutes that are found in some of these texts; and the "warnings" for actors or properties to be in readiness, the appearance of actors' names duplicating those for some of the characters, and the like, that appear in others. For most of the plays, however, our clues must be sought chiefly in stage-directions. To these, accordingly, a great deal of attention is given: first in a preliminary general discussion in Chapter IV, then throughout Chapter V where a large part of the space allotted to each of the thirty-six plays is devoted to listing and analyzing its most significant directions.

So exhaustive, it would seem, is this survey—particularly on the question of copy—and so very great is the authority of the author, that this book will inevitably be regarded as definitive. And rightly so; but definitive only of what it professes to define: the "present" position. It is of the first importance to recognize

that the book is an appraisal of views commonly held in 1953, and not—as some will be sure to consider it—a compendium of final answers to all of the main questions that confront editors and other students of the text of Shakespeare. The book will of course have permanent value. Yet many of the problems it presents are still, as Sir Walter would be the first to insist, incompletely solved, and some of the solutions suggested will undoubtedly require reconsideration—sometimes even wholesale change—as new evidence is brought to bear on them. Of all this the author is well aware, as his Preface (dated October 1953) and its Postscript (June 1954) make clear. His own attitudes have never become fixed (“it must not be supposed”, he notes of Dover Wilson on p. 418, “that his judgement is so constant that it has stood still these thirty years and more”); and a comparison of the Summary to *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (2nd ed., 1951; pp. 183-189) with the Summary to Chapter V in the present work (pp. 426-432) will show how much Sir Walter’s position has changed—chiefly in response to evidence advanced by such scholars as Dr. Alice Walker and the late Philip Williams—in the last very few years. “For if the whole outlook of Shakespearian textual criticism has altered in the past fifty years”, he noted in 1953 (p. vi), “the rate of change has also been progressive and is now alarming. Indeed, I fear that despite our efforts some of that I have written here may be out of date before it gets into the reader’s hands.” New evidence has indeed been coming to light rapidly of late (though but little of it has yet been published), and it will undoubtedly lead to further changes of position with respect to *both* the main problems of Shakespearian textual study: the closely related problems of the nature of the copy behind substantive texts and the kinds of modification which it suffered in the printing-house.

Sir Walter gives relatively little attention to the second of these problems, and his final chapter on The Printing is essentially only a summary of Dr. E. E. Willoughby’s monograph of 1932. But a great deal of evidence not available in 1932 has recently been discovered and there can be no doubt whatever that Willoughby’s account of the printing of the First Folio will very soon require drastic alteration—and also that the revised account will entail the serious reconsideration of some of the views now held about the copy used by the Folio printers.

Work in other fields of bibliographical inquiry is likely to call for further reconsiderations. Present and continuing studies by Professor Bowers of the text of *Hamlet* and of certain other plays, as well as Dr. Walker’s various recent investigations, appear to have convinced both these scholars (and others) that some of the problems presented by substantive texts of Shakespeare are far more complex than is now supposed. Dr. Williams, pursuing a suggestion of Professor Bowers, came to believe that only a transcript intermediate between foul papers and prompt-book can adequately account for certain peculiarities characteristic of 2 *Henry IV*; and Bowers has recently argued that transcripts of other kinds may have to be supposed in other cases. Preliminary statements of some of these views are noticed—and rejected—by Sir Walter (see Note J, p. 168, and especially the final Postscript on pp. 467-468); but it would be rash to suppose that the final word has been spoken on these subjects. Or about compositors. Sir Walter notes approvingly the recent work on the individual compositors who first set Shakespeare’s plays. He remarks of Jaggard’s compositors A and B, for example, that “it is becoming clear that textual criticism will in future have to take serious account of their several characteristics” (p. 333). Yet he gives less attention to compositor study—and to its possible by-products—than these now seem to deserve. Both Bowers and Walker, as well as a number of other scholars, are at

present very much concerned with the peculiarities of the compositors who set our substantive texts of Shakespeare; but the really thoroughgoing studies that are needed have only been begun. When they have been completed we are likely to know far more than we do, not only about the several characteristics of the workmen who set type for Jaggard (and others), but about the copy from which they set it. For "when the varnish of the folio compositors has been removed", wrote Philip Williams in 1954, "the grain of the underlying manuscripts will be revealed in its true color. Then, and not until then, shall we have exhausted the evidence possible about the kinds of copy from which [certain Folio texts] were set" (see *Studies in Bibliography*, volume VIII, forthcoming). Williams thought that we should eventually be able to distinguish, on the basis of evidence produced by compositor study, the texts set from Shakespeare's autograph from those set from scribal transcripts, and even to assign the transcripts with some certainty to the scribes who made them. Some of this is perhaps over-optimistic; but the emphasis on our need for compositor study is not immoderate. If the Folio texts of both *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, for example, can be shown to be based on transcripts by the same scribe (as Williams believed), then the substantive texts of these plays do not represent "foul papers carefully prepared for production" (Greg, p. 427); and if, as he suggested in 1953 (see Greg, Note B on p. 387; also p. 468), Folio *Lear* was not set throughout from Q1 by Compositor B but by two compositors working from a transcript, then both Sir Walter's and Dr. Walker's accounts of Folio *Lear* will require modification—and perhaps also their accounts of *Hamlet* and *Othello*. In any event the further and more careful study of compositors is almost certain to teach us much that is not now known, and about more than one of the central problems presented by Shakespeare's text.

The book shows a few inexact references and misprints ("422" for "442" in a footnote on page 4, "187" for "185" on page 189, "166" for "168" on page 265, "accout" for "account" on page 350, and some others); and it may be noted that the facts about the 1630 edition of *Othello* (see p. 362 and Note E on p. 373) are imperfectly set out. While some of the peculiarities of the Q2 text that were once supposed to indicate manuscript origin are now known to come from an uncorrected forme of F, others are from an uncorrected forme of Q1: the whole of Q2 has been shown dependent upon earlier *printed* editions, not merely "the additions" that Q2 took from the Folio. But this, too, is a relatively small matter.

A final judgment may therefore be that *The Shakespeare First Folio* is at once a comprehensive survey of a half-century of Shakespearian textual scholarship by the most distinguished textual scholar of our time and a definitive account of the current climate of opinion; but that many of the problems discussed in it remain imperfectly solved and that some of the solutions it offers for consideration are certain to require modification in the near future as further evidence, and especially evidence of a strictly bibliographical kind, is brought to bear on them. This is not a judgment from which I can suppose the author himself would wish to dissent.

Postscript. This is not the place to advance new evidence, even as a footnote to the rather bold assertion above that the account of the printing of the Folio given by Sir Walter (following Willoughby) will soon require drastic alteration. Yet one small tidbit of hitherto unpublished evidence may here be acceptable, if only as an illustration of how a simple bibliographical fact may invalidate a major tenet of long-accepted theory (and, equally, as an example of the danger of basing inference upon *incomplete* bibliographical evidence). Much has been made of the appearance of a certain defect in the "satyr ornament" in some plays

(and the absence of this defect in others) in support of the thesis that work on the Folio was suspended for about a year between the printing of *Twelfth Night* (and *King John*) and of *The Winter's Tale* (see Greg, pp. 439-443). But the salient defect also appears in some copies of *Twelfth Night*. The injury that produced the defect took place during the printing of this play, and the state of the ornament in *The Winter's Tale* therefore offers no support whatever to the interruption inference. Other, and far more important, tenets of the currently accepted account of the printing are also being rendered suspect, or even downright untenable, by bibliographical evidence until recently unknown; and it can be hoped that this new evidence will be one day sufficiently complete to warrant a reconstruction of the printing-house history of the First Folio that will endure.

Pinecrest, Virginia

CHARLTON HINMAN

On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists. By FREDSON BOWERS. University of Pennsylvania Library, 1955. Pp. 131. \$3.50.

It is almost impertinent to say that the publication of these lectures, delivered on the Rosenbach Foundation by one who has thought on the questions at issue perhaps more profoundly than any other American scholar, is in their particular field an event of the first importance. Professor Bowers goes to the heart of the matter as regards theory and practice alike. In his first lecture, entitled "The Texts and Their Manuscripts", he faces up to what is now recognized to be the central problem of textual criticism in the Elizabethan drama, and though its two successors on "The Function of Textual Criticism and Bibliography" and "The Method for a Critical Edition" deal with more particular matters, the question of the nature of the manuscripts used as copy for the printed texts runs like a theme-song throughout and must excuse my concentrating attention upon it in what can only be a selective review.

The question, as a subject for study or serious speculation, is comparatively modern. In 1863 Clark and Glover showed themselves indeed aware of the problem, but forty years later Furness proved his limitations as a critic by remarking that controversy over "this whole question of texts, with their varying degrees of excellence . . . has gradually subsided until now it is fairly lulled to a sleep as grateful as it is deep." I remember that my own attention was first called to its importance—supposing that valid inference on the subject was possible—by a lecture delivered by Dover Wilson before the Shakespeare Association in 1923. In it, while recognizing the need to determine which First Folio plays were printed from manuscript and which from earlier quartos—a problem to which, as a bibliographer, my own study had been mainly directed—he argued that this was a comparatively simple and trivial point, and that what really mattered was what sort of manuscripts they were that lay behind the earliest texts folio and quarto alike. Unfortunately the lecturer went on to lose himself in speculation respecting the working over of Shakespearian manuscripts by other hands and the "assembling" of texts from actors' parts. But the seed was sown, and in his own edition of the plays Wilson cultivated it after a much wider and more fruitful fashion. That speculation of the sort deserved to be taken seriously, with however large a pinch of salt in individual cases, was made plain in 1930 when Chambers' crowning work devoted considerable attention to this subject. As early as 1909 Pollard had argued convincingly on general grounds that the playhouses were the only possible source from which dramatic manuscripts in any numbers could have been released for press; and it came gradually to be assumed, perhaps without much critical investigation, that these were as a rule

either prompt copies or else what were called "foul papers", a type of manuscript the existence of which had meanwhile come to be recognized. McKerrow in his *Prolegomena* of 1939 adopted an ambiguous attitude to the question. Evidently scared by Wilson's wilder speculations, he sought to exclude questions of textual origin from the purview of an editor, and yet was forced to concede the relevance of such investigations by the very fact of being himself the chief proponent of the "foul papers" hypothesis.¹ As to exactly what foul papers are, there appears to be some misapprehension. According to Professor Bowers (p. 107) I have "defined" them as an author's original drafts. I certainly never meant to do so. Doubtless I have used the expression "original draft" as a loose equivalent for "foul papers"—one grows tired of repetition—but when I have sought to be explicit I have described them as containing the text substantially in the shape in which the author intended it to stand, but not in fair enough form to serve as a promptbook. I have never intended to imply that behind the foul papers delivered to the players there may not have been rougher drafts, or that the degree of "foulness" may not have varied considerably in different cases. A fluent and practised writer, working on a detailed "plot" or scenario, may have been able to produce straight away a text that might need only normal theatrical editing to fit it for production; in the case of others composition was doubtless more laborious and may have involved repeated rewriting: much too would depend on the character of the play itself. What Shakespeare could produce as a draft we may, I believe, see in the famous three pages of *More*, and I imagine that it was something of this sort that he often handed to the company. What was, one supposes, characteristic of "foul papers" was that they retained recognizable evidence of free composition and that they were not in a tidy enough condition to serve the prompter.

But the simple classification of foul papers and prompt copy was not destined to endure. Students soon noticed individual differences between texts of generally similar character, and in a legitimate endeavor to account for apparent anomalies, postulated ever fresh varieties of copy. In their enthusiasm they seem to me to have sometimes forgotten the principle of Occam's razor, but they would doubtless reply that the multiplication was necessary. Professor Bowers enumerates thirteen several types of manuscript and promises others when his students have completed investigations in hand—a rather daunting prospect. It is, of course, all to the good that such investigations should be made, and it is to be hoped that when conclusions have been tested and collated some sort of intelligible pattern will emerge. Meanwhile the outlook seems chaotic.

"Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said, *Let Newton be!* and all was light."
—It did not last: the Devil howling *Ho!*
Let Einstein be! restored the status quo.

This is not to say that recent investigations and speculations are mistaken any more than that the theory of relativity is fallacious. We have seen the same thing happen in other departments of science. A generation or two ago the discovery of the proton and electron seemed to open the way to an intelligible account of the ultimate constitution of the universe; but with further discovery of the neutron, the positron, the meson, and now the anti-proton, the picture has dissolved

¹ I fancy McKerrow intended to allow consideration of the immediate source of a printed text while holding its earlier history to be too remote to affect an editor's procedure. But he failed to make his position clear, and no such distinction is, of course, critically valid. Bowers has discussed the matter more fully in last summer's issue of this journal.

into the mists of quantum mechanics and waves of probability. If this can happen in the exalted realm of physics, we must not complain if in our own humbler field things refuse to order themselves according to the heart's desire. But I confess that in spite of its great interest I find the present book rather depressing, for it suggests that the essential foundations for a critical edition of Shakespeare are more remote than one had allowed oneself to hope.

There is one matter on which I must join issue with Professor Bowers. While admitting, of course, the possible use of foul papers as printer's copy,^{1a} he has been led by his investigations to restrict their importance, and in particular evidently believes that the manuscripts Shakespeare handed over to the company were rather of the nature of fair copies, except in the case of *Timon*.² But here he is faced with what, since Pollard wrote, has been the accepted interpretation of a statement by Shakespeare's fellow actors Heminge and Condell: "His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers." The interpretation must therefore be refuted. Professor Bowers writes: "Pollard started by taking this statement as an indication that the two men were familiar with Shakespeare's autograph, a likely enough assumption for the later plays, though not for the earlier. However, he then pressed this remark far beyond its evidential value, and into the realm of pure speculation, by adding the further assumption that this praise would have no meaning if the papers thus received had been anything but Shakespeare's original drafts, and hence Heminge and Condell could not have been referring to fair copies. In this far-reaching extension of the words beyond any value as external evidence . . ." and so forth (pp. 25-26). And later (p. 27): "We may well be suspicious of any such precise application, for the compliment seems to have been a part of literary tradition, as evidenced by the fact that Moseley, the publisher of the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio, appropriated it for his authors."³ This magisterial and tendentious pronouncement cannot be allowed to pass. We may suspect that what we are told of the unblotted condition of Shakespeare's papers is exaggerated—"scarcely" is an elastic term—and we may allow that they were probably not all of a kind; but unless a substantial proportion of those papers showed manifest signs of free composition, such as careful fair copies would not, to appeal to them as proving the author's ease of utterance would be absurd. This is what Pollard saw and what Professor Bowers apparently does not. Moreover, we have Ben Jonson's word for it that this was no casual flower of speech but an habitual boast of the players. And unless Professor Bowers can point to earlier examples of the like claim, what business has he to assert that in making it Heminge and Condell were merely following a fashion, rather than setting one that Moseley followed a quarter of a century later?

As a critic Professor Bowers is always penetrating and usually convincing. As a writer he would be far more effective if he could be persuaded to adopt a more straightforward style and avoid a parade of technical and pseudo-scientific language. "Ur-state" (p. 83) is, it is true, an isolated horror, but it is symptomatic. Why write "on the theoretical level" (p. 50) when all you mean is "theoretically"? or "It is a present-day phenomenon that" (p. 69) when "Today" will

^{1a} Of the ten plays of Dekker that he has so far edited, he finds foul papers behind six of the original editions.

² Like Chambers I regard *Timon* as exceptional and see no reason to suppose the state of the text revealed in the Folio print to represent a normal stage in Shakespearian composition. In any case the copy cannot have been foul papers in the sense in which I have defined the term.

³ This is not strictly true: Moseley was speaking of Fletcher only.

serve? or "to straighten out the metrics" (p. 62) when you mean "improve the metre"? Why ape chemical terminology by writing "isolated" instead of "detected" (p. 43)?—"authority can be isolated in only one edition" (p. 91) appears to mean no more than "only one edition can claim authority". Nor even are critical terms always correctly applied. In discussing the descent of manuscripts, "archetype" is used as synonymous with "original" (p. 93)—we even read of "the archetype of Shakespeare's autograph papers" (p. 95)! Properly an archetype is the latest common ancestor of all extant manuscripts and may be at many removes for the original. There is also, I believe, essential confusion of thought in the discussion of what is rather perversely termed a "synthetic" text (pp. 68ff.). Such pretentious writing may impress a bewildered audience, it will not help serious readers to treat Professor Bowers with the seriousness he deserves.

Expression is often fanciful or clumsy and lack of precise thinking leads to shaky syntax: "the delicacy of the problem pyramids sharply" (p. 9); "A superficial air of plausibility inhabits this proposition" (p. 48); "No previous editor has had the facts to be aware that . . ." (p. 44); "an appeal to probability of opinion" (p. 58); "The reason . . . might lie in a hypothesis" (p. 64); "There is no essential difference in emending the text from a reading common to six editions . . . than in a play which might exist in only one edition" (p. 77); "has quite altered the eclectic approach . . . to such a degree" (p. 83); on p. 51 "in so far as" should be "in that", on p. 125 by readings "materialized from" is meant "derived from"; and what are "mutual characteristics" (p. 101) and "editorial evidence" (p. 115)? "Monogenous" and "polygenous" are terms introduced by McKerrow, and they have their use; but the sentence, "When texts are polygenous in descent, consistency of assumption as a basis for decision on any individual reading is well-nigh impossible between the heads of two independent series of texts" (p. 91), is one from which I can extract no meaning whatever. Others like "Moreover, trouble in the printer's decipherment of a composing author's careless handwriting has often been avouched as the basis for assuming error in the second quarto of *Hamlet*, as an example of another editorial approach" (p. 19), or "The whole question turns on the single point of the assignment as much as possible by non-literary means, of degrees of authority for texts in whole or in part, this estimate thereupon being used as a referent for consistent assumptions on which eclectic editing can be based" (p. 95), may be amenable to analysis, but one wonders what an audience made of them.

The subject-matter of Professor Bowers' lectures is often difficult enough without being wrapped in a fog of verbiage. Only to those with a natural gift of style does simple and direct expression come easily; by most of us they are achieved, if at all, at the price of constant vigilance and revision, but if the matter is worth while, the effort, however painful, is surely worth making. Professor Bowers, one might think, has taken no less pains to write obscurely.⁴ If what I have said is unwarrantably impertinent, it at least springs from anxiety lest important work should be rendered nugatory through superficial affection and carelessness.

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Hamlet: Father and Son. By PETER ALEXANDER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. [viii] + [190]. 15s.

The scope of this fresh and provocative study is belied by the misplaced concreteness of its title. Granted that the father-son relationship is fundamental

⁴ It is only when trying to be impressive that he adopts this distressing manner: a recent article in *PMLA* on "Hamlet as Minister and Scourge" for example can be read with pleasure.

to *Hamlet*, and that *Hamlet* is the most problematic play ever written by Shakespeare or by any other playwright, the problem raised and illuminated here is at once more specific and more general. It starts from a particular reading of a certain passage; but, before Peter Alexander has rounded out his commentary, he has touched upon some of the largest questions within the concentric spheres of esthetic theory and ethical thought. He has pertinently chosen his subject to fit his occasion—the delivery of the Lord Northcliffe Lectures at University College, London, in 1953. He has found an area of discussion near at hand and yet very widely extended, “a common reference point” between the Shakespearean scholar and the public audience, in the recent film production of Sir Laurence Olivier. Focussing therefore on *Hamlet* in its most popular manifestation, Professor Alexander is open-minded but by no means uncritical. He has the courage to begin by diverging from Granville-Barker, for whom interpretation was presentation. It has taken more bookish Shakespearians many generations to understand the controlling importance of stage performance; now that such understanding has been reached, there may be some danger of overemphasis; and it may indeed prove salutary to reaffirm, with Hamlet himself, the ascendancy of the poet over the player.

Professor Alexander's point of reference reminds us, at the very outset, that the theatrical interpreter is also indebted to the literary critic; for Olivier's *Hamlet* opens with a subtitle announcing that we are about to witness the tragedy of a man who could not make up his mind. This, of course, is an all but discredited commonplace of romantic criticism, based rather more on the introspection of Goethe and Coleridge than on the actual behavior of Shakespeare's protagonist. On the screen, however, it is supported by a caption quoted from the play, some dozen or sixteen lines which are usually cut in acting versions, beginning

So, oft it chances in particular men
That, for some vicious mole of nature in them . . .

and ending, quite opportunely, just before the precarious “dram of eale”. Professor Alexander does not go on to criticize the film in any detail; if he did, he would doubtless concede that it does not live up to its professed conception of an ineffectual hero; on the contrary, it plays up the action so flamboyantly and abridges the contemplation so relentlessly that the figure of Hamlet coalesces with the lamented image of Douglas Fairbanks. But Professor Alexander is after bigger game than Sir Laurence. The aim of this “friendly controversy” is nothing less than to reconsider—and possibly to refute—that tangled series of critical assumptions, involving “The Substance of Tragedy” and “The Heroic Tradition”, which find a locus in the cited speech.

It is not hard to put the speech back into its context, where it fills in a suspenseful period of watching and waiting for the Ghost (I. iv. 23-36). Hamlet is generalizing about the tendency of human beings to generalize; and in this case the line of generalization proceeds from the alcoholism of Claudius to the repute of the Danes abroad, and toward the notion that characters otherwise admirable may suffer condemnation through

the stamp of one defect,
Being nature's livery or fortune's star.

These sententious observations apply, in some measure, to all men; insofar as they can be applied to Hamlet, they may retrospectively be tinged with dramatic irony. Furthermore, loose and frequent citation has not only laid them

down as a basis for Hamlet's own character but constructed thereon a whole ethos of tragedy. The defect that Hamlet mentions has been equated with the Aristotelian concept of *hamartia*, and Shakespeare has been claimed as an exponent of the classical doctrine that tragic retribution is the invariable consequence of some inherent moral flaw. That view, which receives its standard exposition in S. H. Butcher's treatise on the *Poetics*, is today a moot question among classicists, and has long been challenged by Ingram Bywater's alternative rendering in terms of mistaken judgment. *Hamartia*, as Aristotle described it, merely qualifies heroic perfection—and perhaps acknowledges Plato's suspicion that art was unheroic. Even for Aristotle's chief example, Sophocles, its significance has been recently minimized in a penetrating revaluation by Cedric H. Whitman.

All too many of Shakespeare's commentators have, in this respect, played the part of Job's comforters. Rather than face the problem of evil, the timeless fact that good men often suffer, they have scrutinized Shakespeare's heroes for defects which would justify their misfortunes and reaffirm the providential workings of cosmic design. Wishfully, they have presupposed that man is both the master of his fate and an object of supervision on the part of the gods to a much greater extent than either science or theodicy would encourage us to believe. Hence the analysis of Shakespearian drama has taken a somewhat casuistic turn, and has compounded neo-Hegelian rationalization with quasi-Aristotelian terminology. The leading proponent of this eclectic method has been A. C. Bradley, toward whose superimpositions Professor Alexander is respectful but clear-sighted. He might have reinforced his cogent argument by appealing *a fortiori* to Thomas Rymer, whose very attack upon Shakespeare was based on his own moralistic concern for poetic justice: Desdemona's handkerchief was the notoriously insufficient cause of her suffering. In combating the influence of such preconceptions, Professor Alexander surrounds his discussion with an imposing and enlivening range of authorities, from Saxo Grammaticus to Raymond Chandler and from Werner Jaeger to Sir Donald Tovey. But for his more positive efforts, "the works of Shakespeare viewed in their historical relationships" comprise "the only relevant evidence". Reading them in the dry light of a naive Elizabethan didacticism, regarding their protagonists as self-condemned "slaves of passion", he would reject as pseudo-historical.

In shifting the emphasis from *hamartia* to *areté*, from the detection of the hero's faults to the admiration of his virtues, and especially to the central effect of catharsis, Professor Alexander equilibrates a theme which has been conspicuous for the one-sidedness of its previous interpretations. It is not surprising that those have tended to oscillate from one extreme to the other, given the basic polarity of the play. Scholars have sometimes attributed this to a cleavage between primitive material and sophisticated treatment; men of letters, notably T. S. Eliot, would discern some sort of obstacle between the dramatic medium and the dramatist's private emotions. Professor Alexander locates the conflict where it surely belongs, in the characterization of Hamlet himself. Where else would the pale cast of thought wrestle with the native hue of resolution? Even Hamlet's original chroniclers wondered whether to present him as a paragon of wisdom or of bravery. By allowing then for a union of opposites, the interplay of contrasting emotions within a single magnanimous temperament, Professor Alexander resolves the intrinsic contradiction. It is a subjective resolution, which accords with the findings of modern psychology as well as with the insights of Dostoevsky and Proust. As for the objective issue, "there is a conflict between new exigencies and old pieties", between a humanistic present and a

heroic past, concretely embodied in the obligations that the young intellectual of Wittenberg has inherited from the old soldier of Elsinore. "The play dramatizes the perpetual struggle to which all civilization that is genuine is doomed"—man's need "to be humane without loss of toughness."

Thus, while suggesting a psychological framework worthy of *Hamlet's* unique complexity, Professor Alexander broadens its renewed meaning for our time. One cannot but wish that some of his thoughtful suggestions had been more precisely formulated and more fully elaborated; yet, by his somewhat glancing approach to the play, he has managed to take side-glances in several other important directions; and to wish he had said more, about a series of topics already so thoroughly canvassed and so extensively discussed, is high commendation. If an occasional sentence looks more awkward in print than it must have sounded on the platform, the book retains also the lecturer's animation, his unflagging pedagogical common sense, and his pithy anecdotal Scottish humor. Though its organization is discursive, its excursions are never irrelevant; they cover a good deal of ground and always come home, with a new pertinence, to the fundamentals. It is more than twenty-five years since Professor Alexander re-examined the bad quartos of Shakespeare's histories; and though the disintegrators have lately been re-emerging from the rocks, their Geiger-counters have not disclosed any serious rifts in his solid contribution to textual scholarship. Now, in the parallel field of interpretative criticism, he has again cleared densely obstructed ground. In the pseudo-science to which the Germans have given the dismal name of Hamletology, nothing is more needed than clarification. What Professor Alexander's monograph did for the integrity of *Henry VI* his present lectures may well do for the unity of *Hamlet*.

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The Mutual Flame. By G. WILSON KNIGHT. New York: Macmillan Company, 1955. Pp. xi + 233. \$3.75.

Mr. Knight appears to have read everything—or summaries of everything—published on Shakespeare's sonnets, though with little discrimination. And so he praises the excellent work of T. G. Tucker, but finds about as much to praise in the theories, tenuous or absurd, of Ranjee Shahani, Walter Thomson, Samuel Butler, Charles Downing, and their like. In the sonnets, too, he discovers subjects and ideas of which their maligned author could never even have dreamed.

There are occasionally terse, direct statements in his long discussion, one of them being that nobody knows when the sonnets "were written, to whom they are addressed, nor even if they are certainly autobiographical". But although Mr. Knight refuses to identify the friend, the dark woman, the rival poet, he inclines to the belief that the sonnets deal with autobiography, and, as we have them, are a revision of lyrics written early in Shakespeare's London life. "Even if we date both them and the experiences they record somewhere late in the 90's, we can hardly suppose that Shakespeare had lived in London for ten years or so without any previous experiences of the kind." Indeed they are probably "a deliberate working out, for his own satisfaction, of certain recurring sexual and artistic problems of the poet's life"; they did not antedate Shakespeare's drama but are "central to it". "The facts of the story, in so far as they are facts . . . were indeed early", but "Shakespeare, like Drayton, revised or rewrote many of his pieces later." Those featuring the dark woman are either "true records" or at

least possess "a high degree of personal validity"; those to the male friend may be a factual record, and "they at least hold some kind of inward and spiritual authenticity."

From beginning to end, then, the sonnets deal with "sexual vice". The poet's relationship with his friend may or may not have "remained idealistic and non-physical", but that with the dark woman was unquestionably "illicit and sinful". For the boy he may perhaps have had only a "homosexual idealism", and the homosexuality is comparatively respectable because it means "having a sexual propensity for persons of one's own sex" (yet in Sonnet 20 Shakespeare frankly says, "I am sorry that normal sexual intercourse between us is impossible"); but for the woman he had "heterosexual passion, or lust". At times, too, his jealousy of the boy and the woman make him function as "a female partner". It was, in short, his "perverted", "non-sexual, yet sexually impregnated, adoration for a boy" that made him a poet. Happily he lived in Elizabeth I's day. Had he lived in Elizabeth II's to be treated by physicians and psychiatrists, he would no doubt have been cured of his abnormal, bisexual tendencies and, as a result, would never have written a play—he would have been cured of "all desire for dramatic composition". Happily, too, "having in his idealised passion for the beloved boy so touched the bisexual heart, or goal, of human striving, Shakespeare could write with ease of great affairs."

Countless references are dragged in to Nietzsche, Wordsworth, Homer, Byron, Plato, Marvell, Aeschylus, Racine, Marlowe, and other writers, apparently to enforce the conclusion that the sonnets represent "the feminine aspect of Shakespeare's soul", and are hence "real enough", and that they "describe steps on the path towards the creative integration", recording "a progress through the bisexual adoration and integration to an eternal insight, or intuition."

Such words full of sound and fury ignore the fact that, as the greatest of dramatists, Shakespeare could scarcely have written a sonnet not giving an impression of sincerity and autobiography. For all we know, he may have been writing fiction. At any rate, he was a sensible man, a man of business, who would have been unlikely to reveal to the public his adulterous habits, much less insistently to emphasize, even to "private friends", his homosexual practices at a time when they invited the penalty of death.

As for the "metaphysical problems" of the sonnets, they are plainly to be answered "through the symbolism" of "The Phoenix and the Turtle," which, with its associated verses in Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr*, is thereupon explicated in some eighty pages. The explication calls for dozens of further references to Hesiod, Spenser, Herodotus, Donne, Castiglione, T. S. Eliot, Michelangelo, Keats, Sir Osbert Sitwell, and anybody else who comes to mind, and finally discloses that the Phoenix is "Shakespeare's greater poetry, rising from the ashes of the love from which it draws its inspiration."

The Mutual Flame, written in the style and manner for which its author is more or less famous, does cast some uneasy light on the creative processes behind poetry. But it is based on few facts, and on the whole its words, words, words, fail to make visible the darkness of the sonnets.

Harvard University

HYDER E. ROLLINS

William Shakespeare. By JOHN MASEFIELD. New York: Macmillan; London: William Heinemann (1954). Pp. 184. \$1.75.

This volume is a complete revision and expansion of the author's *William Shakespeare*, published in 1911, as a part of The Home University Library. In

the early work Masfield recorded only his subjective responses to the works and his very personal interpretations. Since he wrote this extended critical essay when at the height of his poetic power, the early volume is a little treasure house of sudden insights and penetrating observations, boldly phrased.

The revised volume is a less happy achievement. Masfield has introduced among its pages a good deal of historical and critical material, unfortunately most of it outmoded and years ago superseded. This bow to outdated scholarship is his unspoken announcement that in this book the critic is to dominate and restrain the poet. Consequently he has eliminated many raptures of judgment and toned down and modified others to the detriment of the charm of the original study.

For example, he begins his original reaction to *Love's Labour's Lost* as follows:

The play gives the reader the uncanny feeling that something real inside the piece is trying to get out of the fantasy. The lip-love rattles like a skeleton's bones.

This passage and many others like it do not appear in the new volume. Instead Masfield begins his treatment of the same play as a scholarly critic of 1911 should have done with Lyly and his manner of writing and with an examination of Shakespeare's apparent attraction to that form of "literary dandyism". Yet Masfield seems uncomfortable in his new critical role. At least he soon abandons it to record one of his adventures among the characters of this Shakespearean masterpiece. Of Rosaline he writes:

The lady figures in other early work, notably in the Sonnets—The references plainly allude to the same person (as Rosaline). Death hath closed that Helen's eye. While she lived, she was a woman and even with a man let us not beat the bones of the buried.

This comparison of passages in the two versions serves as a fair example of Masfield's way with his revisions.

Many of his judgments, though poetically phrased, reflect other critical attitudes of approximately the year 1911 and long since abandoned. His opinion of *Troilus and Cressida*, now generally regarded as a masterpiece of a special sort, remains as low as it was in 1911. To Masfield the drama "seems the crudest, least finished and least effective play in the canon. As it stands, it has little life and no meaning; it is formless and gloomy."

His view of Jaques, the satirized malcontent traveller lately returned from Italy, sounds queer today. He writes:

Jaques, who has in him much of the grace of Benedick in *Much Ado about Nothing*, also some of the charm of Hamlet—seeking wisdom and finding that wisdom has no place in a social scheme where the Fool has office and uniform.

He thinks that Shakespeare found *Henry IV*, Part I "hard work and dreary going". He adds a new intimacy to the now generally rejected assumed close relationship of Prospero to Shakespeare by asserting:

We need not doubt that *The Tempest* was the poet's farewell to the theatre and to his art, nor that he asked (or was invited) to play the part of Prospero.

Misleading as these perverse judgments would be to the general reader of the plays, they will not lead him so far astray as many of Masfield's essays at

scholarly statement. He persists in regarding the poet as the son of a butcher and himself as a practicing butcher, in assuming that his parents were certainly "practicing Protestants", in accepting as truth that in the poet's early years his father became poverty-stricken. The certainty of all these statements is now widely questioned.

He thinks *Henry VI*, Part 2, was remade by Shakespeare and Marlowe from a play "by the poets among whom were Peele and Greene". (The reference is to *The First Part of the Contention*, now known to be a bad quarto of *Henry VI*, Part 2.) He assumes that the dates of all the early plays cannot be determined. He believes *King Richard II* "to be Shakespeare beginning upon the main work of his early years, the Historical Plays." He makes the curious statement that the *Histories* that first painted Richard III as a monster "are the work of the usurper, Henry VII." He thinks *The Merry Wives*, which we now know was presented at some celebration of the Order of the Garter, was put on "before the Court at night". He thinks that the now universally recognized badly memorized bad first quarto of *Hamlet* was "with slight additions and omissions the text usually played by Shakespeare's Company."

These scholarly limitations and critical lapses disfiguring Masfield's book make it an inappropriate introduction to any study of the Bard. But a reader familiar with at least some recent Shakespearean biography and criticism by recognizing and ignoring the occasional misinformation, can find much delight in Masfield's sensitive responses to the triumphs of the greatest of his dramatic and poetic fellows.

Columbia University

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

Science and Religion in Elizabethan England. By PAUL H. KOCHER. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1953. Pp. xii + 340. \$6.00.

In examining the interplay of science and religion in Elizabethan England, Mr. Kocher has illuminated very clearly the intellectual milieu in which the Elizabethan poets and dramatists moved. But the reader should not look for a discussion of these topics in the literature of the period. Such is not Mr. Kocher's purpose; rather with great learning he conducts us through an extensive amount of material which he has well assimilated and organized.

In the words of the preface the first four chapters deal "with the problems of knowledge in so far as they are connected with Elizabethan science and religion". The next two treat the concepts of Providence and of Satan. Chapters seven, eight and nine deal with cosmology (Ptolemaic and Copernican) "and the remaining chapters cover in one aspect or another the multiple doctrine of man the composite, who unites in himself the two orders of matter and spirit."

To this reviewer the larger issues dealt with in the first nine chapters—roughly two-thirds of the book—are much more rewarding than the remainder, which is concerned with more limited subjects. For an understanding of the age and its literature it is important to realize the basic religious attitude toward knowledge: man is composed for truth and although the Fall has corrupted his perception of spiritual truth, his perception of the physical world has not been seriously impaired. Equally significant is the intellectuals' attitude toward the popular conceptions of Providence and Satan. The common man wanted a personal God rather than natural law and so in the popular view miracles still occurred, even though the clergy held that the age of miracles was past. Similarly the intellectuals were finding rational explanations for various happenings that

had been generally regarded as the works of Satan and/or witches. Gradually Satan was limited to the spiritual world and as Mr. Kocher observes "when Satan lost the world of matter, gradually for many minds he altogether ceased to matter."

The whole question of Copernican cosmology with the implications of an infinite rather than a finite universe and the realization that the supralunary realms were as subject to mortality as the sublunary is both more important and more interesting than the question of whether all physicians were atheists.

One caveat will occur to many readers of this book. Mr. Kocher is dealing with intellectual and not popular beliefs and further, as he quite rightly observes, the Elizabethans—poets or peasants—were eclectic. Therefore when one seeks to apply what he has learned from Mr. Kocher to popular literature such as the drama of the period, it will be well to remember that ideas accepted by one group may be rejected by, or unknown to, the ordinary citizen. After all in many ways we still do operate on the assumption of a geo-centric universe: we all refer to the rising and setting of the sun, rather than to the rotation of the earth.

Yale University

CHARLES TYLER PROUTY

Cymbeline (New Arden Edition). Edited by J. M. NOSWORTHY. Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. lxxxiv + 224. \$3.85.

It is one of the pleasant features of the new Arden Shakespeare that it retains the format of the original series. The present volumes thus not only remain physically gratifying to use but also suggest a continuation of the tradition of reasonable and sensible editorial practice which came to be associated with their predecessors. (Commenting on some lively theorizing by Fleay and Ingleby, Dowden had remarked in the Introduction of the original Arden *Cymbeline*, "I fear that I have no faculty for this kind of speculation.") One has only to read the preface and the opening paragraphs of his edition of *Cymbeline* to sense that Mr. Nosworthy is aware of the virtues of this tradition. And, in general, he approaches the customary editorial problems in the temperate spirit of a man who does not propose to perform editorial miracles and who will not be easily taken in by scholarly sleight of hand.

Cymbeline presents no unusual textual problems, and the discussion of the text merely summarizes briefly certain speculations of Sir Walter Greg and of Dr. Alice Walker concerning the source of copy—whether a prompt book or a scribe's transcript of foul papers. But these hypothetical reconstructions are not supported by any detailed evidence, and in the end they appear not to carry much real weight; the editor's confidence in the reliability of the text actually rests on the conviction that "Heminge and Condell seem . . . to have dealt faithfully with Shakespeare and with his public" (p. xiii). Mr. Nosworthy's qualities as an editor appear more fully in his treatment of the date and sources; the relevant evidence is clearly presented and the conclusions undogmatically stated. Occasionally, in the interest of including all possible supporting data there appears a tendency to introduce matter of doubtful value. For instance, one of the interesting features of the discussion of sources is the strong case which Mr. Nosworthy makes out for the prose tale of *Frederyke of Jennen* as a source, a possibility first proposed by George Steevens; but the case gains no real additional support from the casual suggestion that "the general commercial tone of the prose tale . . . may, in part, account for Shakespeare's frequent use of cash imagery" (p. xxiii).

To a serious reader the notes are perhaps the most vital feature of a critical edition since he must depend upon them, rather than on the Introduction, to render the play intelligible, and in this respect the Arden editions have always been generous. Ideally the notes should be full enough to anticipate the reader's difficulties but at the same time not so plentiful as to prove burdensome. This is a difficult balance to achieve. With the passage of time the need for elucidation increases, and the continuation of scholarly debate on crucial issues has produced around difficult points accretions of editorial opinion not all of which are inspired or useful (for instance, Furness' note on "How, how?" reported at I.ii.45, and the dubious speculations about the actor who might have played the First Gaoler and Cloten summarized at V.iv.1). The conscientious editor must feel a compulsion to demonstrate his thoroughness and to offer the reader all available help, but he also has the responsibility of deciding what to spare the reader as well as what to tell him. Because of the compact, metaphorical, elliptical style of *Cymbeline*, many lines elude understanding, and at times even pose the question of whether we have to do with a puzzling phrase or a corrupt text. All such lines need annotation, and Mr. Nosworthy does not fail to call attention to previous readings, make choice among them, and sometimes offer a reading of his own. Yet even the most dogged reader may wonder why he should be stopped at the line, "her beauty and her brain go not together" (I.iii.28), to be instructed that "her beauty exceeds her intelligence (or judgment)". At times an observation is made without a full enough indication of its implications; for instance, in what sense does Posthumus' parting from Imogen recall the parting of Troilus from Cressida (I.ii.37-45), and why should we not be reminded equally of the parting of Romeo from Juliet? At other times, an observation may rest on an implied argument which is not entirely convincing when made explicit. There is a long note on the curious mixed tone of Iachimo's confession (V.v.150-209) which concludes, "This, I think, is because Shakespeare has to conflate what, in both the *Decameron* and *Frederyke of Jennen*, is presented as two distinct confessions, the first of which is voluntary and self-glorifying." Here certain deductions concerning sources are considered as proved which in the Introduction are more modestly presented as very probable. But more important is the assumption concerning Shakespeare's methods of work in the statement that Shakespeare had to conflate the two distinct confessions in the sources. Upon what compulsion? Shakespeare's way with sources does not reveal such servility or lack of imagination. In general, the notes are learned and useful, but they do not show so consistent a sense of discrimination and judgment as do the best portions of the Introduction.

Concerning the overall usefulness of Mr. Nosworthy's edition, however, there is not likely to be much serious argument. Such controversy as may arise is likely to center in the portions dealing with the criticism of the play and the editor's evaluation of it. We must recognize, to be sure, that *Cymbeline* is a play concerning whose artistic merits there is no strong agreement. A scene that strikes Mr. Nosworthy as "incomparable in its technical virtuosity" (note to V.v) impressed Shaw as so inept technically that he felt constrained to rewrite it. Commenting on the increased sureness of touch in the later stages of the play, the editor writes, "it is the master craftsman who emerges in Imogen's soliloquy over the headless body of Cloten, which, in my opinion, is the finest thing in the play" (p. lxvi). Yet there are those who find this scene slightly ludicrous and the speech close to rant if not in bad taste. It is necessary to take the existence of these extremes of taste into account in judging Mr. Nosworthy's criticism of the play. Nevertheless, an impartial attitude is not impossible. No serious critic of

the play today would go so far as to support Johnson's devastating judgment, and Mr. Nosworthy avoids ordinary quibbles about taste by conceding most of the strictures which have been made against the play.

He does not, however, concede that these require a denial of the high merits of the play, and he is inclined to believe that the usual strictures appear to be important only when improper systems of analysis are applied to it. Many of the apparent anomalies and absurdities, he contends, are well accommodated "within the strict formula of romance" and are thus brought into a proper unity (p. xlvi). Certain objections still remain and to these Mr. Nosworthy candidly calls attention, but he accepts them as a consequence of the fact that *Cymbeline* is an experimental romance and thus "prone to partial or total failure" (p. xlix). The analysis of the play does not stop, however, with this concession: "The latitude of 'Romance', the experimental nature of the play, and the fact that Shakespeare was handling unfamiliar and intractable material supply only a partial answer, so that we must consider whether, after all, the dramatist knew pretty well what he was doing" (p. lxxix). Mr. Nosworthy has a higher level of interpretation in reserve. A new term, "Impressionism", is introduced as a critical talisman, and the analysis deals with such matters as imagery, analogies with Beethoven's final period, philosophical meanings, and the poet's vision. Here, presumably, the anomalies and absurdities of *Cymbeline* find their final resolution; "when all the still valid objections have been taken into account, it must yet be reckoned among his supreme utterances" (p. lxxix). From this point, the interpretation of the play moves on to its triumphant conclusion:

It is not extravagant to claim that *Cymbeline*, in its end, acquires a significance that extends beyond any last curtain or final *Exeunt*. There is, quite simply, something in this play which goes "beyond beyond", and that which ultimately counts for more than the traffic of the stage is the Shakespearean vision,—of unity certainly, perhaps of the Earthly Paradise, perhaps of the Elysian Fields, perhaps, even, the vision of the saints. But whatever else, it is assuredly a vision of perfect tranquility, a partial comprehension of that Peace which passeth all understanding, and a contemplation of the indestructible essence in which Imogen, Iachimo, atonement, the national ideal have all ceased to have separate identity or individual meaning. (P. lxxxiv)

It is not altogether easy while under the influence of such eloquence to question whether all this has reference to the concluding scene of *Cymbeline*, with its accumulation of revelations providing information about the plot already known to the reader, or to that image of confused eagerness and bumbling ineptitude which is Cymbeline himself during this episode. Somewhere between the opening paragraphs and the conclusion of his Introduction Mr. Nosworthy seems to have abandoned the common sense and temperate spirit which announced his role as editor—at least that seems to be the impression after reflecting on the extravagance of Christian sentiment and symbolism of the final statement. One may hazard the guess that the models for the two portions of Mr. Nosworthy's task were of a somewhat different character, and that the contrast reveals a consequence of submitting too wholeheartedly to those Shakespearean critics of our times who love to lose themselves in an *o altitudo* and who approach the plays of Shakespeare as though they are the ultimate commentary on the Revealed Word.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. A facsimile edition prepared by HELGE KÖKERITZ. With an introduction by CHARLES TYLER PROUTY. Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. 1 + 889. \$12.50.

The appearance of another facsimile edition of the First Folio of Shakespeare—the first in several years—prompts the query: "What are the causes that create a demand for facsimiles of the First Folio, and impel publishers to invest their money in satisfying this demand?" The reasons justifying these facsimiles may be conveniently divided into two groups: the sentimental, and the practical.

First of all, publishers count on the sentimental appeal of being able to read Shakespeare's works in a form approximating that in which most of them first appeared over three hundred years ago. Unfortunately, the size of the First Folio demands a lectern or special reading-stand for comfortable study; it is not a book that the reader can hold in his hand as he relaxes in his easy chair. Consequently, the publisher is forced to the expedient of a reduced facsimile, and must reach a decision on the proportion of the facsimile to the original, avoiding the peril of carrying the reduction to the point at which the type becomes so small as to be excessively hard on the eyes. The editors of this new Yale facsimile have wisely preferred to err on the side of clear type pages; the page is about eighty per cent of the size of the original, measuring about eight inches by eleven inches. They have gained legibility by increasing the size of the volume and thus produced a cumbersome and unwieldy tome.

The compromise in favor of maximum legibility is clearly the consequence of catering to both groups of prospective purchasers—the sentimental and the practical. The result is, that for the former group, the old Halliwell-Phillips facsimile of some one hundred years ago still remains, in spite of all its now familiar deficiencies, the most convenient volume of its sort for the casual reader who is willing to put up with small type to gain a more manageable volume. Professor Prouty's general introduction gives the new Yale facsimile one point of superiority; as a summary of the history of the printing of the First Folio text, it profits from the results of one hundred more years of Shakespeare scholarship and thus is much more accurate and informative than Halliwell-Phillips' introduction, but, like its predecessor, it is definitely a simplified presentation of the subject, aimed at the general reader, not the Shakespeare scholar, and not intended to meet the latter's more exacting standards.

Let us now turn to the question of the extent to which the Yale facsimile meets the practical tests demanded by scholars who intend to use it in textual studies. First of all, it has the unavoidable shortcoming of any facsimile—that of only reproducing one single copy—the variant readings that other copies of the First Folio may exhibit, so valuable to the textual critic, are nowhere recorded. It is unfortunate that the editors did not include an appendix listing the most important variant readings found in other copies of the First Folio. By doing so, they could have greatly increased the value of the volume to that large group of readers wishing to put it to practical use. A list of some of the principal variants would not have been difficult to obtain, inasmuch as Professor Charlton Hinman's collation of all copies of the First Folio at the Folger Shakespeare Library has advanced to a point at which he could easily have prepared such a list; even though tentative and incomplete, the list of variants found in other copies would have immeasurably increased the utility to Shakespeare scholars of the Yale facsimile of the First Folio.

Even though the editors disregarded this obvious means of making their

volume of more practical use, there still remains the question of how accurately their single copy—in this case the copy in the library of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University (the former Huth copy)—has been reproduced. A cursory inspection of the volume raises grave doubts concerning the claims of one of the editors (Professor Kökeritz) in his Preface, where he writes:

To ensure maximum readability stains have been removed whenever possible without interfering with the text itself, but no other retouching has been undertaken; consequently, because of irregularities in the printing of the Folio an occasional word or passage in the facsimile reproduction may be difficult to read.

It appears that the "retouching" has been more extensive and careless than these words imply; in the technical processes employed for "cleaning up the pages" of the facsimile, many features of the original have been unintentionally obliterated. This reviewer has had no opportunity to examine the Yale Elizabethan Club copy, but he seriously questions whether it exhibits the following unique peculiarities, not shared by any other copies of the First Folio that he has seen:

On many pages signatures and catchwords are missing, and punctuation marks at the ends of lines have been knocked off; e.g., page 307, *King Lear* (catchword missing); pages 177, *Richard the Third* (signature missing) and 201 (signature missing).

These facts raise an unavoidable doubt whether the method of reproduction has not disastrously impaired the reliability of the Yale facsimile for textual purposes. Hence, until this facsimile has been carefully collated with an original copy of the First Folio—or better still, with several originals and a record made of the variant readings—scholars should be warned that they cannot use it with confidence in studies of Shakespeare's text. It cannot be trusted as an unimpeachably faithful copy of the First Folio.

Stanford University

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

Shakespeare. By PER MEURLING. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1953. Pp. 255.

Whoever sets himself to write a small book entitled *Shakespeare* generally ends by writing a largish book about Shakespeare scholarship. Such a volume is a challenge and an opportunity: it is a challenge to the author's own scholarship, and an opportunity for the common reader to take a comprehending look at a forest whose dimensions and outlines have often been obscured by the variety and grotesqueness of the trees that make it up. When the author is a Swede whose earlier works have been concerned with religion and politics, the forest suddenly resumes a shape which many English-speaking critics thought it had cast off forever.

In interpreting Shakespeare to Scandinavians, Herr Meurling adopts the biographical and historical approach. As a naturally and highly "continentalized" student, he makes frequent reference not just to Ibsen and Strindberg but to the major literary figures of modern Europe, familiar figures completely overshadowed for us by Shakespeare (as all other Elizabethan playwrights used to be called The Minor Elizabethans), and to Danish and Swedish scholarship, for most of us cloaked in the mystery of an unstudied tongue. The reader comes away with a refreshed sense, if nothing else, of the universality of the subject.

As might be expected from a critic whose doctoral dissertation dealt with the Four Gospels, Meurling emphasizes the Christian elements of Shakespeare's works. After a discussion of the *Sonnets* in which the fruitless business of their autobiographical content is handled with restraint, he concludes that Shakespeare's interpretation of human experience was always Christian, and more closely allied to the Christianity of the middle ages than the renaissance. The emphasis on Christian elements increases as Meurling progresses through the plays: the relationship between Othello and Desdemona examines the religious aspects of marriage; the conflict in the hero is between the Christian and the heathen world; Iago is the incarnation of godless materialism (approached by way of Falstaff, Pandarus, and Parolles); Othello's kiss is the kiss of Judas. Antony and Cleopatra waver between Eros and Agape, and Plato, Nietzsche, and Shakespeare are one. The reader is entitled to raise his eyebrows, if not to gnaw his lip, at the identification of Charmian's three kings with the Magi, and her erotic dream with the Ultimate Blasphemy: but of course, this has been pointed out before, with equal assurance.

The most widely known of all Scandinavian studies of Shakespeare is by Georg Brandes and it may have been his example that directed Meurling to his major purpose: to set the playwright in the culture and events of his day. At any rate, he boggles at the methods and conclusions of Caroline Spurgeon and her followers, while swallowing whole the researches and hypotheses of Hotson and Fripp. He finds an historical circumstance behind every play: *Macbeth* and the Gunpowder Plot, Cleopatra and Mary Stuart, Hamlet and King James—indeed, as a consequence of his method, his book seems sometimes to be more concerned with Essex and James I than with Shakespeare.

There is no doubt that the attempt to see an author in the framework of his day is illuminating, but it is not always clear just what is being illuminated. If Othello's jealousy is somehow related to the King's jealousy of the relations between Southampton and the Queen, we have learned an interesting bit of gossip and perhaps acquired a certain respect for Shakespeare's daring—assuming, of course, that the reference was apparent to the original audience. And Meurling is able to point with some pride to a connection between "Arabella—Seymour and Imogen—Postumus which Fripp has not observed". But having pointed to it, he is forced to drop it. *Cymbeline* does not cast a new light on history, nor does history cast a new light on the play.

Still, the constant reference to contemporary events lends a certain sobering realism to a subject that has tempted less perceptive and imaginative (and informed) critics into one part of the forest after another. Meurling's Shakespeare is a professional man who lived by his pen in a tempestuous age, a man little disposed to quarrel with his work or his time. By accepting the fact that he was also a genius, without trying to explain it, Meurling has perhaps supplied a counterweight to the neo-romanticists. Like another great admirer of Shakespeare's, his appreciation is this side of idolatry.

Princeton University

ALAN S. DOWNER

Shakespeare The Last Phase. By DEREK TRAVERSI. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955. Pp. vii + 272. \$4.75.

Shakespeare's last plays have attracted much critical attention in recent years, individually and as a group, with the critics displaying a mounting fervor in rescuing them from presumed neglect. Mr. Traversi's study is the most extensive to date, and with his general conclusions we can surely agree. He praises

the plays, and argues against imputations of superficiality. *Pericles* and *Cymbeline* move toward a type of perfection finally achieved in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. All are plays of reconciliation, achieved by the triumph of reason over passion and represented in the microcosm of family relationships. Mr. Traversi's favorite critical term, not surprisingly, is "symbolic"—evidently used in the sense of *integrated* or *relevant* or artistically and ethically *meaningful*. *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* each has the quality of the seamless garment: action, characters, and language are referable only to each other, are three in one, with each play as a whole a poetic symbol.

In his explication of the separate plays Mr. Traversi is often tedious and irritating, and it may be useful to indicate why this is so. The reason is partly that the type of perfection he urges is itself tedious and irritating. It places at a discount anything in the nature of improvisation, spontaneity, unpremeditated charm. Shakespeare's humor itself becomes a solemn thing, and his music is stripped of grace-notes. When Mr. Traversi affirms that a meeting of lovers is "conceived in terms that transcend any merely personal conception of their relationship", that a reference to Whitsun pastorals is "far more than a piece of decorative folk-lore", and that this image or that must not be mistaken as "mere poetic decoration", we feel somehow reproved for our lack of animus toward personal relationships, folk-lore, and poetic decoration.

More serious is the critic's unflagging commitment to the indicative mode. It is in the nature of things that some of his views should be more acceptable than others, but all are presented alike in the form of flat assertions. Nothing is tentative, provisional, merely offered for consideration, and presently the reader begins to yearn for a companion more conscious of participating in human error. As an instance of unjustified dogmatism the following may be cited:

[Caliban] She will become thy bed, I warrant,
And bring thee forth brave brood.

The use of the word "brood" to describe the progeny of this imagined union brings out well the animal spirit in which it is conceived, the revolt of passion against reason, of "blood" against moral control which it implies. (P. 236)

The word "brood" conveyed to Shakespeare and his contemporaries no such thing, as we may the more gracefully point out in view of the fact that the cognate word "breed", although equally unpleasant to modern ears, suggested to Mr. Traversi himself only "consummation in marriage" when it was used not by Caliban but by gentle Perdita (p. 148). Strange things occur when Mr. Traversi explains the symbolism of the flowers in Perdita's garden:

the marigold

that goes to bed wi' the sun

And with him rises weeping

indicates the disillusion that follows on the self-sufficient pursuit of desire.

Perhaps the best commentary on this reading is the Elizabethan jingle—

Marigolds is for marriage that would our minds suffice,

Lest that suspicion of us twain by any means should rise—

but one may also timidly point out that marigolds do in fact open their dew-covered petals at sunrise. Mr. Traversi is less suggestible than many of his contemporaries in matters of sex; still he is more than a little inclined to relate the indignation of Polixenes at his son's betrothal to Perdita to the resentment of

the jealous eld, and a number of the assertions where a less positive tone would be appropriate occur in this area.

Shakespeare The Last Phase has the typical strength and weakness of much current literary criticism. It is a serious work, and seriousness surely is a good thing. It reveals in its author devotion, high-mindedness, and awareness of moral as well as artistic values. We can only wish that the critic would be a little more relaxed in some ways, a little more strict in others.

Harvard University

ALFRED HARBAGE

Shakespeare Jahrbuch, Vol. XC. Edited by HERMANN HEUER in collaboration with WOLFGANG CLEMEN and RUDOLF STAMM. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1954. Pp. 439.

The current volume contains the usual reports on performances in German-speaking countries and on research, and an excellent, well-arranged bibliography for the years 1949-1950. The papers begin with the official address on *Troilus and Cressida* delivered by Rudolf Alexander Schröder, distinguished German poet, president of the German Shakespeare Association, translator into German, among others, of Homer, Virgil, Molière, and of Shakespeare's *Troilus*. Schröder discusses *Troilus* under the aspect of Shakespeare's "freedom of spirit" (the term is Goethe's)—how "free" was Shakespeare critically to accept or reject traditional bonds? One such bond was the Homeric tradition, another the Elizabethan version of medieval political and ethical philosophies. Schröder comes to the conclusion that *Troilus* is a kind of morality play, a sermon on the clash of old traditions with new beliefs—with the moralistic and satirical tone proper to a morality play.

The majority of the papers discuss questions of style and language; they thus reflect the current concern with Shakespeare's artistic devices, with the structural design of the plays, with Shakespeare's imagery and his general use of language; they usually argue, in the now fashionable vein, that the linguistic pattern conveys as much of the meaning as does the content. In her very suggestive paper, "Some Functions of Verbal Music in Drama", Una Ellis-Fermor points out how the total effect of sound and rhythm often reveals the prevailing mood or the underlying apprehension of life in a way that complements plot, characters, or the purely semantic aspect of words. The verbal music can thus disclose to us the otherwise hidden intention of a puzzling play like *All's Well*, or it can offer clues to the change in the bearing of such characters as Coriolanus. Kenneth Muir ("Shakespeare and Rhetoric") finds a significant development in Shakespeare's use of rhetoric: Shakespeare began by using the arts of rhetoric formally and deliberately; but, as he matured, he came to use them with greater freedom and individuality, and at last he used them instinctively. The pun, for example, develops from a mere rhetorical trick to a true means of expression for Shakespeare's creative imagination.

Macbeth has for some time been a most rewarding hunting ground for this new criticism, for much of the play depends on the duplicity of words, on the conflict between that which *is* and that which *seems*—"fair is foul, and foul is fair". It is Margaret D. Burrell's contention ("*Macbeth*: a Study in Paradox") that in *Macbeth* Shakespeare designedly uses linguistic phenomena—antithesis, equivocation, contrast, irony, paradox—to give voice to confusion and betrayal. Perhaps one could object that some of the skilfully turned phrases and some of the indirectness of speech must be credited to Elizabethan taste rather than to a special design in *Macbeth*; and one may feel that some of the apparent paradoxes may have seemed felicitous statements of facts to Shakespeare's con-

temporaries (e.g. "when the battle's lost and won"—obviously the battle will be both lost by one side and won by the other, and no paradox is involved); but, in spite of all qualifications, it is still obvious that style and form convey as much of the deeper meaning as do the actions of the characters or their speeches.

R. A. Foakes ("Contrasts and Connections: some Notes on Style in Shakespeare's Comedies and Tragedies") sees an important stylistic difference between comedies and tragedies. In the comedies the effect is one of contrasts, of balancing one style against another; in the tragedies, through gradations (rather than oppositions), through connections and linkages, a sense of unity of style is maintained. Alfred Schopf ("Leitmotivische Thematik in Shakespeares Dramen") studies such iterative motifs as "honor" in *1 Henry IV*, "love" and the feeling of being excluded from love in *Richard III*, "commodity" in *King John*. What the morality plays presented on the stage as personifications ("honor" or "love") appears in Shakespeare refined as a dominant theme, as a "Leitmotiv". Kurt Schlüter ("Die Erzählung der Vorgeschichte in Shakespeares Dramen") contrasts the undramatic, passively epic exposition given by Aegeon in *The Comedy of Errors* with the dramatically well-integrated account which Prospero gives to Miranda in *The Tempest*. The difference not only shows the growth of craftsmanship of Shakespeare the dramatist, but it is conditioned by the difference in character and situation. Thomas Finkenstaedt ("Zur Methodik der Versuntersuchung bei Shakespeare") is perhaps stating the obvious when he demands that studies of meter, rhythm, and rhyme must not merely catalogue statistically according to some standard system of classification, but must consider the prosody within the individual and organic context of each work.

Herman Heuer ("Traumwelt und Wirklichkeit in der Sprache des *Tempest*") demonstrates from linguistic observations how in *The Tempest* the real and the ideal, the imaginary and the sensual melt one into the other. He points to the verbal motifs of "dream" and "play" (Prospero, in one respect, stages a play) and to the musical elements to account for the atmosphere of unreality; he points, on the other hand, to the domestic and homely imagery of English rural life to account for the background of reality. Grammatical analysis becomes an instrument of stylistic examination in Bogislav von Lindheim's essay, "Syntaktische Funktionsverschiebung als Mittel des barocken Stils bei Shakespeare". He investigates the frequent "conversions", i.e. the use of one part of speech (e.g. a noun) for another (e.g. a verb), and shows how they serve to compress and condense, to make the verse more dynamic and to load it with emotion, tension, and excitement; for example *King Lear* I.i.207: "Dower'd with our curse, and *stranger'd* with our oath." Von Lindheim is undoubtedly correct in regarding the stylistic effect of such conversions as "baroque". Most of these conversions must have been neologisms, and Hannelore Stahl ("Schöpferische Wortbildung bei Shakespeare?") explores a related topic by cautiously examining Shakespeare's coinage of new words by suffixation.

Otto Bergemann ("Zum Aufbau von *King Lear*") attempts to show that *King Lear* approaches fairly closely the classicist five-act structure and therefore is neither baroque nor a loosely constructed chronicle play. In this case, however, formal structural analysis must wait on analysis of content—before we agree to Bergemann's delineation of an ascending action, a climax, and a descending action, we have to accept his interpretation of what the essential action is. Is it really the increasingly vehement reaction of Lear and, after the crisis of madness, the falling action of his growing spiritual calm?

The papers of Stahl, Bergemann, Finkenstaedt, Schlüter, and Schopf seem to be summaries or adaptations of doctoral dissertations—the last three, as far as

I can see, from the school of Wolfgang Clemen. This accounts perhaps for some occasional traces of heaviness and formalism. On the other hand, the yearbook has a unity of theme that is impressive. Perhaps Shakespearian scholars have too often emphasized Shakespeare's insight into human character, his understanding of moral or political problems, his view of the nature of the world, his philosophy. Of course, we do find all these and more in Shakespeare, but he is not a clinical psychologist (nor are *King Lear* or *Othello* case histories), not a statesman, not a philosopher, and not a doctor prescribing for human ills; in the last analysis, Shakespeare is a poet and an artist—and all art is primarily a question of form. It is to this proposition that the yearbook is dedicated.

The College of the City of New York

LUDWIG W. KAHN

The Merchant of Venice (New Arden). Edited by JOHN RUSSELL BROWN. Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. lviii + 174.

All serious students of the Man of Stratford will welcome this latest volume in the new Arden Shakespeare. As Professor Ellis-Fermor has indicated in the "General Editor's Preface" to the *King Lear* volume, the original intention of the edition was to bring about a limited revision of the earlier Arden; but in time "what had begun as a revision became a new edition". Thus the volume at hand is with respect to all its major features, introduction, text, collation, and annotations, so substantially revised as to constitute in effect a new edition. Moreover, it offers an extensive group of Appendices which reproduce, sometimes with abridgments, all the relevant sources of the play, thus providing the reader with much of the material which he will need to form critical judgments.

The text itself, which in this edition is so eminently readable, presents no grave problems, since it is based on the sole substantive text, the Hayes Quarto of 1600, now for more than four decades known as Qr. The editorial methods employed have resulted in a text which follows this basic text with judicious fidelity and solid erudition. At the same time the editor reproduces, within limits, the punctuation and spelling of the original in accordance with the agreements arrived at by the revising editors (see Richard David, *Love's Labour's Lost*, pp. ix-xi). It is, however, precisely these aspects of the text which are least satisfactory. Since the Arden series addresses itself "to the senior pupils of schools and university students" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, p. ix), it would appear that the edition is meant to serve a relatively popular group and at the same time to meet the needs of scholars. Thus the editorial procedures tend to fall between two stools. To particularize, the present editor states (p. xx): "The spelling is modernized, but following earlier volumes in the New Arden series, I have retained some forms which were probably more than mere variations in spelling; for example, vildly, cur'sy, and burthens." He thus invites the reader to discriminate between "mere variations in spelling" and "forms which were probably more than mere variations in spelling", a distinction which seems to involve some degree of subjectivity and which may cause difficulty for the members of the group for which the edition is intended. For example, a reader may be puzzled to know more precisely why he alters *jealious* to *jealous* (III. v. 26) but prints *strond* for *strand* (I. i. 171). Although he seems to follow the OED in treating *jealious* as "a mere variation in spelling" and in keeping *strond* as "a variant form" of *strand*, thus preserving what was "more than a mere variation in spelling", nevertheless one may easily believe that *jealious*, which is due to an interchange of suffix, probably also involves a difference in phonetic value and thus represents something more than a mere variation in spelling. In one case,

in which he is explicit concerning the retention of an old spelling, he explains that *bin* for *been* (V. i. 114, note) is "an unaccented form of *been*" without citing authority. In short, the reader's task of reconciling principle with practice would have been facilitated by a somewhat more ample statement of the reasons for his procedures in modernizing this aspect of the text. All in all, however, one is much impressed by the penetration and care with which the text and its history have been studied and brought into relation with the reproduction of it.

The editor has studied the printing of the text independently (see *Studies in Bibliography*, VII, 17-40) and regards it as the product of "competent and careful workmen" (p. xiii). His statement (pp. xiii-xiv) that he has examined "the six copies of *The Merchant* which are at present in England" and has found "no variant reading besides the one on G₄," should be amended in the light of Dr. McManaway's statement that on K₂^r the Kemble-Devonshire copy, according to the Huntington Library *Check List* of 1919, "has the remarkable reading 'intergory' for 'intergotory' in line 8" (review of W. W. Greg, *Shakespeare Quartos in Collotype Facsimile*, MLN, LV, 634. See also, F. J. Furnivall, ed. *The Old-Spelling Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice* (London, 1909), p. 77).

The sections dealing with the date, sources, and stage history as well as the critical introduction have all been thoroughly rewritten and brought into consonance with the findings of modern scholarship by a highly competent and keenly sensitive literary mind. The annotations of the text itself likewise represent a thorough recasting of Pooler's edition of 1905. The editor is to be commended in particular for the careful and fruitful use he has made of the OED, especially in view of the fact that when Pooler's edition was published in 1905 only that portion of the OED up to the letter K was available to him. Brown brings the glosses up to date and at the same time (as at I. ii. 92, where he corrects Pooler by glossing *contrary* as *wrong*) checks and revises earlier glosses. He also makes profitable use of the works of Tilley, Kökeritz, Onions, and others. One may be puzzled, however, by his eclecticism in using Partridge's *Shakespeare's Bawdy*, a book which glosses more than twenty passages in *The Merchant*, of which Brown cites only two (see III. ii. 214-216 and V. i. 307, notes). There seem to be several other passages upon which Partridge's glosses would throw light; among these are III. v. 35, *getting up*; III. v. 27, *get into corners*; I. iii. 81, *fulsome*; II. vi. 19, *lean*; II. vi. 5, *Venus' pigeons*; and V. i. 237, *pen*.

The Catholic University of America

H. EDWARD CAIN

Essays and Studies 1952, n.s., Vol. V. Collected for the English Association by ARUNDELL ESDAILE. London: John Murray, 1952. Pp. 89. 10/6.

Essays and Studies 1953, n.s., Vol. VI. Collected for the English Association by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. London: John Murray, 1953. Pp. 114. 10/6.

Essays and Studies 1954, n.s., Vol. VII. Collected for the English Association by GUY BOAS. London: John Murray, 1954. Pp. 122. 10/6.

Essays and Studies is a pleasant annual volume which always has something in it of value. Perhaps the charm of the collection is that the subjects treated are so diverse. No matter who collects and edits the volume there is no attempt to prove a point or to collect essays on a particular theme. These are occasional essays and they have all the variety and something of the inconsequentiality that a group of occasional essays might be expected to have.

These three volumes contain much to interest a student of sixteenth-century literature. There is an article on "Some Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Writers on the Plague" by Herbert G. Wright in Volume VI, and an account

of the Johnson family, who were responsible for the effigy on Shakespeare's tomb, in Volume V.

The most challenging article for Shakespearean scholars is one by Bonamy Dobrée in Volume V. It presents an interpretation of *The Tempest* which disagrees in a most elegant and well-bred way with what recent scholars have said about the themes of the later plays. Dobrée gives some apt quotations from the play to show that, if forgiveness and regeneration are the themes in this play, then they are not treated in the warm way that they are in, for example, *The Winter's Tale*. Neither is the miracle of nature so poetically handled. Even young love is treated, says Dobrée, in a cold and unenthusiastic fashion.

The theme which he sees Shakespeare as working out in this play is "What is reality?" Taking the cloud capp'd towers speech as a starting point, Dobrée would have us interpret the whole play as a search for reality and its relationship to experience. The conduct of Prospero, of the courtiers, and of the supernatural beings are all different from what their outside would have us believe it would be.

Having thus taken his readers along with him, Dobrée then neatly skips away from his analysis by saying that he does not think that *The Tempest* has a definable theme anyway, not even that which he has so engagingly outlined in his article. It is a trick ending, and one which no doubt brought applause when the paper was originally read to the Collège Britannique in Paris. But there is a moral to be learned from this repudiation, one which Dobrée points when talking of the idea that Prospero's last speech is Shakespeare taking his leave of the stage. "If", says Dobrée, "in the deliciously neat, humorous and perhaps deeply felt epilogue Prospero really is Shakespeare, what was it from which he was praying to be set free? May it not have been from what Lamb called the everlasting coxcombry of our moral pretensions?"

Two other essays in these volumes call for comment. The first, in Volume VI, is an account of "Family Honour in the Plays of Shakespeare's Predecessors and Contemporaries" by Edward M. Wilson. This outlines at some length the accepted code of honour in the Spanish theatre of the sixteenth century, particularly with reference to honour affected by a wife or sister's conduct.

The essay then goes on to compare this code with the one which is adumbrated in the revenge tragedies of the Jacobean period, with particular reference to *The Duchess of Malfi*. There is theme here for a good article but Wilson is very stodgy in his treatment, and he treats the whole question, as it were, in a moral vacuum. Surely it is not unusual in the sixteenth or the twentieth century for a husband to get angry if he comes upon his wife in bed with her lover?

In Volume VII, R. A. Foakes has written a very useful piece about Elizabethan acting and its connection with Elizabethan psychology. Basically he is concerned with showing what the Elizabethans expected of a particular type of person, and just how natural the acting of such a character might appear then and now. It is a fruitful line of inquiry, and the article includes a good collection of allusions to stage-playing by Elizabethan writers. Foakes says that a good collection of such allusions is a desideratum. Let us hope that the very good start he has here made will be enlarged and thus fill the requirement.

Kingston, Ontario, Canada

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH

Old Vic Prefaces: Shakespeare and The Producer. By HUGH HUNT. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954. Pp. xii + 193. 16s.

"The text of a play", said Granville-Barker in the first of his *Prefaces to*

Shakespeare, "is a score waiting performance." Mr. Hunt, in these "production blueprints" originally written for and read to his players while he served the Old Vic as producer between 1949 and 1953, pays Granville-Barker more than the tribute of passing mention (p. 149). He takes the scores of seven plays—*Love's Labour's Lost*, *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Merry Wives*, *Romeo*, *Merchant*, *Caesar*—and gives them consistently well-informed, always vividly fresh, sometimes masterly performance; i.e., performances. The plural is essential, for the approach, the method, is emphatically eclectic, varied, not fixed even for any one play: Mr. Hunt produced *Lear* three different times, differently each time. Since "there is no school for the producer", he hopes that younger men of his craft may learn from his "mistakes". They, and others, will not be disappointed. In the imaginative challenge of these pages there is unmistakable profit and delight even for "the professors" and their ilk, "the scholars . . . buried . . . in their theories", incapable of writing "without benefit of footnotes". They will not find it hard to turn the other cheek, for Mr. Hunt is not merely a scholarly young producer. For the present reviewer, at any rate, *Old Vic Prefaces* evokes happy memories. Apropos of its praise of John Gielgud (p. 117), the reviewer recalls a wonderful season, too many years ago, when Gielgud, then in his glorious youth as the principal actor at the Old Vic, acted Richard II and *Romeo* and Mark Antony and Oberon and Macbeth in almost as many weeks. Harcourt Williams was the brilliant young producer then, and he had to grapple with certain manpower problems which also faced Mr. Hunt and led him, in turn, to "double" certain roles in *Romeo* and *Caesar* (pp. 134, 188), very much as, according to good Elizabethan evidence, Shakespeare himself probably had done when he helped to produce these plays. The point is that Harcourt Williams and Hugh Hunt are in the great tradition which still has its local habitation in the meridian of the Old Vic and Stratford—the tradition of great producers, no mere showmen but imaginatively gifted actors, poets, actor-playwrights, and students of their craft, ranging from Shakespeare to Granville-Barker and Bernard Shaw and, across the waters, to Maxwell Anderson and the Playwrights' Company.

The reader will enjoy discovering for himself the shrewd wit, the high-spirited and sensitive judgments which enliven this book. For illustration here, bare mention of a few items must suffice. I cannot omit Mr. Hunt's characteristic advice to his players to avoid extremes—"Comedy arises from understatement rather than from overstatement", and the happy illustration of the principle, later, in his observation that "Polonius is not a very likable character . . . not a dear old man." I shall instance also a few of his keynote directions concerning the scenic background, the tempo, and the "balance" of his productions. In *Merchant*, for example, he entirely rejects "realistic scenery" in favor of the "simplest", "lightest" symbolic-perspective background, to allow for an unimpeded flow of "fairy-story magic" from Belmont to the sterner realities of Venice. In *Love's Labour's Lost* a happy remoteness is effectively achieved for Navarre and his bookmen by placing their courtly Academe "in the middle of a lake" surrounded by "the deep shadows" of a romantic forest—not too far away from Fontainebleau, Versailles, and Warwickshire. And "to heighten the aloneness of Hamlet" the "whole play, the castle, the platform, the graveyard—the mists that curl up on the sand dunes", are set "on the very brink of . . . the sea." So again, as regards tempo, tone-color, and "balance". Note his insistence that "word music", "word magic" is the magic of *Romeo*; that its two-hours' traffic must move trippingly, swiftly; that here, as in *Hamlet*, the "central endeavour" must be "the telling of the story", the capture of "its full dramatic clash of

characters, its swift-moving and exciting action"; that in *Twelfth Night* he tried to produce a *balanced* "poetic world" of fun and fantasy, love and laughter; and that in *Caesar*, once more, much depends upon balance—"sympathetic" human and political presentation of both sides—upon "speed and vigor" and "humanity".

Mr. Hunt disarmingly concludes with the intimation that even the best of producers may occasionally be wrong. I must, regretfully, register agreement as to some small particulars. For instance, he errs in dressing down Navarre and his bookmen in their island Academe. Do they really "revolt against the rich costumes associated with kings and courtiers"?—"In sartorial matters we must imagine they have inaugurated a sort of dress reform." I think not, because Bermuda shorts are not suitable for Elizabethan courtiers. Again, it is just possible that Mr. Hunt's production of *Merchant* missed something by ignoring the struggle between Portia and Antonio in this friendship play, and by belittling the dramatic force of Portia's song in the final casket scene. At any rate, I think Mr. Hunt is too solemnly concerned about Lady Capulet ("one can imagine that her life is not fulfilled by her elderly husband") and about the beauteous majesty of Denmark (King Claudius' crown, his own ambition, and his Queen), who, we are informed, though "still desirable . . . is afraid of losing her attraction"! But, human failings aside, this book, somewhat like Queen Gertrude, still has ample and winning attractions.

University of Tennessee

ALWIN THALER

Shakespeare Neu Übersetzt. Vol. II, *Die Zähmung der Widerspenstigen, Mass für Mass, Romeo und Julia, König Lear*. By RICHARD FLATTER. Vienna: Walter Krieg Verlag, 1953. Pp. 636.

The present volume follows the same principles as did Volume I (see *SQ*, V, 198). Dr. Flatter emphasizes that the plays are meant for the stage and that they contain what amounts to implicit stage directions; according to Flatter, the hand of Shakespeare the producer and the actor can be seen in dramatic pauses, dramatic punctuation, dramatic versification. Dr. Flatter has expounded his theories so consistently that they should be well-known by now.¹ Apparently these new translations have passed the acid test—Flatter's version of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* had a long run at the Vienna Burgtheater, his *Othello* at the Berlin Deutsche Theater, and other plays in his translation were performed in many other places. Meant for the theatre, the translations have proved successful on the stage.

Flatter's main textual authority remains the Folio. Not without interest to the scholar are the notes and remarks that follow each play; here the translator discusses such items as the textual basis, Shakespeare's dramatic diction, the general interpretation of some plays; in some instances he gives his own reconstruction of the way in which the plays were performed in the Elizabethan theatre—how the actors moved and on what part of the stage each scene took place. These notes express, as they are bound to do, the translator's views without entering into controversy; in some cases there may be, of course, opinions and critical difficulties not mentioned by Dr. Flatter. Thus, for example, his account of the textual history of *King Lear* does not suggest to an uninitiated

¹ *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*, New York: Norton, 1948. *Das Schauspielersische in der Diktion Shakespeares*. Wien: Walter Krieg Verlag, 1954 (Shakespeare-Schriften 1, hrsg. v. R. Flatter). "Shakespeare, der Schauspieler", *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, LXXXIX (1953), 35-50. "Bühnensprachliche und andere Eigenheiten der Diktion Shakespeares", *Anglo-Americana, Festschrift Leo Hübner-Lebmannsport*, pp. 42-52.

reader the many complex problems that are raised by such a study as that of Professor Philip Williams, "Two Problems in the Folio Text of *King Lear*," *SQ*, IV (1953), 45-60. In general, however, Flatter's notes will doubtless be helpful and profitable to his readers.

A reviewer can approach a translation in two, or possibly more, different ways—he can either compare the translation line by line with the original and with previous translations (the method employed in my review of the first volume of the present translation), or he can read the translation for its over-all effect in capturing the mood, the tenor, the inner structure, the atmosphere of Shakespeare. Every translation will lose some of Shakespeare's linguistic art and artifice, some of his rich sonority, some of his "high-flown" rhetoric, some of what to the classicist eighteenth century and to many an unprepared modern theatre-goer may appear as disturbing complexity and obscurity. Dr. Flatter's German seems more "natural" than Shakespeare's English, but the total impression of his translation is one of remarkable faithfulness in rendering the inner drama and the outer action, in keeping most of the mood and the music.

The College of the City of New York

LUDWIG W. KAHN

Renown at Stratford: A Record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1953. By TYRONE GUTHRIE and ROBERTSON DAVIES. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1953. Pp. viii + 127.

Twice Have the Trumpets Sounded: A Record of the Shakespeare Festival in Canada, 1954. Pp. xiv + 193.

Every once and again, when one has come to believe that the high art of criticism has perished, there come forth new talents which restore the faith. Dramatic criticism has suffered particularly in being restricted to laconic newspaper columns or scarcely less hurried magazine articles, in which spontaneous vitality and distinction of phrasing are at a minimum. We need to know how a performance went, what it was like; too often what we get is "Miss Doe was uncertain in the early scenes, but was really herself at the climax" or "Mr. Roe has an irritating speech mannerism which detracts from an otherwise intelligent interpretation". The volume which describes the first season of the Shakespeare Festival in Ontario, *Renown at Stratford*, has nothing of this languid professional patter. It gives us creative criticism—not the type which uses a play as springboard for subjective flights of "feeling", but that which relieves an experience for the reader in striking terms, giving him a sense of direct contact with a dramatic adventure. One gains from it a new savoring of *Richard III* and *All's Well*, the plays of 1953, through an immediacy of expression which is the essential thing in dramatic criticism.

The opening article by Director Tyrone Guthrie on the Festival's beginnings draws us at once into the slowly ordered chaos of preparation. He frankly rehearses doubts, fears, his own distrust of open-air production and his yielding to the compromise of tent theatre; he gives hearty credit to the actors who accepted contracts when all was uncertain, to the staunch contractor, and to the courageous, the grimly determined, the utterly devoted committee behind all. His persistent belief in the comic effect of capital letters makes his style a trifle tedious, but it is forgotten in his boyishly delighted picture of the tent and its master, the sparrows in the roof of the rehearsal shed, the skittering actors on a too zealously polished stage floor. In sum it is a brisk and heartening report of dedicated labors.

Critic Robertson Davies and Artist Grant Macdonald work together in the second section, "The Players". Mr. Davies modestly uses the twenty-four dis-

tinguished portrait sketches as the core of the division, his critique being the statement of effects made by each actor in the part depicted. But in these individual comments he conveys also his pithy general opinion of the play concerned, easily and freshly. An acute feeling for point and emphasis, and a happy crispness of phrase enable him to give the quality of performance in few lines: he describes the Richard III of Alec Guinness as so coolly subtle that his face was "not so much evil as withdrawn and watchful", and his hypocrisies of virtue "contemptuously perfunctory". This is a particularly satisfying comment, since the New York papers with virtual unanimity criticized Guinness severely for not being (in the 19th-century tradition) noisier and awfuller.

By such incisive hints Mr. Davies is also able to touch on larger issues while he analyzes the individual accomplishment: he swiftly outlines the ethics of the aristocrat in approving the Lafeu of Michael Bates; shows the uses of romance as a veil for truths in applauding the Helena of Irene Worth; and indicates the universal elements in violence while discussing the edged brutality of Robert Robinson's Ratcliff.

Though the volume is oddly and freshly put together in the manner of a dignified scrapbook, it has a solid unity of spirit and approach, and it is a constructive and helpful record of the way in which Shakespeare may be produced as an excellent civic achievement, in spite of staggering difficulties. Nothing parallels the Ontario effort save the twenty-year-old Shakespeare Festival in the Oregon village of Ashland, where origins and development have been the same, with the same vicissitudes and the same astonishing success. A knowledge of its history makes one secure in judging this Canadian report to be completely accurate and candid. A sober maturity of theatre experience underlies the hearty joyousness of both Festival and record. Thoughtful and provocative is Mr. Guthrie's definition of festival spirit, at its best in the small town where theatre may take on an air of pilgrimage and special occasion. Any actor should profit from Mr. Davies's informed comments on conventions in good acting, and his repeated injunctions as to the necessary play of imagination in stage movement and in wearing costume with style. It is a truly admirable festival book, which makes one eager to be present at the next season—or, if time and circumstance prevent, to hear from Mr. Davies again.

The pleasure afforded by the first record of the Canadian Shakespeare Festival established an audience sharp-set to hear of the second season offering *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Oedipus Rex*, and *Measure for Measure*. The publisher's announcement quotes Mr. Davies as saying that the volume "is not the mixture as before, but a book of different character". It is so, and it is a considerable disappointment. Possibly because of the impressive success of the first season, the composers seem to feel that the Festival requires now a more solemn and imposing treatment; at any rate, this book deserts the sound brightness of the first volume, and proceeds from a description of Guthrie's rehearsal methods, through a formal discussion of each play, to a concluding article, "A Long View of the Stratford Festival", by Mr. Guthrie.

It is impossible to evade the uncomfortable impression that however successful the second season may have been in many ways, it depressed the spirits of Mr. Davies as it depressed those visitors from America who felt that Director Guthrie's production methods were grotesquely exaggerated, and that the star performer (James Mason of the cinema) was inadequate in voice and style. *Oedipus* characters got up with elongated claws and gauntly attenuated tragic masks (which accented the hollow thinness of the Masonic voice) could only have been less trying than the supposedly hilarious performance of *The Shrew* as

a sort of circus in a remote village of 1890 Canada, with varied provincial dialects and the addition of colloquial modern phrases here and there. This appalling device causes Mr. Davies to say painfully, "it was funny, but a great part of the technique of the comedian is to know when he has been funny enough; Stephen Leacock has warned us against the temptation to be as funny as we can."

The description of rehearsal (sub-titled "A Study in Rhythm") leaves one with the feeling that the actors must have been nerve-wracked automata by the first-night performance; whatever Mr. Davies may say pleasantly of the peremptory Guthrian methods, the overtones convince one of a driving and mannered direction which creates tension ruthlessly and unnecessarily.

In the criticism of the season, the actors and the production are dimmed by ponderous scholarly disquisition introducing each play: a history of early production and criticism of *The Shrew*, theoretical discussion of father-fixation as basis of *Measure for Measure*, and extended comparative analysis of modern translations of *Oedipus*.

Mr. Guthrie's article, still marred by his unfortunate taste for unlimited capitalizing, concludes suddenly with his own confession of faith in theatre, which is worth all the rest of the volume put together. It should be quoted in full, save that it is several paragraphs in length, and should on no account be read otherwise than in full and in context. Its essence is that stage performance is a ritual of communion in which actors and audience form a chain of action and reaction in a fervently shared creation. It is a serious, even solemn, statement of the living beauty of drama, which should be widely known and should be meditated well by every actor and critic.

These comments are written as reviews arrive reporting workmanlike opening nights of *The Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Caesar* in 1955. Our warmest wishes go to Stratford and to its best critic, Mr. Robertson Davies, whose reviews in the Toronto *Telegram* give hopes of a third book in his own distinctive immediacy of dramatic criticism.

Stanford University

MARGERY BAILEY

Studies in Elizabethan Drama. By PERCY SIMPSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. [x] + 265. \$4.00.

The present volume brings together a number of miscellaneous articles on Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama by the great editor of Jonson. Most of these studies have already been published in various periodicals, and one in particular, "The Theme of Revenge in Elizabethan Tragedy", which Dr. Simpson delivered as the annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy in 1935, is familiar to all students of the period. The chief interest of this collection lies in three articles, two of which, "Shakespeare's Use of Latin Authors", and "Shakespeare's Versification", are here published for the first time, and one of which, "The Official Control of Tudor and Stuart Printing", is an expanded version of a previously published lecture.

On each of these subjects, Dr. Simpson speaks with the authority born of his immense learning and long experience. Few living scholars, in fact, are better qualified to deal with such problems. It is therefore disappointing to find that he limits himself, in each of these three articles, mainly to a restatement of well-known facts and generally accepted arguments. Probably because of limitations of space, he does not come to grips with numerous unsolved problems, above all those involved in the study of Elizabethan printing practices.

In his discussion of literary piracy and the fight against it, Dr. Simpson follows almost without change the pioneering ideas developed by Pollard some forty years ago. Recent scholarship, while strengthening Pollard's main assumptions, has shown that the problem of good and bad quartos, of authorized and unauthorized publication, is far more complex than Pollard thought or than Dr. Simpson indicates. In particular, we are no longer so ready to believe that Shakespeare and his fellows were in a strong position to defend themselves against unauthorized publication. "Even when a pirate had succeeded in putting his stolen work on the market", says Dr. Simpson, "there is some evidence that the aggrieved author or the honest publisher could cope with him" (p. 196). One would like to know, in detail, what this evidence is. Certainly, Dr. Leo Kirschbaum, in his recent work on *Shakespeare and the Stationers*, makes a strong argument for the opposite position. Again, Dr. Simpson, without offering any evidence, finds it probable that Nicholas Ling suppressed his edition of the bad first quarto of *Hamlet* in order to be allowed to publish the good second quarto (p. 196). This is highly doubtful, to say the least; and doubtful or not, it is purely a guess.

Another of Dr. Simpson's *obiter dicta* in this article needs to be challenged. He describes Q2 of *Romeo and Juliet* as "a text which internal evidence proves to have been printed from the playhouse copy" (p. 191). But it is now generally agreed that this text was printed mainly from Shakespeare's foul papers, which could not have been used as a promptbook.

Though it greatly oversimplifies a difficult subject, Dr. Simpson's article on "The Official Control of Tudor and Stuart Printing" is still a mine of valuable information. The Appendix, especially, brings together in convenient form a great mass of useful detail.

"Shakespeare's Use of Latin Authors" is in line with the current scholarly position that Shakespeare's Latin was considerable by modern standards and that he was familiar with many Latin writers. Few would dispute this; but I find Dr. Simpson's corollary argument, that Shakespeare consulted his Latin sources in the original rather than in translation, somewhat difficult to believe. Surely, a writer reading quickly for plot material would much sooner, if it were available to him, turn to an English work than a Latin one, unless, like Ben Jonson, he had so great a command of Latin that he could as easily read the one language as the other. Dr. Simpson argues that some translations did not appear in time for Shakespeare to use them; and he instances Warner's translation of Plautus' *Menaechmi*, which, he says, "appeared two years after *The Comedy of Errors* was produced" (p. 4). This is inaccurate. The first recorded performance of *The Comedy of Errors* took place on December 28, 1594; and Warner's translation is dated 1595 (it was entered for publication on June 10, 1594).

The most provocative and interesting essay in this volume is the study of Shakespeare's versification. Here, while there is much that is conventional and well-known, there is also a good deal that is fresh. Dr. Simpson points out Shakespeare's deliberate use of short lines and the varied effects he obtained from them. Unfortunately for Dr. Simpson's argument, however, the recent studies of the Folio text by Dr. Charlton Hinman (see his article in the Summer 1955 number of *SQ*) tend to indicate that many of these short lines, including some specifically cited by Dr. Simpson, are the work of the Folio compositors. Undoubtedly, however, some of them are Shakespeare's conscious creations, and the practice deserves further examination.

Despite the shortcomings inherent in brief treatments of complicated subjects, all of the articles in this book are well worth reading and study. One

hopes that Dr. Simpson will be able some time to give a fuller and more systematic treatment of material he is so preeminently qualified to discuss.

New York City

SIDNEY THOMAS

SHORT NOTICES

Mediaeval Drama in Chester (The Alexander Lectures for 1953-54). By F. M. SALTER. University of Toronto Press, 1955. Pp. [xii] + 138. \$4.50.

When Professor Salter was invited to deliver the Alexander Lectures at Toronto recently it was obviously appropriate that he should speak about the Chester plays which have occupied his attention over many years. His treatment of his theme has all the gusto and common sense that we should expect from him and must have made the lectures memorable hearing. In addition, he managed to pack a good deal of original research and careful reconsideration of the documentary evidence surrounding the plays into his discourses so that it is now necessary for us to reconsider views and statements, copied by one writer from another, in the light of Professor Salter's re-statement of many points. Further workers in this field will ignore this book at their peril.

Shakespearians will be particularly interested in the last chapter of the book, in which Professor Salter discusses the contribution made by these plays (which he shows were being enacted until 1575) to the Elizabethan drama. It may be that he claims too much at times, but his points are so clearly stated and well argued that everyone can test them and make their own evaluation of this witty, suggestive, and honest little book.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge

H. S. BENNETT

Masters of the Drama. The Story of the Theatre and its Creators from Primitive Man to the Present Day. By JOHN GASSNER. New York: Dover Publishers, Inc., 1954. Pp. [xxi] + 890.

This history of the world drama, which was first issued in 1940, has now reached its third edition. The main feature of this enlarged and revised third edition is the addition of Chapter XXXI dealing with "playwrights who either won recognition or increased their international reputation after 1940".

Within the narrow limits of 761 pages the author undertakes to meet the exigencies of the general reader and playgoer, supplying him with a panorama of the development of dramatic art and literature from the origins to the present day.

Pages 761-789 are taken up by synoptic tables showing the main lines along which the drama developed in the various countries of the world. The book is handsomely illustrated by three sets of pictures, the first of which shows the main theatrical styles from ancient times to the present day, the second contains portraits of playwrights from Aeschylus down to A. Miller, and the third is an album of modern stage productions. The whole is completed by notes and indexes, making reference easy.

This comprehensive account of dramatic literature starts from the very beginning, not dwelling at great length, however, on the theories of the origin of the drama, concerning which only broad hints are given. Throughout the work the wide reading of Mr. Gassner both in the field of drama and in that of dramatic criticism is apparent. In the treatment of Greek drama Euripides and

Aristophanes are given due prominence in the picture, and *Everyman* is singled out for more careful examination among the English medieval productions. When dealing with the special contribution of Italy in the field of drama during the Renaissance, some of the plays such as Machiavelli's *Mandragola* are given less than their due. After dwelling at some length on Marlowe, considered also on his own merits and not only as a forerunner of Shakespeare, twenty-four pages are devoted to the man of Stratford, and it is with these that we are mostly concerned here.

In a work addressed to the general reader and professing to give general information, no new interpretation or full analysis of Shakespeare's work can be expected. Neither was it possible, without endangering the character of the work, to give even broad hints about the numerous questions connected with Shakespeare's identity, biography, and text. His life is told in a simple, direct, racy style, not overstressing the fact that most of what is told is merely guess-work. Then an outline of Shakespeare's dramatic career is given, and in the analysis of the several plays here, as everywhere throughout the work, the psychological terminology with which every modern even moderately cultured American is familiar today, crops up at every corner.

The historical background is taken due account of, but we feel that the importance of the Essex tragedy as a powerful influence on Shakespeare's subsequent outlook on life has been a little exaggerated, especially when Queen Elizabeth, who sentenced her lover to death, is supposed to have been at the back of the poet's mind when drawing Cressida's character.

But, on the whole, although it is inevitable that specialists and scholars should always be somewhat shocked by generalizations, the method of approach, we feel, is the right one to give the general public a sense of Shakespeare's greatness and importance in the field of world drama.

In works of this kind it would be unfair to focus attention on minute details, as their importance lies another way, that is, in the truth of the general picture, and that, we are sure, Mr. Gassner has well achieved.

University of Florence

ANNA MARIA CRINÒ

Courtship in Shakespeare. Its Relation to the Tradition of Courtly Love. By WILLIAM G. MEADER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1954. Pp. [x] + 266. \$4.00.

The author's purpose is to find out in what respects and to what extent Shakespeare's conception of courtship both derives and diverges from the medieval tradition of courtly love. So he fitly devotes his opening chapter to that tradition, describing first courtly love on the basis of Capellanus' treatise and Chrétien's poems, then showing its subtle transformation in *Troilus* and *Cryseyde*, and finally adducing Gascoigne's *Pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Valasco* (1573) as proof of its radical alteration at the time of Shakespeare's boyhood when it had ceased to be an ideal though many of its conventions were still regarded as valid. In chapters II to V, which form the main part of the little book, he examines in succession the meeting of the lovers, the obstacles they must overcome, their betrothal, and the union which is its consequence. If in the introductory chapter, the reader cannot escape the impression that a highly complicated matter is dealt with in a rather cursory manner, there is no doubt that the four that follow are the outcome of a conscientious survey of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, and that the conclusions drawn therefrom, which are the subject of the last chapter, are fully justified. Generally speaking, lovers on the English stage of the Renaissance, and in

Shakespeare's plays in particular, are shown to behave according to the time-honored conventions, but, in obedience to middle class morality and Christian ethic, marriage, and religious marriage for that matter, is their aim—which stands of course in radical opposition to the original conception of "fine amor". Such conclusions are by no means revolutionary or unexpected. They merely confirm the fundamentally moral character of Elizabethan drama, and the essential sanity of Shakespeare's view of life. At the same time they will help the student in achieving a proper understanding of certain aspects of such difficult plays as *Measure for Measure* and *Troilus and Cressida*. To a study of those aspects, in the light especially of contemporary legal notions on marriage, useful pages are given towards the end of the book.

Though written with due care, Mr. Meader's work suffers from a certain naivety, some lapses from good taste, occasional truisms and even absurdities. There are a few misprints: p. 11, l. 3 read "a gain" instead of "again"; p. 38, l. 27 add "not" before "courtly love"; p. 79, l. 5 read "affectation" instead of "affection"; l. 20 read "You onely will begin then . . ." instead of "You will onely will begin, then . . ."; p. 194, l. 29 "belives" for "believes"; p. 195, l. 15 "Kink" for "King"; p. 211, l. 21 "denuniction" for "denunciation".

University of Lausanne

GEORGES A. BONNARD

The Annotator. By ALAN KEEN and ROGER LUBBOCK. New York: Macmillan, 1954. Pp. [xvi] + 228. \$4.00.

In 1940 Alan Keen established himself in business as an antiquarian book-seller and dealer in ancient manuscripts. In June of that year in a collection of books that he had acquired professionally, Mr. Keen discovered a copy of Edward Halle's chronicle, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*. The volume contained marginal jottings in a sixteenth-century hand verified as genuine and "of considerable antiquity". Since it was known that Shakespeare had used Halle's chronicle, Mr. Keen concluded that he had used *this* copy and made these annotations.

In a communication to the *Times Literary Supplement* of September 14, Mr. Keen announced his belief that the hand was Shakespeare's. Sir Walter Greg replied in the same columns suggesting that such marginalia were common in books of the period and offering in evidence one of his own sixteenth-century volumes containing annotations in a contemporary hand. Nothing daunted, Mr. Keen pursued his studies of the annotator's paleographical characteristics and of the provenience of his chronicle as well as war-time conditions would permit. In April 1947 he resumed the correspondence in the *Times* and withdrew his contention that the hand was Shakespeare's: "The dissimilarity between the writing [in the margin] and that of Shakespeare's signatures is decisive on this point" (*TLS*, April 26, 1947, p. 197). Communications followed (until 1948) representing that if the hand was not Shakespeare's, then the marginalia had no value.

At this point Mr. Keen should have rested from his labors and abandoned the project, but in 1949 Moray McLaren's *By Me . . .* unfortunately revived the subject and the fiction that the hand was Shakespeare's. The *Times* proposed that "a committee of experts" be allowed to examine the Halle chronicle and publish a decision. Some months later, in 1950, Mr. Keen regretted in an article in the *Times* that the proposal had had no response. This was surely an odd comment, for who but Mr. Keen should have made the response? In 1951 there

appeared a slight volume describing his researches into the life of Shakespeare during the "lost years", 1578 to 1591.

This is the historical background to the writing of *The Annotator*. Discouraged as firmly as possible, Mr. Keen was nevertheless still determined to persevere in his opinions and in 1951 interested Mr. Lubbock in collaborating with him. Though the part of the co-author in the project is by no means clear, it would seem that from that date the present volume began to take shape. The services of an authority on forging, Mr. H. T. F. Rhodes (whose credentials are nowhere presented in the book), were secured in order to contradict Keen's "premature conclusion" that the hand was not Shakespeare's. Armed with Mr. Rhodes' necessary correction, the authors proceeded to write their volume.

The Annotator is primarily a summation and reworking of the previously published correspondence and articles, though some new material has been added. The annotations are printed in their entirety (and they are uniformly dull), but the few photographic reproductions of the marginal notes are either so greatly reduced or so greatly enlarged that it is impossible for the reader to pass his own judgment on the calligraphy. No scholarly refutation of the critics is offered.

The authors attempt to prove first on paleographical and on literary grounds that the hand of the chronicle was Shakespeare's. This they fail to do. But it is at least surprising in this connection that no real effort is made to equate the marginalia with the D hand of *Sir Thomas More*. Agreement between these two would-be Shakespearian manuscripts would have strengthened the claims of both. The authors next attempt to prove that the young Shakespeare was associated with the distant family of the particular owner of the book in 1565. They give good evidence that a house attendant named William Shakeshafte may well have been, but they fail to demonstrate that Shakespeare and Shakeshafte are the same. This contention leads into the controversy on Shakespeare's religion. They finally attempt to prove on deductions from what may be an eighteenth-century library classification mark that the volume was available to Shakespeare at a particular time. This they fail to do.

The Annotator is, in short, one of the apparently unending series of fanciful accounts of Shakespeare's life. It is built on the familiar pattern of time-consuming research, much of it amid the dark woods of Elizabethan genealogy, and the most generous use of imaginative speculation. Urged on by enthusiasm, coincidence follows coincidence in a race for the mechanical rabbit, proof, that is continually elusive. The work deserves little attention and less credence.

University of Virginia

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

Correspondence

Sir:

In "Analogical Probability in Shakespeare's Plays", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Autumn, 1955, Professor Paul J. Aldus offers, p. 413, a strained interpretation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. vii. 126-136 (the line numbering given does not correspond with the number of lines quoted nor is Pompey's "I'll try you on the shore" shown to be part of l. 133). The "your hand" (ll. 133, 134) he assumes to indicate handshaking in farewell and he argues that Antony's "And shall, sir" is addressed, after some intervening words, to Caesar in response to Caesar's "This drunkenness has almost made fools of us all" (Professor Aldus' paraphrase of "the wild disguise hath almost Antick'd us all", ll. 131-132), not to Pompey.

But Caesar's farewells are verbal merely; when he says "Good Antony, your hand" he is offering to lead Antony to the boat. As Antony starts to leave, Pompey refers to the agreement (II. vi. 61) to entertain each other "ere we part" and promises, to Caesar or Antony or both, to "try you on the shore"; Antony rejoins with the immediate, insistent invitation to Pompey to accompany him: "And shall, sir", and extends his hand, not in farewell but to draw him on: "give's your hand". Pompey then suddenly realizes that the continued bout would be entertainment by Antony in what really is—or should be—his own house, and momentarily hesitates. But, recalling quickly that "we are friends", he waives his grievance and with "Come, down into the boat", addressed seemingly to the whole group, accepts Antony's invitation and accompanies him.

The conclusion reached by Professor Aldus is rather bewildering:

As Caesar leaves in concern for "graver business", Pompey and Antony go down, in a boat, to let drink defeat them, after admonition, by choice. Of them all, only Caesar remains standing.

Where does Caesar "remain standing"? "He leaves in concern for 'graver business'" and yet "remains standing"! It appears that Professor Aldus, in search for an "analogical probability", has stretched stage probability in his attempt to picture the barge-leaving incident in such a way as to provide a background parallel for his figurative characterization of Antony's final defeat: "Only Caesar remains standing" (p. 414).

L. J. MILLS

Indiana University

Sir:

I am indebted to Professor Mills for stimulating me to re-examine certain details in my essay.

I am glad to have the errors in line numbering and verse arrangement corrected. As all the lines are printed, and all the words and punctuation are in the right order, there seems to be no harm to my critique. And I cling to the con-

solation that almost all of us are subject to these frailties, e.g. Pompey's vessel is a galley, not a "barge".

Professor Mills' last paragraph gives me a fugitive impression that I am hearing Captain McWhirr in *Typhoon*—the literalness, however, flavored with staunch academic indignation. Nevertheless, he has caught me fairly, although he neglects to press the point. As it seems important to me, I shall press it for him. After my own careful insistence that "the critical conclusion should not take the form of metaphor" (p. 401), I express just such a conclusion in "Only Caesar remains standing" (pp. 413-414). Professor Mills says he can't be standing and leaving at the same time. I'm not quite sure of this, but I don't see Caesar crawling away, or slumping down in a drunken stupor.

I would have been consistent if I had said that just as Caesar remains soberly in control in this scene, so his later defeat of Antony is a sober, controlled, successful campaign. Similarly, instead of saying, "Enobarbus knows that one may be drunk and fall in more ways than one", I might have written that Antony's impulsive, uncontrolled, drunken conduct is matched by impulsive, uncontrolled conduct that makes for his defeat at Actium.

Perhaps it were better if one could make figurative critical conclusions to be closer to poetic imagination, and for the sake of style, but Professor Mills' bewilderment is a salutary warning hard upon the error—there must be many instances when one can scarcely afford to.

As to his main objection, it must certainly be acknowledged that Professor Mills has a persuasive argument which seems to have distinct advantages. His interpretation involves no disruption of the order of dialogue, and it brings to bear the earlier lines about exchange of feasts. While it is rather easy to think of II. vi. 61 as referring to separate feasts, Professor Mills's argument that the drunken revel is continued ashore (but Caesar unmistakably parts from the others) is completely consistent with Antony's character and conduct throughout. Here we are then in complete agreement.

Even if Professor Mills' interpretation be the more acceptable one in detail, my conclusion as to the analogical function of the scene is in no way altered or impaired. Whether Antony goes down with Pompey in one way or another into a boat to complete the revel after Caesar's admonition, and to the accompaniment of Enobarbus' cryptic warning, the analogical parallel in action and language remains the same. This, it seems to me, especially when one considers Shakespeare's consistent use of complex analogical patterns, is the most meaningful dramatic significance of the scene.

P. J. ALDUS

Ripon College

Queries and Notes

ROBERT ARMIN, SHAKESPEARE'S SOURCE FOR TOUCHSTONE

CHARLES S. FELVER

When Leslie Hotson pointed out¹ for the first time that Robert Armin, William Kempe's successor with the Chamberlain's Men, played the part of "Tutch", the witty servant, in his own comedy, *The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke*,² in addition to the part of "Blue John" usually attributed to him, he concluded:

There is every reason therefore why our goldsmith-playwright Robert Armin created for himself the role of the fool Tutch in his comedy. He held by right to the doubly appropriate name which Shakespeare had given him as the inimitable "indicator", Touchstone, in *As You Like It*. (P. 115.)

Earlier in his book, *Shakespeare's Motley*, Mr. Hotson points out (p. 101) that:

The book is the man, and Armin's personality shines through the pages of his *Foole upon Foole* (1600) and his subsequent comedy of *The Two Maids of More-clacke*. The first of these was published shortly after he had joined Shakespeare's company.

Throughout his discussion of Armin's works, Mr. Hotson clearly indicates his belief that Armin wrote his play and played his virtuoso part of Tutch after he had become a member of the Chamberlain's Men. I intend to show that recent scholarship agrees on an earlier dating for Armin's play and that a date before his enrollment in the Shakespearian company is likely. I hope to indicate that Armin was not following Shakespeare's suggestion in assuming the name "Tutch", but that, on the contrary, Shakespeare was paying his new clown a deft compliment by naming his first important role with the Chamberlain's Men, Touchstone in *As You Like It*, after the part Armin created in his own play.

Armin himself gives the first indication that *The Two Maids* (printed 1609) was written earlier than its performance by the Children of the King's Revels:

I would have againe inacted Iohn my selfe, but *Tempora mutantur in illis*, & I cannot do as I would, I have therefore thought good to diuulge him thus being my old acquaintance, Iack, whose life I knew, and whose remembrance I presume by appearance likely. Wherein I whilome pleased. . . .
(*Two Maids*, sig. A2^r)

In a careful study of the plays acted by the short-lived Children of the King's Revels, Harold N. Hillebrand shows³ that most of the plays were revivals ap-

¹ *Shakespeare's Motley* (New York, 1952), p. 103.

² Ed. John S. Farmer (Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1913). All citations are from this edition.

³ "The Children of the King's Revels at Whitefriars", *JEGP*, XXI (1922), 318-334, *passim*.

parently bought because they were to be had cheap. He suggests (p. 328) that references in Armin's play to Queen Elizabeth (sig. B4^v) and Dean Nowell (sig. B4^r), along with a reference to "Donington's Man Grimes" (sig. I^v), justify dating the play after June 1597 and before 1602, the year of Nowell's death. Hillebrand establishes the earlier limit for *The Two Maids* by what he calls ambiguous evidence (p. 328); the reference to "Donington" may refer to an incident recorded in the "Acts of the Privy Council" of 14 June 1597, in which one Alice Stoitte, a young woman of Dorset, was abducted by one Dinington and others.

Austin K. Gray and Thomas W. Baldwin accept the earlier dating of Armin's play. Gray says⁴ that when Armin joined the Chamberlain's Men he had already been seen on the stage in his own play. Baldwin believes⁵ that Armin's play appeared in the autumn or winter of 1597. Edmund K. Chambers infers⁶ that as the production of *The Two Maids* by the Children of the King's Revels in 1608 involved no breach on Armin's part with the King's Men, his active interest in the play as an actor must have occurred much earlier.

Another indication of an early dating for the play is the frequent occurrence of images drawn from Armin's trade of goldsmith. Such images occur infrequently in his other work, perhaps because the goldsmith's trade became completely submerged in the clown's. Armin's first master, John Lonyson, Hotson reminds us (p. 116), "was Queen Elizabeth's Master Worker of her monies at the royal mint in the Tower of London". The following quotations from *The Two Maids* (many more could be adduced) reflect a fresh memory of both of these activities:

O mistres now am I tri'd on my own tutch,
I am true metall one way, but counterfeit another.

(*Two Maids*, sig. D1^r-D1^r)

. . . is the fire fire
Whose scorching heat dissolues relēting metall,
When as it tries the substance.

(*Two Maids*, sig. E2^r)

Morris was say tru, giue a ducket, looke you tucke it, is marke, mark you that, and marke is 13 shillings foure pence, good currant money, . . .

(*Two Maids*, sig. F2^r)

When the reader comes across a passage like the following from *The Two Maids*, he almost succumbs to the belief that he has discovered additional evidence for an earlier dating in a topicality:

Sir Wil. Wheres Tutch? Enter Tutch
Tutch. Sir.
S. Wil. Who waite you on?
Tutch. On the world sir.
S. Wil. And what saies the world to ye?

(*Two Maids*, sig. D1^r)

⁴ "Robert Armine, the Fool", *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 683.

⁵ *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton, 1927), p. 245.

⁶ *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), III, 210.

At this point Sir William ceases to jest with his privileged servant and becomes serious. But one who ponders for long on the dating of the play cannot but wonder if the witty Armin-Tutch, who never hesitates at a pun in any of his works, is not referring to his own waiting; waiting for the building of the Globe Theater and his promised part of Touchstone in *As You Like It*? Armin has this to say of his success in his own play, especially as Blue John:

Wherein I whilome pleased: and being requested both of Court and City, to shew him in priuate, I haue therefore printed him in publicke, wishing thus much to euery one, so delighting, I might put life into this picture, and naturally act him to your better contents. . . .

Perhaps Armin's *tour de force* in his own play did bring him to the attention of the Chamberlain's Men in search of a replacement for William Kempe; perhaps he was waiting "On the world".

I think the evidence seems to indicate that Armin's play was written and acted in by him before his engagement by the Shakespearian company. His own words attest to his success in the role and it would be quite within the realm of likelihood for Shakespeare to capitalize on an earlier success as "Tutch" by using the name "Touchstone" for Armin in his first new role with the Chamberlain's Men.

University of Michigan

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPICE

The engraving of Will Sommer by Francis Delaram is discussed at length by Dr. Leslie Hotson in Chapter VI of *Shakespeare's Motley*. It is dated 1615–1624 by Mr. A. M. Hind in *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, II, 215, 230–231. The background gives a surprising amount of information about games and sports.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations on pages 8, 32, 46, and 58 are two editions of the country jig, *Simon and Susan*. The edition that names H[enry] Gosson was published between 1601 and 1640; that issued by W. I. is of uncertain date. If W. I. stands for William Jones, the publisher was one of the two men of that name active from 1589 to 1618 and from 1601 to 1626 respectively. Neither of these men, however, is known to have published ballads. It is possible that by an error of transposition the initials have been reversed and that I. W. was intended. If so, the publisher may have been John Wright, father or son, active from 1605 to 1658 and from 1634 to 1667 respectively. Both of the Wrights dealt extensively in ballads. The originals of the jig are I, 260 and 261 and I, 278 and 279 in the Pepysian Collection in Magdalen College, Cambridge, and they are reproduced here through the courtesy of the Librarian, Mr. G. W. Ladborough. There are discussions and reprints, together with notes on the music, in C. R. Baskerville's *The Elizabethan jig* and in Professor H. E. Rollins' *Pepysian Garland*, pp. 131–138. Information about ballad publishers will be found in Mr. Cyprian Blagden's article, "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Bibliography*, VIII (1954), 161–180.

STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

Production plans of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre include *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Measure for Measure*. The season will open on 10 April with *Hamlet*, directed by Michael Langham, and starring Alan Badel. One week later, Miss Margaret Webster's *Merchant* will have Margaret Johnston as Portia and Emlyn Williams as Shylock. *Othello*, under the direction of Glen Byam Shaw and with Harry Andrews and Emlyn Williams as Othello and Iago, will be added to the repertoire on 29 May. The fourth play will be *Love's Labour's Lost*, opening 3 July and directed by Peter Hall. The last play of the season, *Measure for Measure*, will have its first night on 14 August, and its director will be Anthony Quayle, who recently played Tamburlaine in New York City.

Seat reservations have been available since 9 January, and people who intend to visit Stratford from abroad should lose no time in ordering tickets.

STRATFORD, ONTARIO

The fourth annual season will have Michael Langham as Artistic Director. He announces that the Shakespeare plays in 1956 will be *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Henry V*. He will have Christopher Plummer, last year's Ferdinand in *The Tempest* at Stratford, Connecticut, to play Henry V, and Douglas Campbell in the role of Falstaff.

The Board of Governors of the Stratford Festival Foundation have accepted the invitation to take the Canadian company to Scotland at the end of the Summer for a two-week season of *Henry V* at the Edinburgh Festival.

LAURENCE OLIVIER'S FILM OF *RICHARD III*

The first American showing of Sir Laurence Olivier's *Richard III* will be at a gala première for ANTA on Sunday evening, 11 March, at the Bijou Theatre in New York. Directed and produced by Olivier, the cast will include Sir Laurence as Richard III; Sir John Gielgud as Clarence; Sir Ralph Richardson as Buckingham; Sir Cedric Hardwicke as Edward IV; Claire Bloom as Lady Anne; Pamela Brown as Mistress Shore; Alec Clunes as Hastings; and Norman Wooland as Catesby.

Special school discounts will be made for all schools by Lopert Films Distributing Corporation. These will begin two weeks after the opening of the New York run. In New York City, these discounts will admit faculty and pupils to matinees (2:30 p.m.) for \$1, tax included, and to evening performances (8:30 p.m.) for \$1.25, tax included. School discounts can be secured *only* from Mondays through Fridays (holidays excluded).

Theatre openings in key cities throughout the United States will follow, and arrangements similar to those in New York will be made elsewhere.

Falcon and Spear—A RUSSIAN DRAMATIC TRILOGY

The October 1955 issue of *News: A Soviet Review of World Events*, p. 22, gives an interview with Nikolai Akimov, chief stage director of the Leningrad Soviet Theatre, about a forthcoming production of *The Man from Stratford*, which is Part I of a dramatic trilogy entitled *Falcon and Spear*, by Samuel Alyoshin. The second part, as yet unnamed, will deal with Shakespeare's maturity, court intrigue, and the poet's relations with Ben Jonson. Part III will tell of Shakespeare's retirement from the theatre and his last years. Part II is now in process of composition, and Part III is scheduled for completion about 1958 or 1959.

Speaking of himself, Akimov says:

A very special place in my theatrical work is occupied by Shakespeare. I have produced *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night*, and designed a production of *The Comedy of Errors*. It is my cherished hope to stage *The Tempest*, a very profound play, and one that touches on serious social problems.

Then, commenting in general terms, Akimov continues:

Shakespeare is so near and dear to the Soviet Theatre, that—with all due respect to his national roots—we cannot help but look on him as one of our own.

According to Akimov, Alyoshin's Part I, *The Man from Stratford*, is ready to be staged. It "shows us Shakespeare as a youth, in the days when he joined a wandering company of actors, and brings us up to the writing of *Romeo and Juliet*. . . . Alyoshin has written a poetic fancy of the man Shakespeare *may have been*—careful only not to clash with any of the facts that have been definitely established. . . . Particularly interesting is Alyoshin's new conjecture about Shakespeare's sonnets. [He] suggests that the sonnets were addressed to a woman with much the same story as Viola in *Twelfth Night*. A new actor joins the company in which the young Shakespeare is playing—a very talented youth, not to be rivalled in his acting of female roles. But Shakespeare divines his secret. This is no youth but a disguised girl. And it is to this girl that the sonnets are written. Their love ends tragically, balked by the intrigues of a certain great lady." (This news item was made available through the kindness of Dr. Milton Crane.)



THE GERMAN SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

At the ninety-second festival of the Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft at Bochum on 21–23 April, the speakers will be the author, Reinhold Schneider, of Freiburg, and Professor Horst Oppel, of Mainz. At the wonderful Bochum theatre, there will be performances of Hans Schalla's production of *Antony and Cleopatra* and also of *Much Ado* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Volume 92 of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* will be published in the early summer.

SHAKESPEARE CLUBS AND STUDY GROUPS

The Shakespeare Club of Endicott, New York, came into being in January 1934, as the outgrowth of a neighborhood group that had begun to study Shakespeare's plays during the preceding autumn. It is now a flourishing group twenty-two years old. The programs have consisted of a study of thirty-seven plays and the sonnets. The plays are read aloud and members are appointed to present papers on topics of special interest. Each season concludes with the performance in costume of selected scenes from the play or plays just studied. *2 Henry VI* and *Pericles* are being read in 1955-1956. The officers for this season are: President, Mrs. Kasson E. Beilby; Vice President, Miss Kittie Meeker; Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Thomas Giordano; Historian, Miss Inew Miller; and Study Leader, Mrs. James Fletcher.

The Shakespeare Society of Washington, D. C., is now entering its thirty-ninth year under the leadership of a new president, Mr. Dell Floyd. He succeeds President Emeritus E. V. Wilcox, who was one of the founding members and who served as president almost from the beginning. (The death of Dr. Wilcox occurred in January 1956.) Among the programs scheduled for the current year are lectures by Professor Philip H. Highfill of George Washington University on *The Tempest*; "Astronomical References in Shakespeare" by Dr. Charles G. Abbot of the Smithsonian Institution; and "Richard III in the Writings of Sir Thomas More" by the Rev. John L. Madden of The Catholic University of America. At the December dinner meeting, Professor Fred S. Tupper of George Washington University presented the award of the Society to the outstanding student in English at that institution, Mr. Samuel J. Keyser. The feature of the Birthday Banquet in April will be the address by Professor W. Gordon Zeeveld of the University of Maryland, who will present the Society's award to the outstanding student of English at the University of Maryland.

Officers for the current year are: President, Dell Floyd; Vice Presidents, F. M. Van Natter, F. S. Tupper, and James Waldo Fawcett; Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Amy P. Leshner; Receptionist, Mrs. Herbert H. Lawhorn; and Director of Music, Anthony Vinci.

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Professor GEORGES ALFRED BONNARD, of the Université de Lausanne, is author of *La controverse de Martin Marprelate, 1588-1590* and of *Troilus and Criseyde, Extracts Selected and Edited*.

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Professor ALAN S. DOWNER, of Princeton University, is the author and editor of numerous articles and books.

Dr. ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH is Editor of the Kingston (Ontario) *Whig-Standard*.

Sir WALTER WILSON GREG, author of *The Shakespeare First Folio, The Editorial Position in Shakespeare, Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*, and other books, is about ready to bring out the third volume of his *Bibliography of the Printed English Drama to the Restoration*.

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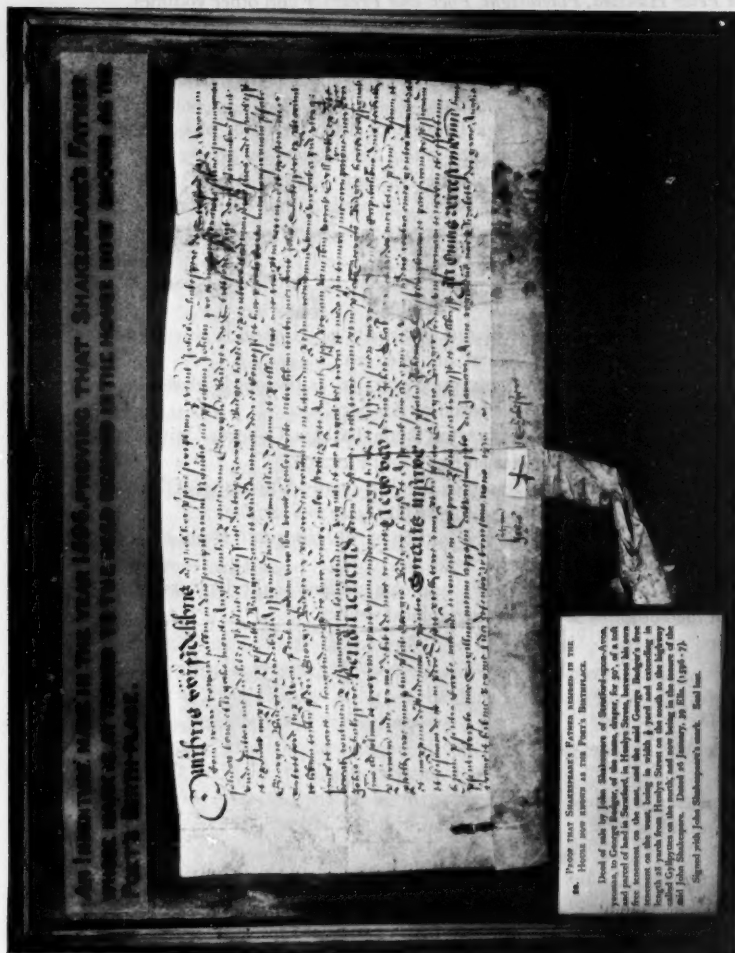
Professor GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR., is the newly elected Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America.

Professor JOSEPH S. STULL, of Santa Barbara College, University of California, has published articles on Keats and Plutarch.

ALWIN THALER, Professor of English at the University of Tennessee, has published several books, including *Shakespeare to Sheridan*.

Dr. SIDNEY THOMAS is the author of *A History of Hamlet Criticism* and many articles on Shakespeare.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAMS is a graduate student at the University of Virginia and the author of several bibliographical studies.



AN HISTORICAL NOTE IN THE YEAR 1596, PROVED THAT SHAKESPEARE'S FATHER
WAS THE FIRST WHO ATTACHED TO THE HOUSE BEING IN THE HOUSE NOW KNOWN AS THE
POET'S BIRTH-PLACE.

THESE TWO SHAKESPEARE'S FATHERS WERE
HORNED NEW NAMES AS THE POET'S BIRTH-PLACE.

Deed of sale by John Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon
proctor, to George Rogers of the same, daughter, for 20^s of a sixth
part of land in Stratford in Henley Street, between the same
proctor and the said Rogers, and the said Rogers and the said
proctor on the one, being in width 1 yard and extending in
length 10 yards from Henley Street on the north to the highway
on the south, and the said Rogers and the said proctor of the
said John Shakespeare. Dated at January 26. 1596. 25.

Signed with John Shakespeare's mark. Seal lost.

Deed of sale of a parcel of land by John Shakespeare, 26 January 1596/7. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Shakespeare's Birthplace.

Shakespeare's Use of the Upper Stage in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v

JOHN CRANFORD ADAMS

THE original staging of *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v (often referred to as "the second balcony scene"), is entirely straightforward in both early editions of the play, however much they differ in details. The "stolne and surreptitious" First Quarto of 1597 offers a corrupt and truncated "memorial" text but in some degree makes amends by furnishing a number of stage directions not to be found in the "good" Second Quarto of 1599. It is therefore easy for a modern reader to follow the original staging if he is equipped with some knowledge of the design and conventions of an Elizabethan multiple stage.

An article by Professor Richard Hosley entitled "The Use of the Upper Stage in *Romeo and Juliet*" (*Shakespeare Quarterly*, V, 371-384), expands at some length the textual notes on III. v, appended to his newly published edition of the text. Unfortunately the article demonstrates that the original management of this famous scene is anything but straightforward to Professor Hosley and that he confuses the respective merits of the "bad" and "good" Quartos in virtually every detail bearing upon the stage business.

Here are the pertinent lines of the Q1 version:

<i>Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window.</i>	
<i>Jul:</i> Wilt thou be gone? It is not yet nere day,	I
* * * * *	
So now be gone, more light and light it growes.	35
<i>Rom:</i> More light and light, more darke and darke our woes.	36
Farewell my Love, one kisse and Ile descend.	37
<i>He goeth downe.</i>	
<i>Jul:</i> Art thou gone so, my Lord, my Love, my Friend?	38
* * * * *	
<i>Rom:</i> And trust me Love, in my eye so doo you,	53
Drie sorrow drinks our blood: adieu, adieu.	54
<i>Enter Nurse hastily.</i>	
<i>Nur:</i> Madame beware, take heed the day is broke,	55
Your Mother's comming to your Chamber, make all sure.	56
<i>She goeth downe from the window.</i>	
<i>Enter Juliets Mother, Nurse.</i>	
<i>Moth:</i> Where are you Daughter?	57
<i>Nur:</i> What Ladie, Lambe, what Juliet?	58
<i>Jul:</i> How now, who calls?	59
<i>Nur:</i> It is your Mother.	60
<i>Moth:</i> Why how now Juliet?	61a
<i>Jul:</i> Madam, I am not well.	61b
<i>Moth:</i> What evermore weeping for your Cosens death: etc.	62

In terms of the stage for which Shakespeare wrote this play, the sequence of action poses no problems: Romeo and Juliet enter in a Window Stage (one of the two such stages flanking the curtained upper stage on the second level of the tiring house). Their post-nuptial hour together has drawn to an end, and Romeo must leave for Mantua. At line 37 he descends from the window to the ground by means of a rope ladder (the audience is made aware of this ladder in earlier scenes). Juliet lingers above and Romeo below until their final farewells are exchanged. Romeo makes his exit at line 54. He has just gone when the Nurse hastily enters the Window Stage to warn Juliet that Lady Capulet is coming to Juliet's "Chamber" (lines 55-56). Her warning given, the Nurse turns from the window and at once enters the adjoining upper stage—here (or earlier?) discovered as Juliet's bedroom—at the very instant that Lady Capulet enters there: "*Enter Juliet's Mother, Nurse.*" Four half-lines later, in compliance with her Mother's and the Nurse's summons, Juliet leaves the Window Stage and also enters the bedroom. The Mother's sharp question, "Why how now Juliet?" (line 61a) establishes the fact that only at that instant had Juliet made her appearance there. Some thirty lines later Capulet joins them, and in this "Chamber" the scene continues to its close.

Professor Hosley is unable to accept this interpretation based upon the directions and dialogue of the Q₁ text. Instead he begins by rejecting the opening direction, asserting that "*in the window*" does not mean "in the window" but merely has the sense of somewhere on the upper level of the stage. He rather doubts the existence of window stages and excludes them from his discussion, saying, "their existence would not materially affect the argument."

Professor Hosley next asserts that Juliet had made her exit from the upper level "directly after Romeo's exit" and *before* the Nurse warned her. He would have us believe that Juliet was in the process of descending back stage to the lower level during the time the Nurse entered the Main Stage and spoke her warning. As a consequence of having introduced these changes in the order of events, Professor Hosley must needs reject the Q₁ direction as given, "*Enter Juliets Mother, Nurse*" (which he styles "an erroneous duplication") and substitute "*Enter Juliet's Mother.*" Later in the same paragraph which maintains that Juliet left the upper stage at line 54, Professor Hosley proposes that the "*She*" of "*She goeth downe from the window*" (following line 56) also must be taken to refer to Juliet. This inconsistency is never explained, nor, if the "*She*" does in fact refer to Juliet, how this important direction chanced to be misplaced. Although this "*She*" premise is the very cornerstone of Professor Hosley's theories regarding the staging of both Q₁ and Q₂, one looks in vain for any evidence adduced in support of it, or indeed any awareness that most readers will regard it as highly improbable.

The final consequence of Professor Hosley's reconstruction of Q₁ is that in the space of ten or a dozen lines—i.e. not much more than half a minute—the Main Stage must represent successively an orchard, a space outside the door of Juliet's bedroom, and the interior of Juliet's bedroom. Elizabethan drama doubtless was naive in some respects, but at no time were its stage conventions so chaotic as this! *Romeo and Juliet*, in this scene as elsewhere, illustrates a convention observed by Shakespeare in all his plays after 1595, namely that any unit of the multiple stage shall represent only one locale during the course of a given scene (i.e. from one "clear stage" to the next).

In sum, Professor Hosley's theory that the second half of III. v, is played on the lower stage forces him (1) to reject the "*at the window*" of the opening direction and "*from the window*" of the fourth direction; (2) to interpret "then window let day in" as no more than a pretty piece of verbal scene painting; (3) to hypothecate Juliet's exit from the upper stage before the Nurse warned her; (4) to assume that the Nurse entered not to Juliet above but to the empty fore-stage below where she addresses her warning to the vacant air; (5) to insist that "*she goeth down from the window*" refers not to the Nurse who has just entered but to a Juliet who, according to Professor Hosley, had already left the stage; (6) to alter "*Enter Juliets Mother, Nurse*" to "*Enter Juliet's Mother*"; and (7) to postulate three different identities for the forestage in the course of thirty seconds. Any theory that takes so many liberties with one of Shakespeare's most notable scenes is obviously unacceptable. It serves no useful purpose except to demonstrate the baleful consequences of ignoring the conventions and physical conditions of Shakespeare's stage when attempting to edit a Shakespearian play.

Let us now examine the comparable sequence in the "good" Second Quarto of 1599 (a text currently regarded as having been printed from an "authentic" manuscript with occasional borrowings from Q1¹) and reconstruct its version of the staging.

<i>Enter Romeo and Juliet aloft.</i>	
<i>Ju.</i> Wilt thou be gone? It is not yet neare day:	1
* * * * *	
O now be gone, more light and light it growes.	35
<i>Romeo.</i> More light and light, more darke and darke our woes.	36
<i>Enter Madame and Nurse.</i>	
<i>Nur.</i> Madam.	37
<i>Ju.</i> Nurse.	38
<i>Nur.</i> Your Lady Mother is coming to your chamber,	39
The day is broke, be wary, looke about.	40
<i>Jul.</i> Then window let day in, and let life out.	41
<i>Ro.</i> Farewell, farewell, one kisse and Ile descend.	42
<i>Ju.</i> Art thou gone so love, Lord, ay husband, friend,	43
* * * * *	
<i>Rom.</i> And trust me love, in my eye so do you:	58
Drie sorrow drinkes our blood. Adue, adue.	59
<i>Ju.</i> O Fortune, Fortune, all men call thee fickle,	60
* * * * *	
But send him backe.	64
<i>Enter Mother.</i>	
<i>La.</i> Ho daughter, are you up?	65
<i>Ju.</i> Who ist that calls? It is my Lady mother.	66
Is she not downe so late or up so early?	67
What unaccustomed cause procures her hither?	68
<i>La.</i> Why how now Juliet?	69a
<i>Ju.</i> Madam I am not well.	69b
<i>La.</i> Evermore weeping for your Cozens death?	70

¹ Agreement has yet to be reached as to the precise nature of the copy for Q2. Was it mainly Shakespeare's "foul papers", or was it a "fair copy" developed from them? To what extent does it reveal book-keeper revisions? Etc. Every textual study of *Romeo and Juliet* awaits the resolution of this basic problem.

Here in Q2 Romeo and Juliet open the scene by entering "aloft", i.e. in some one of the second-level stages. Earlier situations in the play, notably the so-called "first balcony scene", make it probable that this place "aloft" is the "window" in which Juliet appeared to Romeo after the Capulet ball. This "window" hypothesis is corroborated by Juliet's saying (at line 41), "Then window let day in, and let life out."

At line 36, while Romeo is still with Juliet in the Window Stage, the Nurse enters² to warn them that Lady Capulet is coming to Juliet's "chamber". Where does the Nurse enter? No evidence on this point is given in Q2 (or its derivatives Q3-4 and F1). Further, no exit direction is supplied after the Nurse has concluded her warning; but exit she must (and editors supply the direction immediately after line 40), inasmuch as she re-enters with Capulet later in the scene.

Romeo descends at once. No direction is given—none is required: the dialogue contains all the information needed to reconstruct what takes place, including the precise moment of starting down the rope ladder (between lines 42-43). Sixteen lines later Romeo concludes his farewells: "Adué, adué". The text at line 59 supplies the direction "*Exit*."

Juliet's grief at once breaks out in the soliloquy beginning "O Fortune, Fortune!" Only four and one-half lines have been spoken before the Mother enters Juliet's "chamber" (line 65) and Juliet hears the call, "Ho daughter, are you up?" Juliet manages three enigmatic lines (66-68) and then—but obviously not until then—advances to her bedroom and her Mother's presence. Lady Capulet promptly demands, "Why how now Juliet?" Juliet explains her tears with the evasive reply, "Madam I am not well." The Upbraiding sequence begins, reaching its climax after the entrance to the bedroom of Capulet and the Nurse at line 126.

Where, one asks, is this "chamber" to which Lady Capulet enters and to which her call summons Juliet? Even without evidence to be found in the Q2 text, one might fairly assume that it was on the upper level of the stage, if only that professional actors sought in their theatre practices to reflect domestic customs familiar to their audiences.

But evidence and implications are indeed present in the text. First, Q2 opens the scene "*aloft*" and subsequently introduces three other characters. On the basis of scenes in many other plays wherein the action transfers in midcourse from one level to another, we could expect to find "*Enter below . . .*" if a change of level were in question here. Secondly, the Nurse's warning: "Your Lady Mother is coming to your chamber . . . be wary, looke about", has the clear implication of Lady Capulet's approach towards Juliet in her present situation and of all the consequences of finding Romeo there. It does not imply, to my way of thinking, that Romeo and Juliet are quite safe from discovery and that Juliet should prepare herself to leave the window and go to her room in some other part of the Capulet house. Thirdly, the Q2 text requires Juliet to speak her three Surprise lines (66-68) immediately before joining her mother. In the absence of

² "*Enter Madame and Nurse*" is the direction as printed in Q2. Every modern editor alters it to "*Enter Nurse*" in view of the implications of the dialogue and the "*Enter Mother*" of line 64. Among the theories advanced in explanation are (1) that the compositor inadvertently added to the direction the prominent word of the following line, or (2) that he misunderstood his copy which may have required the Nurse to call out an offstage "Madame!" immediately before the "Madame!" of line 36.

any such direction as "*Juliet speaks within*", her having left the window just before or during those lines—or, indeed, at any time between the opening of the scene and the end of line 68—is inadmissible. It follows, therefore, that the distance between the Window Stage and Juliet's "chamber" is negligible and that the chamber in question is in fact the Upper Stage.

Indeed, the existence of two adjoining stages on the upper level—one fronted with a bay window overlooking the Main Stage below and the other having a curtained "fourth wall" which could be opened to the audience's view—indubitably led to Shakespeare's creation of this fascinating and highly dramatic scene with its interplay of vertical and horizontal movement involving three units of the multiple stage.

What is Professor Hosley's analysis of the staging of III. v, in the Second Quarto? He begins with the statement: "A controlling factor is that the action must shift from the upper to the lower level in accordance with the First Quarto direction for Juliet's descent." One difficulty soon encountered is the total absence of any dialogue in Q2 to "cover" Juliet's hypothecated descent from the upper stage. Another is the need to assume that the Main Stage represents at one and the same time an orchard overlooked by Juliet's window and the interior of Juliet's bedroom.

Professor Hosley proposes a way out of his first difficulty. He would omit all but the first sentence of the Surprise soliloquy, "for its elimination from Q2 is essential to staging the transition in an Elizabethan public theater." Then he would have Juliet start downstairs *before* the Mother enters, asking us to believe with him that "Ho Daughter, are you up?" and Juliet's "Who ist that calls?"—the latter spoken "offstage"—are in fact "covering dialogue" which "with appropriate stage business such as knocking and listening" will combine to fill out the required interval. Nothing daunted by the wounds his mattock and his wrenching iron have already inflicted upon the Q2 text, Professor Hosley proceeds:

If more spectacle is required . . . the Nurse can enter mute just before the Mother at line 64 (rather than at line 126 with Capulet), and provide additional covering time by performing such comic stage business (for example) as yawning and pulling herself together.

It is not easy to imagine how Professor Hosley could get himself into a worse pickle than this, but he manages to do so:

Undoubtedly Shakespeare intended the action of III. v to shift from the upper to the lower level, but apparently in writing out his foul papers he either failed to visualize the staging problems posed by the transition of scene or left the details of staging to be worked out in rehearsals and incorporated in the promptbook.

"He that is dizzy", remarked the Widow, "thinks the world turns round."

The truth of the matter is that Shakespeare, the greatest dramatist and equally the most expert theatrical craftsman of the Elizabethan age, regarded the staging of *Romeo and Juliet* as inseparable from the total effect. The resources of his stage were as constantly in his mind's eye during periods of creation as were the characters, their language, or their star-crossed destiny. Indeed it may

be said that *Romeo and Juliet* is fashioned more closely upon the distinctive characteristics of the multiple stage and introduces more theatrical innovations to enhance and sharpen the dramatic story than any other Shakespearian work. For example, it is one of the first Elizabethan plays to devise a transitional interlude in the Study as a means of altering the identity of the Main Stage during the course of a composite scene (I. iv-v). It is the first to introduce a rope-laddered descent from the Window Stage (III. v). It is the first (to my recollection) to make use of three visible units of the multiple stage in one scene (III. v). It is the first to employ simultaneous settings by opening both curtained inner stages at the same time (IV. iii-v). And its final scene resolves in brilliant fashion the perennially bothersome problem of removing dead bodies from the stage.

There may have been dramatists who failed to visualize staging problems posed by their theme—but not Shakespeare when writing *Romeo and Juliet*!

We have now to consider the relationship of Q1 and Q2 in this matter of staging *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. The problem centers in a comparison of their stage directions, for in other respects the Second Quarto is to be preferred to the First. Here are the directions in question:

Q1	line	Q2	line
<i>Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window</i>	1	<i>Enter Romeo and Juliet aloft</i>	1
		<i>Enter Madame and Nurse</i>	36
<i>He goeth downe</i>	37		
<i>Exit</i>	54	<i>Exit</i>	59
<i>Enter Nurse hastily</i>	54		
<i>She goeth downe from the window</i>	56		
<i>Enter Juliets Mother, Nurse</i>	56	<i>Enter Mother</i>	64
<i>Enter olde Capolet</i>	92	<i>Enter Capulet and Nurse</i>	126
<i>She kneeles downe</i>	117		
<i>Exit</i>	156	<i>Exit</i>	197
<i>Exit</i>	164	<i>Exit</i>	205
<i>Shee lookes after Nurse</i>	184		
<i>Exit</i>	192	<i>Exit</i>	242

The greater fullness of the Q1 directions is obvious at a glance: in the 192 lines of Q1 there are twelve directions; in the 242 lines of Q2 there are eight. The Q1 directions, moreover, contain descriptive words and phrases; those of Q2 are reduced to the barest essentials. These marked differences indicate that the two renegade players whose memorial reconstruction of *Romeo and Juliet* was printed as Q1 supplied directions based upon their own vivid recollection of what actually happened.³ Shakespeare, on the other hand, provided in his MS text the sparse directions required by a professional prompter.

It is for us a most happy accident that the initial success of *Romeo and Juliet* gave rise to a pirated edition (and also that this edition has survived). Thanks to it, some part of the haze which three and a half centuries interpose between the original production of *Romeo and Juliet* and today is lifted. These memorial directions, naive but manifestly authentic, provide us with vistas of stage business reaching all the way back to the Curtain Playhouse where the play first appeared.

³ See H. R. Hoppe, *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet*, 1948, and Richard Hosley, editor, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1955, pp. 158-159.

This, then, is the value of the "bad" First Quarto: certain of its directions report details of Shakespeare's own staging and stage business we could not otherwise discover. In III. v, for example, the First Quarto's "*in the window*" confirms what is only an hypothesis (however well supported) regarding the Second Quarto's "*aloft*"; and its "*Enter Nurse hastily . . . She goeth down from the window*" tells us where the nurse appeared when entering to warn Juliet, as well as in what manner she entered the Window Stage. Furthermore, the fact that in Q1 the Nurse enters alone to announce that Lady Capulet is on her way to Juliet's chamber corroborates the belief, if supplementary evidence were required, that the "*Enter Madame and Nurse*" (line 36) of Q2 is indeed a printer's error.

The Q1 directions furnish us with flashes of action vividly recalled from actual performances, but the order of events in Q1 is not for that reason to be trusted. Take the matter of the Nurse's warning. In Q1 it follows Romeo's departure; in Q2 it precedes. Unquestionably the Q2 version is the better. Coming abruptly into the middle of the "second balcony scene" it shatters the lyrical mood established by the first thirty-six lines, motivates Romeo's immediate descent from the window, and casts over the remaining farewells the fear that Lady Capulet will arrive before Romeo has gone. The timing of the Nurse's warning, moreover, strengthens the parallel between the earlier "first balcony scene" and this present meeting, thereby emphasizing the contrast between the upsurging happiness then and the overwhelming despair now.

Q1 with its curtailed and disordered text loses all this, making the Warning merely a prelude to Lady Capulet's entrance. But as textual evidence shows, Shakespeare intended this sequence to flow in the manner set forth in Q2. Observe the felicitous use of eight rhyming couplets in the first fifty-nine lines of the Q2 version, all but the last occurring as one speaker's words echo to the concluding phrase of the preceding speaker. For example:

Rom. Farewell, farewell, one kisse and Ile descend.
Jul. Art thou gone so love, Lord, ay husband, friend.

These couplets indicate the care with which this dialogue was composed. It is no accident, therefore, that a couplet links the Nurse's warning and Juliet's heart-broken comment:

Nur. Your Lady Mother is comming to your chamber,
 The day is broke, be wary, looke about. [Exit Nurse.]
Jul. Then window let day in, and let life out.

This passage establishes beyond question the correct timing of the Nurse's warning. The Q1 timing must be rejected.

The second difference again relates to the Nurse. In Q1 she remains on stage from the time of her entrance to warn Juliet until almost the end of the scene; in Q2 she enters briefly to warn Juliet, disappears, and reenters with Capulet at line 126. The difference is not of prime importance, but here again Q2 is the more dramatic arrangement. Furthermore, it avoids the anomaly of the Nurse standing silently by during the sixty-two lines in which Juliet fends off her Mother's proposals of a marriage to Paris.

Our conclusions may be summarized in a few lines. The staging of *Romeo*

and *Juliet*, III. v, is clear in both Q1 and Q2 when these texts are accepted as they stand. Both versions require the normal facilities of an Elizabethan multiple stage. Q2 is markedly superior to Q1 in the order of events by which the scene is developed and should be followed in every major respect. The value of Q1 lies chiefly in its stage directions, for these confirm or amplify the laconic directions of Q2 and afford the modern reader insight into details of stage business as Shakespeare conceived them and as witnessed by the earliest audiences.

Except of course for Romeo's exit by means of the rope ladder and one of the Main Stage doors, all the action of Act III, Scene 5, takes place on the second level of the multiple stage. The scene opens in a Window Stage and at lines 65-68 transfers laterally to the adjoining Upper Stage where it continues for fully eight minutes to its close at line 242. The Upbraiding sequence involves four principal actors, all of whom are together in the bedroom for a considerable length of time.

These conclusions force us to reject in toto Professor Hosley's contention that "the upper stage was not (as various scholars have alleged) used for Juliet's bedroom."

Hofstra College

The Shakespeare Ladies Club

EMMETT L. AVERY



As everyone knows, one phase of the appreciation and, sometimes, adoration of Shakespeare has been the literary or study club, whose members, responsive to his beauties, have enriched their minds and emotions by reading his works or elevated his reputation by spreading his fame beyond their own circle. There is probably no way of knowing now just when the first association of this nature was formed, but certainly one of the earliest was the "Shakespeare Ladies Club" which was organized in the late months of 1736 and which set about promptly to persuade London's theatrical managers to give Shakespeare a greater share in their repertories. Genuinely successful in their efforts, these women, whose identity has eluded our times,¹ began a movement which restored many of Shakespeare's neglected plays to the boards, increased the frequency with which many of the familiar ones were presented, brought his works a great deal of publicity in an exceedingly short time, and became a model to later groups which similarly wished to improve the stage.

The Club arose at an opportune moment when numerous writers of prologues, epilogues, essays, and periodicals lamented that tragedy lay dying, that pantomime and spectacle had threatened to banish Shakespeare and Jonson, and that Italian opera, with an almost hysterical adulation of foreign singers like Senesino, Farinelli, Signora Cuzzoni, and Signora Faustina, had feminized the robust English spirit of earlier days. Depressed by these trends, Aaron Hill, for example, had in his periodical *The Prompter* urged action to counteract these subversive tendencies. In No. 93 (30 September 1735) he advocated the formation of "An Association for the Support of the Stage" by "Men of *Quality, Taste, and Fortune*", with special emphasis upon the support of new playwrights as well, a point he re-emphasized on 3 October 1735 and 27 February 1736. At much the same time an appeal was made to the "Public-Spirited" officers of the "Society for the Encouragement of Learning" by the anonymous author of *The Tears of the Muses* (1737), who argued that "our present low Relish for *dramatical Buffoonery*" would give way to "good *Tragedy and Comedy*" if the "Concurrence of your munificent Endeavours, but for one or two short Winters" would turn to augmenting the reasonableness of applauding good drama by making it fashionable as well. Stimulated by this type of appeal, the Shakespeare Ladies Club

¹ An extensive search of poems, essays, newspapers, periodicals, correspondence, and diaries for the years from 1736 through 1739 has failed to yield the names of any of the women who organized or belonged to the Shakespeare Ladies Club.

aimed precisely at this goal: the joining of Fashion to Reason, as suggested by a contemporary poem on their endeavors:

No more shall merit's passion fail,
Since beauty, wit, and knowledge prize,
Whose bright example shall prevail,
And make it fashion to be wise.^{1a}

The first suggestions of the influence of "Shakespeare's Ladies", as they were sometimes called, appeared early in January 1737 in the persistent return of a common heading to the playbills "At the Desire of several Ladies of Quality" for Shakespearian performances. Although this heading was not unusual in the early eighteenth century, it was significantly present on every announcement of each performance of a Shakespeare play at Drury Lane in January 1737 (except for a command performance of *Hamlet* for the Prince and Princess of Wales). By early February the movement had sufficient force to be useful as a puff for *The Death of King Charles the First*, a play "in Imitation of Shakespear's Stile", for this drama proved to J. T., writing in the *Daily Advertiser* 8 February 1737, that the "present Inclination of the Town [gave] a Prospect of having Sense once more follow'd, as warmly, as Farce and Melody have lately been." More emphatically, at the premiere of *The Independent Patriot*, by Francis Lynch, at Lincoln's Inn Fields 12 February 1737 the prologue spoken by William Havard lauded the Shakespeare Ladies Club:

Such is our Author's Combat of to-night,
Boldly he strikes at your refin'd Delight:
At Musick's Trunk the furious Axe he drives,
Nor fears Prevention from the Ladies Eyes.
By a late* Instance they seem well inclin'd
To make the Ear the Passage to the Mind;
And Shakespear smiles to be with tender Care,
Old as he is, supported by the Fair.

* Alluding to the Ladies Subscription this Winter for the Revival of *Shakespear's* Plays.

The momentum of the Club's approval soon brought *Cymbeline* to Covent Garden (15 February 1737) for its first appearance there (or elsewhere in London) since 1720; *King John* ("As Written by Shakespear") to the same theatre on 26 February 1737 for its first performance in the eighteenth century²; and James Miller's alteration of *Much Ado About Nothing* under the title of *The Universal Passion* at Drury Lane on 28 February 1737. The prologue to the latter included an almost ecstatic eulogy of the Shakespeare Ladies Club:

Britannia thus, with Folly's Gloom o'ercast,
Has slumb'ring lain near half a Cent'ry past,
But now what Joy! to find the Night is o'er!
To see the Lamp of Science shine once more;

^{1a} Quoted in *Public Advertiser* 7 February 1764 as a compliment to the Shakespeare Ladies Club in a review of theatrical conditions in the first half of the century.

² Part of the stimulus for this revival of *King John* came from Colley Cibber's abortive efforts to bring on his adaptation of this play, a project frustrated by the Templars, whose antipathy to Cibber frightened him away from what they called his mutilation of Shakespeare; Cibber eventually brought it on as *Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John* at Drury Lane on 20 February 1745.

To see the Reign of Farce and Dulness end,
And Albion's noble Fair to Shakespear's Sense attend.

'Twas this gave Birth to our Attempt to-night,
Fond to bring more of his rich Scenes to light:
But conscious how unequal to the Task,
Our Bard scarce dares your Clemency to ask:

. . . .

To You, ye Fair, for Refuge now he flies,
And as you smile or frown, he lives or dies:
You are the ablest Judges of this Play,
Since Love's almighty Pow'r's his Theme to-day:
To your Protection Shakespear's Offspring take,
And save the Orphan for the Father's Sake.

By early March London obviously was enjoying a considerable revival of Shakespeare, and the newspapers found in its side-issues a source of topical satire and entertainment. In the *Grub Street Journal* 3 March 1737 there appeared a letter by Shakespeare, Jonson, Dryden, and Rowe addressed to "all judicious Frequenters of the Theatres", in which the ghosts of the four dramatists, acknowledging "'Tis a great Pleasure for us to hear, that the Ladies begin to encourage Common Sense; which makes us in hopes that the Gentlemen will follow their Example", ordered that after 25 May 1737 "no Master of any Theatre shall. . . suffer any of the said Vagrants [Harlequin, Pierrot, and Colombine] nor any Rope-Dancers, Tumblers, &c. to come on the Stage."

On the following day the New Haymarket Theater capitalized on the Ladies Club, Cibber's troubles with *King John*, and the Shakespeare revivals by offering *The Life and Death of King John*, "*As originally written by Shakespear. Supervised, Read over, Revised, and Unalter'd*". To it the manager added "a New Prologue in the Characters of Shakespear's Ghost, the Squire, Mr. Student, and Mr. Bays, concluding with an Address to the Ladies of the Shakespear's Club." In the *Daily Advertiser* for the same day there appeared a letter from "WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR, from Elisium, to the Fair Supporters of Wit and Sense, the Ladies of Great Britain." Addressing the "FAIR CREATURES", W. Shakespear pointed out that although men arrogantly assume for themselves the "Connoissance of all Arts and Sciences, yet the late glorious Stand the Ladies have made in defence of Wit, when it was almost ready to give up the Ghost, will prove that your Relish of what is truly good and poetical, is at least equal, if not superior to theirs. You may allow them the Excellency of Taste in Pantomime, since your Example has already prevail'd upon the Town to neglect and despise Harlequin and his Harlot Columbine, for Shakespear and his lawful Spouse Common Sense." Continuing, W. Shakespear offered his thanks to the Ladies and added:

It is not sufficient, that, to your eternal Honour, History shall deduce this Paragraph of Praise to Perpetuity—"In the Year 1736, (about two Years after the Men of Fashion had made themselves remarkable for the Joys they express'd to have receiv'd from the effeminate Ba-ah of an Italian Weather, and had carried their Profuseness to such a height, that they valu'd themselves on over-paying the Merit of a shrill Pipe; nay, robb'd the Pope's Chapel to supply the Stage, and supported one of his Choristers in as much

State, and made him as saucy as his Holiness himself) the Ladies of Great Britain were so earnest to prop the sinking State of Wit and Sense, that they form'd themselves into a Society, and reviv'd the Memory of the forsaken Shakespear.'

I say this is not sufficient, it shall be said that the grateful Shakespear, return'd from the Grave to make them an Acknowledgment of their Favour.

This acknowledgment was to take the form of an appearance by his "Shade" at the New Haymarket that evening, where he would pay his "Devoirs" in "the most suppliant manner a generous Heart would desire in an obliged Dependant." In addition, the Ghost of Shakespeare intended to confront Cibber, who "has been very free with me".

Throughout the remaining months of the season the cumulative effect of the endeavors of the Club brought on a revival of *Measure for Measure* at Drury Lane on 10 March 1737 for its first performance in that theatre; Covent Garden's first offering that season of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* on 24 March 1737; and on 14 April 1737 at Covent Garden a revival of *1 Henry IV*, "Not acted [there] these Two Years". But the most impressive results of the Shakespearian campaign appear in a comparison of this season's repertory with that of the preceding one. In 1735-1736 the London theatres had given 650 performances (excluding plays in foreign languages, Italian operas, and concerts); of these, 91 (14.0%) were Shakespearian plays.³ In 1736-1737 the theatres had 539 performances, of which 92 (17.0%) were Shakespearian. Most impressive was Drury Lane's record: 198 performances, of which 58 (29.2%) were Shakespearian.

Effective in increasing the number of Shakespearian performances in 1736-1737, the zeal of the Shakespeare Ladies Club had even more important results in the next season. In 1737-1738, when the number of theatres was reduced by the Licensing Act, the Ladies apparently concentrated their attention upon John Rich, manager of Covent Garden, for it was his theatre which showed not only the greatest gain in Shakespearian performances but also had an extraordinarily large number of revivals of the dramatist's plays for their first performances in the eighteenth century. In 1737-1738 the playhouses gave 306 performances, of which 68 (22.2%) were Shakespearian. In three consecutive seasons, then, the percentages had been 14.0, 17.0, and 22.2. In 1737-1738 it was Covent Garden's showing which was more impressive: of 148 performances there, 41 (27.7%) were Shakespearian. To appreciate the achievement of the Ladies, one should remember that this great increase in Shakespearian performances took place in the theatre whose manager was none other than John Rich, who for many seasons had been scorned by many Londoners because he was considered the principal promoter of pantomime and spectacle at the expense of more legitimate drama. Whereas Drury Lane had often given Shakespeare a good share in its repertory, it was only under the influence of the Ladies that Rich became the rival of Drury Lane in the elevation of Shakespeare's plays to a very large proportion of the seasonal offerings.

The major revivals began on 2 November 1737 at Covent Garden with

³ For the sake of uniformity and convenience in discussing Shakespearian performances, I have used the listings in C. B. Hogan, *Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800* (Oxford, 1952), a list which includes adaptations such as *The Universal Passion*, but I have not included in my totals any dramas commonly performed as afterpieces, such as *The Cobar of Preston*.

Much Ado About Nothing, which, though altered into *The Universal Passion* in 1737, had not appeared under its original title since 1721, when it had had three performances at Lincoln's Inn Fields. London, however, was not ready to accept it, for it appeared only three times in 1737-1738. Next came *Richard II* at Covent Garden on 6 February 1738, where it was advertised as not having been acted in forty years. (A version by Lewis Theobald had had ten performances from 1719 through 1721.) This revival, with ten performances, was far more successful. It was followed quickly at the same theatre by *Henry V* on 23 February 1738, and it was also advertised as not having been acted for forty years. (A version by Aaron Hill had had 15 performances between 1723 and 1736.) This revival ran to seven performances. The last of the new ventures was *Henry VI*, offered at Covent Garden on 13 March 1738.⁴ This production was a failure, for the play had but a single performance and did not appear again for some time. Nevertheless, Rich in five months gave 21 performances of four Shakespearian dramas which had rarely been seen by an eighteenth-century audience.

Throughout the season many testimonies to the Shakespeare Ladies Club appeared in print. Toward the end of the season, a writer in *Common Sense* 24 June 1738, after pointing out that some theatrical fashions, like the fondness for Farinelli, the opera singer, had had a violent fluctuation of great adulation followed by a lack of enthusiasm, expressed the opinion that "The great Encouragement which has been given, in these two Winters pass'd, to the acting of Shakespear's Plays, makes me hope Fashion is at last going to side with Virtue, and if ever Publick Diversions are made Auxiliaries to Common Sense, Morality may once more have a Chance of becoming Fashionable." And in the summer, when Covent Garden on 1 August 1738 brought on George Lillo's *Marina*, an adaptation of *Pericles*, which had not been acted in the eighteenth century, the prologue paid tribute to the Ladies:

But, Sirs, what e'er's your fate in future story,
Well have the British Fair secured their glory,
When worse than barbarism had sunk your taste,
When nothing pleas'd but what laid virtue waste,
A sacred band, determin'd, wise, and good,
They jointly rose to stop th'exotick flood,
And strove to wake, by Shakespear's nervous lays,
The manly genius of Eliza's days.

These two seasons apparently comprised the active campaign of the Shakespeare Ladies Club, but in addition to the many concrete actions they brought about, the intangible results of their campaign were also important. The Club had made Shakespeare fashionable. As James Ralph, writing in 1743, stated:

Our great Concern therefore in this Respect ought to be, encouraging old Plays, that abound with a truly *British Spirit*, and which, if ever For-

⁴ A by-product of the Shakespearian revivals was a move to erect a monument to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey. A letter to the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* 19 April 1738 lamented the fact that, although a memorial to Milton had recently been placed there, no monument to the memory of Shakespeare stood in the Abbey. To remedy this lack, Charles Fleetwood, manager of Drury Lane, gave the receipts of a performance of *Julius Caesar* on 28 April 1738 to a fund, and in the next season John Rich, on 10 April 1739, offered *Hamlet* as a benefit for the fund. The statue was placed in Westminster Abbey in 1741.

eigners come to understand them, may speak us a brave, honest, and free People. This is still in our Power, and the Ladies of the *Shakespear* Club, gave a very noble Instance of its being their Inclination. Indeed, if ever the Theatre receives new Life, it must come from this Quarter. The Ladies have been always the best Patrons of Wit, and have distinguished themselves by a true Taste in public Diversions.⁵

In fact, by 1743 this reform of English taste was well under way. After the revivals encouraged by the Shakespeare Ladies Club, in 1740-1741 five more of his dramas were introduced to eighteenth-century audiences: *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *All's Well That Ends Well*, with 27, 9, 20, 9, and 8 performances respectively. The ground was richly prepared, then, for the debut of David Garrick, who in the autumn of 1741 astonished not only the ladies but also the gentlemen of London in *Richard III* and in the following thirty-five years gave much of his attention to Shakespeare, to whom the "Fair Creatures" addressed by the Ghost of W. Shakespear in 1737 had given their practical and emotional devotion.

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⁵ *The Case of Our Present Theatrical Disputes* (London, 1743), p. 44.

"Gates" on Shakespeare's Stage

IRWIN SMITH



S Romeo and Juliet rushes toward its tragic conclusion, the thoughts of the audience are led forward repeatedly to the Capulet burial vault. It was first mentioned by Friar Laurence as part of his desperate plan to save Juliet from a double marriage:

Then as the manner of our countrie is,
Is [i.e., in] thy best robes vncouered on the Beere, ...
Thou shall be borne to that same auncient vault,
Where all the kindred of the *Capulets* lie.¹ (IV. i. 109-112)

The gruesome thought of it filled Juliet with terror as she stood beside her bed with the vial in her hand:

Shall I not then be stifled in the Vault?
To whose foule mouth no healthsome ayre breaths in,
..... an auncient receptacle,
Where for this many hundred yeares the bones
Of all my buried auncestors are packt,
Where bloudie *Tybalt* yet but greene in earth,
Lies festring in his shroude ... (IV. iii. 34-44)

After her supposed death the Friar has bidden

every one prepare
To follow this faire Coarse vnto her graue. (IV. v. 92-93)

Romeo's manservant Balthasar has posted to Mantua to carry the dire news to his master:

Her body sleeps in *Capels* monument,
And her immortal part with Angels li ...
I saw her laid lowe in her kindreds vault,
And presently tooke poste to tell it you. (V. i. 18-21)

to which Romeo has replied

Well *Juliet*, I will lie with thee to night. ...
Come Cordiall and not poyson, go with me
To *Iuliets* graue, for there must I vse thee. (V. i. 34, 85-86)

¹ Quotations of the *Romeo and Juliet* text are from the Second Quarto. In the case of all the other plays considered in this paper, quotations are from the First Folio. Line numbers are from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

Finally, the Friar, aghast to learn that his all-important message to Romeo has miscarried, has said:

Now must I to the Monument alone. . .
Poore liuing Coarse, closde in a dead mans Tombe. (V. ii. 23, 29)

Upon that line he has hurried away; and now the curtains of the inner- or alcove-stage, which have remained closed throughout the two preceding scenes, are drawn open to reveal a pair of gates spanning the aperture of the inner stage just behind the curtain-line. They stretch across the opening of the rear stage from side to side and from top to floor, completely concealing its interior. The two leaves are hinged at their outer edges, and each is pierced with a barred wicket at eye-level. They are the gates of the Capulet burial vault.

The County Paris and his Page enter through an outer-stage door with flowers and a torch; Paris takes the torch from the boy and dismisses him. Alone in the night before the closed doors of the tomb, he drops flowers through the bars of the wicket as a symbolic strewing of Juliet's grave:

Sweet flower, with flowers thy Bridall bed I strew
O woe, thy Canapie is dust and stones,
Which with sweete water nightly I will dewe,
Or wanting that, with teares distild by mones,
The obsequies that I for thee will keepe:
Nightly shall be, to strew thy graue and weepe. (V. iii. 12-17)

His boy's whistle warns him of an intruder's approach, and he hides. Romeo and Balthasar enter with a torch, a mattock, and a crow of iron. Balthasar too is dismissed, and at line 45 Romeo addresses himself to the door of the sepulchre:

Thou detestable mawe, thou wombe of death,
Gorg'd with the dearest morsell of the earth—

he inserts the tongue of his crowbar in the central crack of the gates and puts all his strength against the shaft—

Thus I enforce thy rotten Iawes to open,
And in despite ile cram thee with more foode. (V. iii. 45-48)

The gates now stand ajar. Romeo would perhaps open them wider, but he is prevented by Paris, who comes from hiding and challenges him. They fight, and Paris is slain. With his dying breath he begs to be laid in the tomb with Juliet. Romeo agrees.

Ile burie thee in a triumphant graue.

Swinging the leaves of the gate outward on their hinges, he stands for a moment in the opening, gazing upon Juliet lying on her bier:

A Graue, O no. A Lanthorne slaughtred youth:
For here lies *Juliet*, and her bewtie makes
This Vault a feasting presence full of light.

He turns to pick up the body of Paris and carry it within.

Death lie thou there by a dead man interd. (V. iii. 83-87)

No one, of course, could have the temerity to assert categorically that property "gates" were used in the presentation of this, or indeed any other scene, on Shakespeare's stage. It is the purpose of this paper, however, to examine gate scenes in several plays, to suggest that temporary property gates were needed and that their construction was practicable, and thus to create the presumption that they existed as equipment available for use in any scene to which they were appropriate; and if they were available, then what more likely than they should be put in place for the climactic final scene of *Romeo and Juliet*?

The alternative to the supposition that property gates were used in the burial-vault scene must be the supposition that the scene was staged without the aid of anything other than the normal resources of the tiring-house façade—the stage curtains² and the outer-stage doors. Such an alternative staging has indeed been proposed.³ It assumes that the curtains remain closed throughout the early part of the scene to conceal the tomb's interior, and that later they open to reveal it. Since it would be absurd for fabric hangings to be forced with a crowbar, however, the curtains cannot serve as the door to the tomb; for that a solid door, and therefore one of the outer-stage doors, must be utilized. As the scene opens, then, Paris enters by one of the two platform doors, crosses the stage to the corresponding and similar door on the opposite side, and there strews his flowers. After the door has been pried and the fatal duel fought, Romeo picks up the body and carries it offstage by way of the now unfastened door. At the moment of his doing so the stage curtains are parted by unseen hands to reveal the inner stage and Juliet, and Romeo at once appears within the rear stage, still carrying Paris. This is, of course, an entirely practicable staging, but it leaves something to be desired in two or three respects: (1) the strewing of flowers and sweet water at a platform door, a part of the normal everyday equipment of the stage, would approach the grotesque; (2) Romeo's path from door to tomb would be indirect; and (3) the disclosure of the vault's interior would be neither the result of nor synchronous with the forcing of the door. More important than any of these, the alternative staging would seem to lack the theatrical effectiveness which the use of property gates permits and the final scene of the tragedy demands.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, no direct or unassailable evidence exists to support the contention that property gates were used on Shakespeare's stage. Nowhere does he have a stage-direction or a line of dialogue which can be interpreted only on the assumption that gates, other than such as might be symbolized by platform doors or inner-stage curtains, were physically present before the spectators' eyes. Nowhere does he have a scene for which ingenuity cannot suggest a staging which utilizes only the permanent resources of the tiring-house wall. Nowhere does Henslowe mention gates among the properties listed in his inventories. The proof, if it can be found at all, lies in the plays themselves, individually and collectively, as viewed with reference to aptness and effectiveness in their original staging. Taken separately, each gate episode is perhaps susceptible of being presented without resort to special properties, but in every case the use of gates would seem more felicitous, more dramatic, more

² Whenever the word "curtains" is used in the course of this paper, it refers to the hangings which, when closed, concealed the interior of the rear- or inner-stage and separated it from the outer-stage or platform.

³ Cf. John Cranford Adams, *The Globe Playhouse*, pp. 206-207; G. B. Harrison, *Shakespeare: Major Plays*, p. 58, and *Shakespeare's Tragedies*, p. 63.

faithful to the text. And if a presumption of their use be entertained in even one case, then to some extent it is to be entertained in all; for if they were used in one scene, then they existed; and if they existed, they were available for use in all scenes to which they were appropriate.

To argue that property gates existed is not to argue that the Elizabethan stage was literal and realistic; it is a far cry from the supposition that gates were used in certain episodes, to the supposition that an actual wall was thrust out upon the stage for Romeo to leap. Certainly Shakespeare's stage was ruled by convention and suggestion to a degree which we are only recently beginning to appreciate; but it was at the same time a flexible and adaptable stage, capable of meeting the demands which he made upon it; and when, as in so many of the scenes hereafter to be discussed, one of those demands was an illusion of defensibility or impregnability, it had no need to strain illusion to the point of presenting a curtain as a formidable barrier.

The idea of gates on the Elizabethan stage is not a new one; it goes back almost half a century. A handful of writers, all of whom I shall mention later, have assumed their existence in one form or other; but because their remarks have been scattered and brief, and none of them more recent than Granville-Barker's *Prefaces*, they have largely escaped notice.

Over and over again in the course of the historical plays, Shakespeare places scenes before a city or castle, with defenders appearing on the "walls" to parley with besiegers below. He doubtless found that the façade of his tiring-house bore a serviceable resemblance to the portal of a castle or fortified town: at ground level, the wide opening of the inner stage to serve as gateway; above, a balcony or tarras to suggest the walls; and stretching out in front of it all, the broad expanse of the outer stage to represent the adjacent fields. In nearly all such scenes, the idea of defense is implicit or explicit; and it is in such scenes that one imagines the fabric curtains as being withdrawn to reveal stout oaken gates barring access to the stronghold.

1 Henry VI calls for gates more often than any other play in the canon. The third scene of Act I opens thus, Gloucester speaking:

I am come to suruey the Tower this day;
Since *Henries* death, I feare there is Conueyance:
Where be these Warders, that they wait not here?
Open the Gates, 'tis *Gloster* that calls.

A warder, clearly within, asks

Who's there, that knocks so imperiously?

Several lines of dialogue follow between Gloucester's men before the gates and the warders within, and an order from Gloucester to his men to "Breake vp the Gates, Ile be your warrantize." And then comes the stage-direction:

*Glosters men rush at the Tower Gates, and Wooduile
the Lieutenant speaks within.*

Wooduile. What noyse is this? what Traytors haue wee here?

Glost. Lieutenant, is it you whose voyce I heare?

Open the Gates, here's *Gloster* that would enter.

Woodville refuses to open, pleading orders from the Cardinal of Winchester. The serving-men shout:

Open the Gates vnto the Lord Protector,
Or wee'le burst them open, if that you come not quickly.

at which point Winchester arrives with his men in tawny coats and diverts the wrath of Gloucester from the Lieutenant to himself. The gates remained closed.

In this scene it would seem obvious that the Tower gates must be represented by something more substantial than stage curtains, for they are knocked upon imperiously and threatened with being broken up and burst open. Nor is it wholly satisfactory that they should be represented by one of the outer-stage doors, for these reasons: first, the gates are so focal to the action that they call for something other than a conventional off-center platform door; second, they are invariably referred to in the plural (lines 4, 13, 14-*sd*, 17, 26, 27, 28, 28-*sd*); and third, the contentious followers of Gloucester and Winchester would probably have required two separate points of entrance when they made their initial appearances, and would certainly need two at the end when they depart simultaneously; and if so, then neither of the stage doors could be reserved for the gates of the Tower of London.

In the same play, a sequence of three scenes (Act I, Scenes v and vi, and Act II, Scene i) takes place before the beleaguered city of Orleans. Throughout the three scenes the action is, of course, continuous and the locality unchanged; and if the three scenes be considered as a unit of action, the picture of a fortified city, with walls aloft and city gates below, becomes clear. The first scene of the sequence opens with alarums and pursuits, and at I.v.14: "*A short Alarum: then enter the Towne with Souldiers.*" In the second scene La Pucelle and French nobles enter "*on the Walls*"; and in the third, Talbot, Bedford, and Burgundy climb the walls with scaling-ladders and "*The French leape ore the walles in their shirts*". Nowhere in the sequence, to be sure, are gates specifically mentioned; but the entry into the town in the first scene seems to imply their existence, and the scaling of the walls in the third to imply their being formidable and closed. Neither of the outer-stage doors can serve as the city gate, for both are needed for the alarums and pursuits with which the sequence opens; therefore the aperture of the inner stage must serve; and surely it is closed in with property gates, for the extraordinary acrobatics of besiegers and besieged would seem purposeless if the way into the city were barred by nothing more solid than the conventional curtains. In the scene following, Act II, Scene ii, the action moves from a point outside the city walls to the market-place within the town; and here the change of place could with entire logic be indicated by the simple device of having the gates opened from within to reveal the rear stage.

Act III, Scene ii, begins with La Pucelle's line "These are the Citie Gates, the Gates of Roan" (again the plural). One of her soldiers knocks, and the watch admits her and them to the city. A few lines later Joan appears "*on the top, thrusting out a Torch burning*", as a signal to the Dauphin and other French nobles to follow her into the city. Again, the subsequent appearances on the walls suggest a defensible city, and again the alarums and excursions, at lines 35, 40, 103, 109, and 114, demand the use of both platform doors by advancing and re-

treating armies, and thus forbid the use of either of them as the entrance to Rouen.

Act IV, Scene ii, opens with Talbot's command:

Go to the Gates of Burdeaux Trumpeter,
Summon their Generall vnto the Wall,

and with the entrance of the French general "aloft". "Open your Citie Gates", Talbot demands, only to be met with prophecies of his own defeat. Still the plural, and still the idea of a fortified stronghold.

Nowhere, admittedly, among the gate episodes in *1 Henry VI*, is there a combination of circumstances in any one scene which makes the use of property gates certain and unavoidable. There is no single scene in which "hard" gates are necessary and in which at the same time neither of the stage doors can be drafted into service. There is no scene in which neither of the doors can serve and in which the curtains, even if inappropriate, cannot be used. But to argue against the use of property gates because of the non-concurrence of compelling conditions would be to suppose that the stage-manager of *1 Henry VI* reasoned thus: "The Tower Scene calls for gates than can be knocked upon, so one of the stage doors must serve, even though the quarreling factions of Gloucester and Winchester must together crowd out through the other at the end; a platform door, therefore, for the Tower gates. Two scenes later, before Orleans, both of the doors are needed for alarums and pursuits; but since no one knocks on the city gates the curtains can be made to serve, in spite of the fact that the English must mount the walls with scaling-ladders across the face of the curtained aperture; the curtains, therefore, for the gates of Orleans. In III. ii a soldier knocks; so again a door must serve, this time for the gates of Rouen." It seems more likely that property gates were used throughout.

The play *3 Henry VI* has two scenes before the gates of walled towns—the first York, the second Coventry. Act IV, Scene vii, opens with the entrance of King Edward, Richard, Hastings, and soldiers. At line 7 the King says:

What then remaines, we being thus arriu'd
From Rauenspurre Hauen, before the Gates of Yorke,
But that we enter, as into our Dukedome?

Rich. The Gates made fast?

Brother, I like not this. . . .

Hast. My Liege, Ile knocke once more, to summon them.

Enter on the Walls, the Maior of Yorke, and his Brethren.

Maior. My Lords,

We were fore-warned of your comming,

And shut the Gates, for safetie of our selues;

For now we owe allegiance vnto *Henry*. . . .

Hast. Open the Gates, we are King *Henries* friends.

Maior. I, say you so? the Gates shall then be opened.

"*He descends*", and five lines later opens the gates and re-enters below. "What, feare not man, but yeeld me vp the Keyes", says the King, and "*Takes his Keyes*".

After an intervening scene acted on the outer stage, the first scene of Act V moves to Coventry. The opening stage-direction reads:

*Enter Warwick, the Maior of Couentry, two Messengers,
and others vpon the Walls.*

Warwick hears an approaching drum and supposes it to be that of the Duke of Clarence, arriving from Southam. He is corrected by Sir John Somerville:

It is not his, my Lord, here Southam lyes:

The Drum your Honor heares, marcheth from *Warwicke*.

(V. i. 12-13)

King Edward enters with Richard of York and soldiers, and gives the order:

Goe, Trumpet, to the Walls, and sound a Parle. . . .

Now *Warwicke*, wilt thou ope the Citie Gates . . . ? (V. i. 16, 21)

The gates remain closed to the King, but are opened from within some forty lines later, when Oxford enters with drum and colors and marches into the city. Richard says "The Gates are open, let vs enter too", but the King holds him back. Montague follows Oxford in leading reinforcements into the city, and Somerset follows Montague. Finally Clarence and his forces arrive on the outer stage to support the King.

In the earlier scene before the gates of York, the gates are equipped with keys and are knocked upon; on both counts curtains would be manifestly unsuitable. In the later scene, both of the outer-stage doors are needed for approaching armies, some from the direction of Warwick and some from Southam, and therefore cannot serve for the gates of Coventry. In both scenes, property gates would seem to be preferable to the inevitable alternatives.

In *King John*, Act II begins with the meeting of Philip of France and the Duke of Austria before Angiers. Young Arthur, whose claim to the English throne is supported by both Philip and Austria, joins in the greetings: "Welcome before the gates of *Angiers* Duke." King John of England enters with his forces, newly arrived in France. The two kings summon the men of Angiers to their walls to say whose title to kingship they admit, Arthur's or John's. The citizens on the walls refuse to commit themselves: they hold the town for the King of England, whoever he may be, but they refuse to choose between the two claimants to the title:

That can we not: but he that proues the King

To him will we proue loyall, till that time

Haue we ramm'd vp our gates against the world. (II. i. 270-272)

Balked of a decision, the opposing armies depart, surely by separate doors, to settle the issue in offstage combat (line 299); the fight is inconclusive, and still the citizens on the walls withhold their answer. John and Philip decide to join forces against stubborn Angiers first, and to battle it out between themselves later; but the men on the walls save their skins and their battlements by proposing an alliance between the Dauphin of France and the niece to King John, and the kings retire amicably.

Throughout the long scene the defenses of Angiers have been a basic factor in the action. The walls, the towers, the battlements have been referred to again and again, references which mere stage curtains would tend to stultify. As for the city gates, they have been mentioned (always in the plural) at lines 17, 215, 224, 272, 299-300, 324, 370, 447, and 536. The gates are never opened, and therefore may be construed to be figments of the poetic imagination; but they

cannot in any case be construed to be one of the stage-doors, for the embattled armies cannot do other than use both doors when they depart for the field of battle at line 299, and when the indecisive fight is over they specifically re-enter "*at seuerall doores*" (333-34).

Henry V is yet another battle play which calls for city gates. In Act III, Scene iii, Henry and his army stand "*before the Gates*" of Harfleur. The Governor of the town appears, presumably upon the walls. Despairing of the help which he had begged from the Dauphin, he offers to surrender:

We yeeld our Towne and Liues to thy soft Mercy:

Enter our Gates, dispose of vs and ours,

For we no longer are defensible.

(III. iii. 48-50)

"Open your Gates" is Henry's command; and after he has given orders for fortifying Harfleur against a possible French counterattack, the short scene comes to an end with "*Flourish, and enter the Towne.*" The entry of the victorious English troops through the opened gates demands the emphasis and pageantry which only centrally-placed gates could give.

In *Coriolanus*, I. iv, the scene opens with the stage-direction:

*Enter Martius, Titus Lartius, with Drumme and Colours,
with Captaines and Souldiers, as before the City Coriolus:
to them a Messenger.*

The last four words, "*to them a Messenger*", instantly suggest a meeting on the stage and therefore the need for both stage-doors to serve as undefined points of entrance. The Romans on the outer stage sound a parley, and "*Enter two Senators with others on the Walles of Coriolus.*" The Volscians show little fear of the besieging Roman legions:

Our Gates,

Which yet seeme shut, we haue but pin'd with Rushes,

They'le open of themselues.

(I. iv. 17-19)

A moment later they do just that: the gates open and the army of the Volscians pours from the city. The battle rages on the outer stage, with Marcius shouting encouragement to his followers; the Volscian charge is too strong for him, however, and "*the Romans are beat back to their Trenches.*" Marcius rallies his men with blistering scorn and bids them follow him. The Volscians retire before his onslaught, the gates re-open to accommodate their retreat, and "*Martius follows them to the gates, and is shut in.*"⁴ A few lines later he is out again, "*bleeding, assaulted by the Enemy*", whereupon Lartius and his men rush to his aid, and "*They fight, and all enter the City.*"

The gates remain open as the next scene (Act I, Scene v) starts, to show the inner stage as the interior of captured Corioles. Alarums continue for a time, sounding farther and farther away as the battle recedes. Three Roman soldiers enter the rear stage with spoils, followed by Marcius and Titus Lartius. Marcius delegates command of the city to Lartius, while he himself departs, forward

⁴ The Folio's stage-direction appears to be premature by a matter of three lines.

through the gates and off by one of the stage-doors, to help Cominius. Lartius, still in the city, gives an order to the trumpeter to

Go sound thy Trumpet in the Market place,
Call thither all the Officers a' th' Towne,
Where they shall know our minde. Away. (I. v. 27-29)

It may be supposed that he then shuts the gates and the inner-stage curtains close.

It is difficult to see how the two foregoing scenes could be staged with any degree of consistency and theatrical effectiveness without resort to property gates. The gates of Corioles themselves play an important part in the course of events, and must be centrally placed to be fully seen. A stage door could hardly serve, for it would not be wide enough to allow for the *mêlée* of men and swords and shields; and even if it were, neither door is available to serve as the Corioles gates, since both are needed as unidentified points of entrance and retreat.

The inner-stage curtains remain closed throughout Act I, Scene vi, which takes place near the camp of Cominius and is acted on the platform. As Scene vii begins, they part to reveal the gates again, thus indicating a return to Corioles. The gates are opened from within, and Titus Lartius appears in the gateway, "going with Drum and Trumpet toward Cominius, and Caius Martius"; with him a Lieutenant to whom he gives orders for holding the town and dispatching reinforcements if needed. "Hence", he says, "and shut your gates vpon's." Lartius departs with his soldiers. The Lieutenant turns back into the town, shutting the gates behind him, and the rear-stage curtains close. The following scene is on the outer stage as on the field of battle.

Act IV, Scene i, calls for gates yet again. The previous scene has been in the Roman Forum; Coriolanus, defying the people and the power of the tribunes, has been sentenced to banishment; and at line 143 the Roman mobs have shouted:

Come, come, lets see him out at gates, come.

The curtains have been closed during the Forum scene, but now they open to reveal a city gate. Coriolanus, with his grief-stricken family and friends, enters the outer stage by a platform door. "Bring me but out at gate", he says; "when I am forth, / Bid me farewell, and smile" (IV. i. 47-50). The gates are opened for his departure and close after him. Beyond question, the scene can be staged without property gates, but since they have in all probability been used earlier in the play, they would perhaps be called into service once more to give a sense of finality and catastrophe to the banishment.

In the two monument scenes in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the concept of defense is basic to the entire action of the first scene, and of the second until the monument is actually penetrated by Caesar's soldiers. According to Plutarch, whose story (in North's translation) was followed by Shakespeare with extraordinary fidelity, that defense consisted of "gates that were very thicke & strong, and surely barred."

As Act IV, Scene xv, opens, "Enter Cleopatra, and her Maides aloft, with Charmian & Iras." Nine lines later the dying Antony is carried to the forestage by his guard, through one of the outer-stage doors. Instantly Cleopatra resolves to draw him up into her monument. While her women are scurrying to find

ropes, she talks with Antony on the stage below, and then speaks these words, for which there has been no preparation in either stage-direction or dialogue:

I dare not Deere,
Deere my Lord pardon: I dare not
Least I be taken. (IV. xv. 21-23)

What is it that she dare not do? The line is interpretable only on the assumption that something on the stage below her, something tangible and visible which Antony can designate by a mere gesture, without spoken word, stands for the difference between her capture and her security. If not gates, then what? Perhaps the wounded man, dreading the agony of being hauled up by ropes, has made a sign toward them; perhaps one of the guard has knocked or rattled on them. At all events, the meaning is clear, and clearly accords with the line in North's Plutarch, "Cleopatra would not open the gates."⁵

At the end of the scene the inner-stage curtains close on both levels; above, they conceal the upper room where Cleopatra and her women have labored and where Antony has died; below, they conceal the still-closed gates. An intervening scene follows as in Caesar's camp.

Certain scholars have assumed that the second monument scene, like the first, is staged on the upper level⁶; a close analysis of the action, however, indi-

⁵ Some editors, realizing that line 22 is incomplete both in sense and in metrical feet, have emended it by adding "open" or "descend" or their equivalents after the second "I dare not". Dover Wilson's "open" and Nicholson's "ope the door" have at least the justification of Plutarch's support, but Malone's "descend" and Ritson's "come down" are mere speculation. To my ear, no emendation can equal in effectiveness the simple "I dare not", twice spoken, with meter and sense left hanging in the air. And in any case, Antony's antecedent appeal, the appeal which Cleopatra dare not grant, is conveyed by gesture only.

⁶ J. C. Adams says that "Cleopatra, in one bay-window, was held in conversation by Proculeius on the outer stage" (p. 349 n.); R. Crompton Rhodes makes the same assumption in *The Staging of Shakespeare*, p. 53; Sir Edmund K. Chambers refers to "the upper level . . . to which Antony is heaved up for his death scene, and on which Cleopatra is afterwards surprised by Caesar's troops" (*The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 115-116). The (English) Arden Edition intimates, and the Oxford Edition states flatly, that the scene opens "aloft".

John Dover Wilson, rejecting the idea that either of the inner stages was used in either of the monument scenes, believes that the monument was a temporary property, "a square painted wooden structure, with a barred gate in front . . . and a flat roof, erected by servitors at the end of IV. xiv on the outer stage over the central trap" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, The New Shakespeare, p. 230). C. Walter Hodges proposes a similar impermanent structure, the only important difference being that he would place it somewhat farther back on the stage, indeed actually touching the tiring-house wall (*The Globe Restored*, pp. 58 ff.; sketch p. 59). If for no other reason (and there are others), the idea of such a huge temporary structure must be discarded simply because it would need to be erected on the outer stage, unconcealed by curtains and in the full view of the audience, at a time when the tragedy is sweeping toward its consummation. It is unthinkable that the audience should be subjected to such a break in tension and attention at such a time.

M. R. Ridley, in his provocative analysis of the staging of the two monument scenes in the revised Arden Edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* (Appendix IV), "hazards the heterodox suggestion" that in the second scene "the whole stage, outer as well as inner, is by now to be thought of as inside the monument" (p. 252); he would inform the audience that Cleopatra and her attendants are still in the monument merely by having them enter "through the curtains of the inner stage, to mark that they come from another room in the monument" (p. 253). To be sure, his reconstruction of the action avoids having Cleopatra's opening speech "come from a sort of disembodied voice of an imperfectly visible actress" (p. 251), if that be a fair description of what must happen when she speaks through the barred gate, and it further avoids a trifling difficulty, if any exists, in connection with the entrance of the Clown with the figs. On the other hand, it seems to involve three outstanding disadvantages. First, it permits the audience to jump to the conclusion that Cleopatra is no longer in the monument as V. ii opens, a misconception which nothing in the dialogue would correct until long after her capture; second, by having Proculeius talk with her face to face, with no barrier of wood or

cates that it must be below. Shakespeare, to be sure, is not explicit, unless there be significance in the fact that the word "*aloft*", which he used in the opening stage-direction of the earlier scene, is now omitted. The proof lies in this, that Caesar and Cleopatra must be on the same level from the moment of Caesar's first entrance—for she immediately kneels to him, and soon thereafter hands him a brief of her money, plate, and jewels—and yet they cannot be so if they make their initial entrances on different levels. Once he or she has entered, neither can later move from one level to another. As for Cleopatra, every minute of her time is accounted for: she is continuously onstage and takes part in every conversation from the first line until the instant of her death; the dialogue affords no break during which she can make a backstage descent from the upper level to the lower if indeed she begins the scene aloft. And yet she must be below when Caesar enters. His is a spacious and impressive entry, typifying the over-riding might of Rome; he enters to an accompaniment of offstage shouts—"Make way there *Caesar*"—with Proculeius, Gallus, Maecenas, and others of his train. He cannot initially enter above, for he and his followers would constitute too large a company to crowd into the relatively small upper stage already occupied by Cleopatra, Charmian, Iras, Mardian, and Dolabella. No, he must enter on the lower stage, and on that stage he must remain, for the dialogue grants him no subsequent opportunity to mount the backstage stairs to the upper room. He must be below as Cleopatra makes her obeisance to him, and therefore she too must be on the lower stage and must have been there as the scene began. And this conclusion is supported by Shakespeare's source-material in Plutarch, to which (since Shakespeare has followed his account so closely) one is justified in turning for details which Shakespeare omits. The opening conversation of Cleopatra and Proculeius did not, as Plutarch reports it, take place between a Queen aloft and a soldier below, but rather

Proculeius came to the gates that were very thicke & strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard;

and later, after the defenses of the monument had been penetrated,

Proculeius . . . came *downe* into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stood to heare what Gallus sayd vnto her.⁷

The final scene, then, opens and continues on the lower stage; nevertheless, as the scene begins, the curtains part on the upper level as well as the lower, in order to establish immediate recognition of place on the part of the audience. All is as it was before, except that the upper stage is now untenanted. The gates still bar the entrance below, with Cleopatra and her women barely seen through their barred wickets—North's "cranewes".⁸ Cleopatra talks with Proculeius, and while he holds her in conversation (for Shakespeare has reversed the roles of

distance between (pp. 253-254), it creates the assumption either that he is inside the monument or she outside, and in either case that she is probably already in Caesar's custody; and, third, it reduces her capture itself to the flat nothingness of having the guards "break in [?] from behind, either through the curtains or through the ordinary doors" (p. 254). His slight gains, if they be gains, would seem to be more than offset by a grievous loss in clarity and theatrical effectiveness.

⁷ The italics for the word *downe* are of course my own.

⁸ In the drawing which accompanies this paper, the wickets are approximately 21 inches wide by 19 inches high, and the three bars are a little less than 5 inches apart.

Plutarch's Proculeius and Gallus), there occurs a second incident for which Shakespeare has provided no preparation or explanation in either stage-direction or dialogue, an incident which in the original text is reported merely in Proculeius' laconic "You see how easily she may be surpriz'd:/ Guard her till *Caesar* come" and in Charmian's anguished cry "Oh *Cleopatra*, thou art taken Queene." Once again it becomes necessary to turn to Plutarch for a stage-direction which Shakespeare omits. Plutarch writes:

Proculeius did set vp a ladder against that high window, by the which Antonius was trised vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stood to heare what Gallus sayd vnto her. One of her women which was shut in her monumēts with her, saw Proculeius by chance as he came downe, and shreoked out: O poore Cleopatra, thou art taken.

Translated into terms of the Globe's stage, the narrative seems to imply that Gallus and two other of Caesar's soldiers climbed by ladder to the bay-window to which Antony had previously been hoisted, crossed the upper stage to the backstage stairs, descended behind Cleopatra, and unbarred the gates.

Now, with the gates thrown wide, the lower inner stage unites with the platform to form a single great stage for the close of the tragedy, with the rear stage still retaining some part of its character as the interior of the monument and the platform its, as the adjacent land, but with the distinction between inside and outside tending largely to disappear. During much of the succeeding dialogue Cleopatra is on the outer stage, but she returns to her monument to die. Caesar finds her there at the last, and bids his soldiers to

Take vp her bed,
And beare her Women from the Monument. (V. ii. 359-360)

Implicit in the action has been the underlying idea of a defensive device upon which Cleopatra believed she could rely and which she would not imperil even to admit the wounded Antony, a device which nevertheless could be circumvented by her enemies. Not one word of dialogue has been provided by the dramatist to explain the nature of that device nor the manner of its penetration: all must be told in action. It is not easy to imagine how the illusion of defensibility and the story of its ruin might be conveyed to the audience otherwise than by resort to the gates which Plutarch specifies.

In *Measure for Measure* the property gates serve as those by which the Duke makes his long-awaited return to Vienna in Act V, Scene i. Perhaps no other entrance in all Shakespeare has been built up with greater care, and is looked forward to with greater hopes and fears by the characters of the drama. In each of the four scenes preceding his return the gates are mentioned as his point of re-entry. At IV. iii. 134-137 we have:

Already he hath carried
Notice to *Escalus* and *Angelo*,
Who do prepare to meete him at the gates,
There to giue vp their powre.

At IV. iv. 5-7 Angelo asks:

And why meet him at the gates and redeliuer our authorities there?

At IV. v. 7-9 the Duke gives the order:

Give the like notice
To *Valencius*, *Rowland*, and to *Crassus*,
And bid them bring the Trumpets to the gate.

And at IV. vi. 12-15 Peter tells Isabella

Twice haue the Trumpets sounded.
The generous, and grauest Citizens
Haue hent the gates, and very neere vpon
The Duke is entring:
Therefore hence away.

Upon that cue the inner-stage curtains part (Act V, Scene i) to discover the city gates, still closed; Angelo, Escalus, Lucio, officers and citizens stream out upon the platform by the two side doors and take their places. Twice already the trumpets have sounded, and now, probably to a third blare, the gates are thrown wide and the Duke appears. Any entry less ceremonious would be inadequate to the expectations which his return has awakened, and to the part which it plays in unravelling the tangled threads of the plot.

In *Richard II*, the use of gates would be entirely appropriate to the scene before Flint Castle (III. iii), in which Richard and his nobles enter "*on the Walls*" to parley with Bolingbroke and his followers below. The scene contains no mention of gates, and nothing in the action clearly indicates their presence. The juxtaposition of scenes, however, makes their use seem probable; for the Flint Castle scene is preceded by one on the coast of Wales, with Barkloughly Castle in view, a scene necessarily played on the outer stage before closed curtains; and for the later scene to follow the earlier on the same stage before the same closed curtains would be to imply identity of place and continuity in time, whereas the parting of the curtains to reveal castle gates would have the effect of intimating a removal. In this and a few other scenes, therefore, the sequence of scenes suggests the use of gates, even if nothing internal to the scenes themselves be conclusive.

Perhaps the gates were used in *King Lear*, in the scenes before Gloucester's Castle (Act II, Scenes ii and iv). In both scenes the outer-stage doors serve as mere unspecified points of entrance and departure (witness the word "*severally*" in the opening stage-direction), and neither is used by an actor purporting to enter the castle; for the castle doors the aperture of the inner stage must serve. The gates play no part in the first of the two scenes otherwise than as a casual means of access to the castle, nor in the second until the very end. At II. iv. 289, Lear, repudiated by Goneril and Regan, departs by one of the platform doors with Gloucester and Kent and the Fool just as the storm breaks. Gloucester returns a few lines later to beg a shelter for the King against the bleak winds, but is refused. At line 307 Regan says "Shut vp your doores", and a moment later Cornwall echoes her with

Shut vp your doores my Lord, 'tis a wil'd night,
My *Regan* counsels well: come out oth' storme.

And then the heavy doors swing shut and their locks clang into place, symbols

both of the security of those within and of their indifference to the sufferings of the three who face the storm.

The gate episodes have told something about the physical characteristics of the gates themselves, as follows:

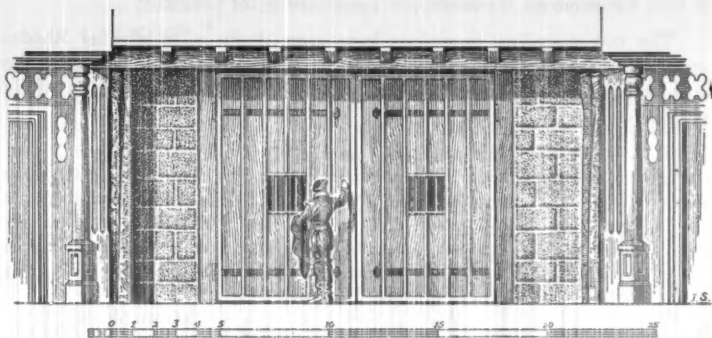
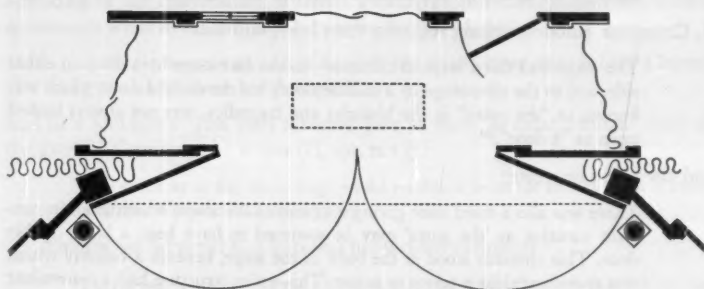
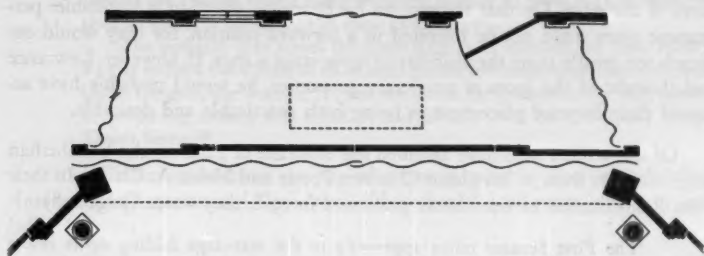
- (1) The all-but-invariable use of the plural noun (the one exception being *M. for M.* IV. v. 9) suggests that the gates were a two-leaved affair, in conformity with the usual practice in Tudor construction;
- (2) They were provided with apertures through which Paris could strew his flowers, the Tower warders could shout to Gloucester's men, or Cleopatra could converse with Proculeius;
- (3) They could be locked or unlocked only by persons in the inner stage, never by persons on the platform; their locks and bars, therefore, were on the upstage side;
- (4) They spanned the opening of the inner stage near its forward margin, so as to provide clear space behind them which might serve as the interior of a tomb or monument or city, as the case might be;
- (5) The gates must swing outward (toward the forestage rather than inward into the inner stage), for otherwise the arc of their swing would sweep the area occupied by Juliet's bier or Cleopatra's bed. It follows as a consequence that the inner-stage curtains could not be closed while the gates were open; but the gate episodes seem to justify the assumption that if the gates were opened during the course of a scene or continuous sequence, they were always closed again before the scene or sequence came to its end, unless it happened to be the last of the play (as in *R. & J.*, *A. & C.*, and *M. for M.*). In many cases the closing of the gates is explicitly provided for; in others it is presumed. In no case is it clear that the gates remain open.

Structural considerations lead to some further conclusions:

- (1) Each leaf of the gate could be only about 6 or 6½ feet wide. Leaves broader than that would be disproportionately wide both aesthetically and historically, and, most importantly, would obstruct the doors at either side of the outer stage when swung fully open.
- (2) Since, however, the distance between the fixed posts which framed the inner stage was approximately 23 feet⁹, it becomes obvious that two 6- or 6½-foot leaves could not span the entire opening, and therefore that the leaves needed to be flanked at their outer edges by inert temporary walls to which they were hinged. Such temporary walls could be fastened firmly in place in any one of a number of ways, perhaps most easily by shooting bolts downward into the oak flooring and upward into the beams overhead. One would like to hazard a guess that the flanking walls at the Globe were painted to suggest stonework or brickwork, by analogy with the wooden stage-posts at the Swan, which are known to have been "painted in such excellent imitation of marble that it is able to deceive even the most cunning."

W. J. Lawrence, writing in 1927, visualized the gates as being hung in the rear wall of the inner stage. "Beyond the back of the rear stage", he stated categorically, "there is absolutely no other available space for the City Gates." Very likely he thought of the gates not as removable properties, but as permanent fix-

⁹ Cf. John Cranford Adams, pp. 167, 173, 174. The design and dimensions of the stage, as reflected in this paper and its accompanying sketches, are based upon Dr. Adams' book and his model of the Globe Playhouse now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.



PROPERTY "GATES" FOR THE GLOBE'S STAGE

The first two drawings show floor-plans of the rear stage, with the gates closed in the first drawing, open in the second. The drawing at the bottom shows the aperture of the rear stage in elevation, with curtains parted to reveal closed gates.

tures of the stage. On that assumption his dogmatic assertion is justifiable: permanent gates could not be tolerated in a forward position, for they would encroach too greatly upon the visibility of inner-stage scenes. If, however, Lawrence had thought of the gates as temporary properties, he would probably have accepted their forward placement as being both practicable and desirable.

Of the writers who have assumed the existence of gates on the Elizabethan stage, the first seem to have been Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. In their First Folio Edition of *Coriolanus*, published in 1908, they wrote (page 148):

The First Senator refers apparently to the rear-stage folding doors below them [as they stood on the upper-stage as on the city walls], when he says *our Gates, Which yet seeme shut . . .* They [the Volscians] issued forth through the gates, which, as the Senator promised, opened 'of themselves'.

R. Crompton Rhodes, writing fourteen years later, said that

The stage had three ways of entrance—to the fore-stage by a door on either side, and to the after-stage by a middle door; but the middle door, which was known as "the gates" in the histories and tragedies, was not always looked upon as "a door".¹⁰

and elsewhere he wrote:

There was also a third door giving entrance to the stage, which from its constant mention as 'the gates' may be assumed to have been a large double door. This entrance stood at the back of the stage, beneath a balcony which was surmounted by a tower or turret. This entire structure had a convenient resemblance to the gates of a mediaeval city, with its wall above an archway. Consequently, it was frequently employed in the histories.¹¹

The two preceding quotations leave some doubt as to whether Rhodes shared Lawrence's opinion that the gates were placed in the rear wall of the inner stage. The latter's theory, previously quoted briefly, was stated more fully as follows:

Though arrived at independently, my own solution of the problem is practically identical with the solution propounded a decade ago by Miss Charlotte Porter, in the American-issued First Folio edition of Shakespeare, and more recently advocated by Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes in his little book on *The Stager of Shakespeare*. It must not be assumed, however, that the matter is one of personal opinion: beyond the back of the rear stage, there is absolutely no other available space for the City Gates.¹²

Lawrence then goes on to develop the supposition that a smaller wicket-door was cut through one of the leaves of the gate. Such a door would conform to normal Tudor architectural practice, and it may have been so; but nothing in any gate episode makes it seem necessary.

C. M. Haines would apparently place the gates in the forward position:

I suggest that the rear or inner-stage was a corridor, open at either end. . . .

¹⁰ *The Stager of Shakespeare* (1922), pp. 19-20.

¹¹ *Shakespeare's First Folio* (1923), p. 125.

¹² W. J. Lawrence, *The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouse* (1927), pp. 60-61.

Besides the curtain which hung from the balcony in front of it, it could be shut off from the main stage by some kind of gate. . . .

The property gate across the inner stage is in constant use [in *Henry VI*]; it enables the author to show both parties to a siege simultaneously, one inside the gate, one outside, . . . and the use of the gate seems the only means of producing exactly this effect. It had already been used, I think, in the Tower Scene.¹³

Granville-Barker assumes the use of property gates in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*. Of the burial-vault scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, he says:

The tomb itself is the inner stage, closed in, presumably, by gates which Romeo breaks open, through the bars of which Paris casts his flowers.¹⁴

Speaking of the conversation between Proculeius and Cleopatra in the second monument scene in *Antony and Cleopatra*, he says (I, 405):

A simple supposition is that he finds her on the inner stage behind a barred gate and speaks to her through it.

and in a foot-note: "Just such a barred gate as shuts in Juliet's tomb." And of the gates in *Coriolanus* he writes (II, 194, n. 13):

The curtains to the inner stage could no doubt be made to serve, but it looks as if this Corioles had solid gates.

Finally, Sir Edmund K. Chambers has written as follows:

I conceive, therefore, of the alcove as a space which the tire-man, behind the curtains . . . , can arrange as he likes, without any interruption to continuous action proceeding on the outer stage. . . . He can put up the arched gates of a city or castle.¹⁵

To summarize, the use of property gates on Shakespeare's stage seems to be probable for several reasons:

- (1) Solid gates would provide an illusion of security or defensibility in scenes as to which that illusion is explicit or implicit, which mere fabric curtains could not provide. Incidentally, they would also furnish the hard surface upon which a person could knock or which he could attack with a crowbar.
- (2) They would accord with a literal interpretation of the text by providing a pair of gates and thus justifying the plural nouns—"the gates", "the city gates", "the gates of York", "thy rotten jaws", etc., as a single stage door would not do.
- (3) They would permit the use of both of the stage doors as undefined points of entry or departure, or as avenues of excursion and retreat in battle scenes.
- (4) Upon being thrown open, they would reveal the inner stage in its proper dramatic relationship to the outer, as when the rear stage becomes the interior of Orleans, of Corioles, of Juliet's tomb, or of Cleopatra's monument.
- (5) In many cases, the discovery or concealment of gates would establish

¹³ "The Development of Shakespeare's Stagecraft", one of a series of papers on *Shakespeare and the Theatre*, by Members of the Shakespeare Association (1927), pp. 36 and 39.

¹⁴ *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Princeton Edition), II, 321.

¹⁵ *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 83.

identity of place or change of place in sequences of scenes whose localization, as presented on the stage, might otherwise be obscure. They serve this purpose in *Richard II*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*, and other of the plays considered in the foregoing pages.

Perhaps the gates had a purely utilitarian function, quite apart from their use in connection with the drama. Is it fanciful to suppose that they may have served to protect the interior of the tiring-house against rain and winter's snow and cold?

Garden City, N. Y.

Worn Pages in Shakespearian Manuscripts

JOSEPH S. G. BOLTON



FOR six of Shakespeare's plays, the quarto and Folio texts supplement each other in an important way. Each text supplies a considerable number of passages not found in the other, not represented in the other by any equivalent, and yet generally accepted as authentic by modern critics.¹ These plays are *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Richard III*, and *Henry IV, Part II*. The passages that appear in one text only have always received particular attention from textual critics. I wish to present evidence for believing that even the position of the passages in their scenes may reveal something of the textual history of their plays.

I have noted that a large number of these passages occur in irregular pairs separated by some forty or fifty lines—that is, by about the number of lines normally written on one side of the paper in the dramatic manuscripts of the time. Since Elizabethan dramatists regularly used both sides of the paper and, at the same time, left no margin at top or bottom of the page,² the lines that happened to have been written back to back at the foot of a single sheet of paper might have been lost, not through the efforts of author, book-holder, scribe, or editor, but from a gradual wearing or tearing away of the lower edge of the paper, which made the last lines on both sides illegible.

I have discovered such pairs of missing passages in the quarto texts of all six plays and in the Folio texts of three of them—*Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Richard III*. I am limiting my discussion here, however, to the relatively simple problem of the six quarto texts, hoping that in a later paper I may be able to contribute something to the more complex history of the three Folio texts.

An example of what I have noticed appears in Act I, Scene iv, of *Richard III*, and in the scene immediately following it, Act II, Scene i. In these two scenes, taken together, the Folio supplies eight passages³ that are not found in any of

¹ Although the successive quartos of these plays show minor variants, the important differences, including the omitted passages discussed in this paper, are between the quarto editions of a play, taken as a group, and the First Folio. When referring to the quartos, I have in mind the first "good" quartos, that is, the second quarto of *Hamlet* and the first quartos of the other five plays.

² At the sides of the page, wide margins are left when verse speeches are written, although only the left-hand margins appear with prose speeches, since prose normally extends to the right edge of the leaf, completely filling the space that would have been left blank in verse passages.

³ I. iv. 28, 69-72, 113-114, 166, 213, 257-260; II. i. 25, 68. Throughout this paper I have followed the line-numbering of the (old) Cambridge edition, since that edition provides the fullest records available of quarto and Folio variants for all the plays. I have used the term "passage" in my discussion somewhat loosely to include single lines and half-lines as well as portions of the text two lines or more in length.

the early quarto editions of the play. In checking the distances between comparable points in these passages—and for this purpose I take the last line of each passage—I find that the number of lines in the seven intervals separating these eight points are as follows: 44, 42, 52, 47, 47, 46, and 43. Although the intervals are not identical, such approximate uniformity casts serious doubt on any conscious purpose in the omissions. Whether one thinks of Shakespeare as adding occasional passages to an already completed play or eliminating lines while cutting the play for use in the provinces, whether one imagines a copyist as skipping lines inadvertently or conceives of the players as attempting to reconstruct a prompt-book from memory, it would surely have been unusual for eight passages to be added or eliminated at forty- or fifty-line intervals.

But if one assumes that, regardless of the number of successive manuscript copies of the play between Shakespeare's original and the first printed quarto and regardless of any alterations made in them, the particular manuscript from which the printer set type had contained in its original form all eight of these passages in their proper places, but written by chance at the foot of eight successive pages—that is, on both sides of four successive leaves of paper—then a possible explanation is evident. Before the manuscript came into the printer's hands, these four leaves could have been so worn or torn away that the lines at the foot of the pages were lost. If the printer was unwilling or unable to receive help from the playhouse, he could have done no other than omit the lines.

I suggest the printer, rather than the playhouse scribe, as the person confronted by the missing passages, since anyone connected with the company of players could easily have restored them. We know that the players possessed a better copy of each of the six plays, for eventually the First Folio texts were printed either from such manuscript copies or from quartos corrected by them.

Actual existence of worn or torn pages in a Shakespearian printer's copy has been established by a study of the first two quartos of *Titus Andronicus*.⁴ The printer of the second quarto of that play set type from a copy of the first quarto. But the two final leaves of this copy had been injured in such a way as to obliterate lines and parts of lines printed back to back at the foot of the two leaves. To supply the loss, someone connected with the printing-house wrote new lines and half-lines without assistance from the author or the actors. Something similar may have occurred during the printing of the first "good" quartos of these six plays, save that here the printer's copy would have been a manuscript, not a printed book, and the lost lines would have been omitted with no attempt at substitution.⁵

Since the force of my argument depends upon the frequency with which such paired omissions occur, rather than upon a close study of individual cases, I have listed at the end of this article all the examples I can find of omitted lines, half-lines, and longer passages that, coming at forty- or fifty-line intervals, might conceivably have been written back to back on single leaves of paper. Not know-

⁴ See my article, "The Authentic Text of *Titus Andronicus*", *PMLA*, XLIV, (1929), 775-780; R. B. McKerrow, *The Library*, 4th ser., XV (1934), 49-53; Joseph Quincy Adams, *Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus, The First Quarto, 1594* (Scribner's, 1936), pp. 24-28; and J. Dover Wilson, *Appendix to Titus Andronicus* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 92-94.

⁵ Substitution for the lost lines in *Titus Andronicus* was made possible because to a large extent they involved only the beginnings or the endings of lines. Where they comprised complete lines, the new readings depart widely from the correct text.

ing how much space Shakespeare devoted to scene headings and stage directions, I have disregarded them in my study, basing my computations on lines of dialogue alone.

In fairness to the reader, I must warn him that more than half of the omitted passages in these plays do *not* occur in pairs. Of the paired omissions, too, a few that resulted from the work of reviser or editor might by chance have been located at the foot of a leaf. On the other hand, certain isolated passages, which I have not listed, might have dropped out through wear and tear that rendered only one side of the paper illegible. But if it can be shown that a greater number of omitted passages do occur in irregular pairs than one has the right to expect from the operation of chance alone, then worn and torn pages should figure in future studies of these quarto texts.

In my lists I have also indicated omissions that come in three's or five's as well as those in pairs. It is not improbable that one or two leaves worn at the foot on both sides might have been preceded or followed by one leaf worn on one side only.

As for the lack of exact uniformity in the computed intervals, the dramatic manuscripts that have been preserved show that Elizabethan playwrights were only fairly uniform in the number of lines of dialogue that they put on a page. A certain variety was introduced by prose speeches, stage directions, and the horizontal lines occasionally ruled across the page at the end of speeches.⁶ Nevertheless such variation was not great. The three pages, for instance, of *The Booke of Sir Thomas More* that are often ascribed to Shakespeare contain, respectively, 43, 50, and 52 lines of dialogue exclusive of stage directions, while the twenty-four unmutated pages of the manuscript copy of Anthony Munday's play *John à Kent and John à Cumber*, of the 1590's, run from 55 lines to 73, with, however, the great majority falling within the 60's.⁷

For the sake of objectivity, I have treated the omitted passages as if they had all been written at the foot of their pages. But it is obvious that the top of the page, with its lack of margin, might also have shown wear. And omissions caused by blots or stains could have occurred anywhere. But the location of the omissions makes little difference. As long as both sides of the sheet were affected, comparable points in a pair of omitted passages would be separated by approximately the number of lines written on the page.⁸

⁶ Although such horizontal lines are not found in the majority of the dramatic MSS of the time, they do appear consistently in the three so-called "Shakespearian" pages of *The Booke of Sir Thomas More*.

⁷ The exact number of lines on each of these 24 pages is: 61, 65, 59, 62, 62, 55, 60, 70, 71, 68, 73, 62, 67, 65, 70, 68, 58, 62, 67, 67, 65, 63, 63, 64. I assume that while the number of lines per page for a single play would be reasonably constant, the number might vary from play to play. The intervals between passages that I have checked in *Troilus and Cressida* run from 34 to 41 lines while those in *Hamlet* run from 53 to 69 lines.

⁸ Dr. James G. McManaway has brought to my attention corroborative evidence for my theory appearing in Dr. Johan Gerritsen's critical edition of the MS of *The Honest Man's Fortune*, traditionally attributed to Fletcher (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1952). In a note on p. 175, Dr. Gerritsen points out that two single lines, defective in the Folio, but preserved in the MS of the play, are written almost exactly opposite each other on the verso of one sheet and on the recto of the sheet immediately following. His suggestion is that in a second MS now lost—the MS used by the Folio printer—these lines "originally backed one another at the top or at the bottom of a page", and that "the edge had decayed at the centre, as the ends of both lines have been preserved." Assuming, then, that this lost MS carried approximately 46 lines per page, he counted back and discovered the loss of the single word "you" from the line that might, according to his figuring, have been the first—

Between this theory of mine and other theories designed to explain the omissions and variant readings of these texts I see no fundamental conflict. The fact that the last manuscript in a succession of manuscripts lost a number of lines through repeated handling does not preclude other textual changes earlier in the play's history or Shakespearian revision later on. There should be no great similarity, and therefore little chance of confusion, between the purposeful changes of revision or dramatic cutting and the accidental ones caused by the illegibility of a worn or torn page. As between illegibility and the carelessness of a copyist, a clear-cut decision might not always be possible. Changes caused by either would have an unplanned appearance. Even more difficult would it be to distinguish between the effect of illegibility and the effect of lapses in memory on the part of an actor. A man with a blurred memory might chance upon the same type of omission or emendation as would a printer with a blurred manuscript.

A recent study of memorial reconstruction, forming part of Professor George I. Duthie's critical edition of *King Lear*,⁹ gives reasons for believing that the quarto text of that play was based on a version dictated to the scribe or the prompter by the actors, as a group, while temporarily deprived of their regular prompt-book. Some of the evidence adduced to support this theory, however, could also be interpreted as suggesting wear and tear in the printer's copy. While certain types of Professor Duthie's classified variants are more satisfactorily explained as due to a group of actors dictating to a hard-pressed scribe—such as aural mistakes and mislineations of verse—others might have resulted from worn or torn sheets in the manuscript—such as wrongly assigned speeches and serious mistakes in punctuation. And still others could be explained by either theory.

A sampling of such doubtful variants can be found in *Lear*'s first long speech in the play, the speech in which the king tells of his plan to transfer his power and responsibilities to younger shoulders.¹⁰ If we make two assumptions—that the Folio gives the correct reading here and that the first page of the manuscript happened to contain 43 lines—it would not have been impossible for lines 39-45 of Act I, Scene i, to have been worn away to the following fragmentary state:

Conf-r-ing them on yonger	[line 39]
.	[40]
.	[41]
.	[42]
.	[43]
[Assumed foot of page 1]	
.....	
[Assumed top of page 2]	
May be preuented now. The Princes, <i>France & Burgundy</i> ,	[44]
Great Riuals in our yongest daughters loue,	[45]

But this fragmentary passage could also represent substantially what an actor

or the last—line of the verso of the preceding leaf, thus indicating three worn places in succession at one-page intervals. I discovered similar groups of three omitted passages in the Shakespearian plays that I have examined, and have included them in my appended lists.

⁹ Oxford, 1949.

¹⁰ On pp. 21-32 of his edition Duthie discusses the first three pages of the text in detail.

remembered who was trying to recall these lines. Thus either actor or printer could have produced the quarto version:

Confirming them on yonger yeares,
The two great Princes *France* and *Burgundy*,
Great ryuals in our youngest daughters loue,

It is easy to see how the letters "Conf-r-ing" could have suggested "Confirm-ing" to a printer who did not know that Shakespeare had written "Conferring," or how an actor's half-forgotten memory might have suggested the same word to him. Then in place of Shakespeare's pregnant phrase "yonger strengths", with its implication of both youth and vigor in Lear's daughters, either actor or printer, having only the word "yonger" to work with, could be forgiven for settling for the less colorful "yonger yeares". Neither one, however, could have reproduced the missing clause, "while we / Vnburthen'd crawl toward death." or the three omitted lines (41-43) that had originally followed it.

Then as my hypothetical printer turned the page and found legible lines once more, he still would have been forced to discard the first four words, "May be preuented now", since he did not have the earlier part of the sentence, while the hypothetical actor might not have remembered these four words at all.

Although either individual would occasionally have let short lines stand uncompleted, as is suggested by the presence of line 39 in the quarto, either one, I imagine, would have filled out the full pentameter whenever it could be done easily. With line 44 this was possible. The word "great" in the following line would give a hint for extending the remaining portion of line 44, "The Princes, *France & Burgundy*", into the full, although incorrect, line, "The two great Princes *France and Burgundy*."¹¹

One final word. For the sake of brevity, I have referred to the person responsible for patching up the illegible parts of the quarto printer's copy as the printer himself. The truth may be that the task was beyond him and that he called in a hack writer to tidy up the manuscript for him. But this does not affect my thesis. We know that some person not connected with the playhouse filled out the defective lines in *Titus Andronicus*. If my theory is correct, the same type of person, whether printer or hack writer, could have made readable the worn places in these six manuscripts that I assume in this paper.

Richard III (Q 1)

Passages	Intervals		
I. iii. 116		II. ii. 89-100	
167-169	> 53	123-140	> 40
I. iv. 28		III. ii. 91-92	
69-72	> 44	III. iii. 7-8	> 40
113-114	> 42	III. v. 103-105	
166	> 52	III. vii. 37	> 55
213	> 47	III. vii. 98-99	
257-260	> 47	144-153	> 54
II. i. 25	> 46	202	> 49
68	> 43	IV. i. 2-6	> 51

¹¹ If my theory of worn pages is correct, then the line and a half (forty-one lines later) omitted from the quarto text of *King Lear* ("The Vines of France and Milke of Burgundie, / Striue to be interest.") might originally have backed a part of the passage just discussed.

IV. i. 98-104	> 45	V. iii. 20-22	> 36
IV. ii. 45		58	
IV. iii. 35	> 43	<i>Othello</i> (Q 1)	
IV. iv. 20-21		Passages	Intervals
IV. iv. 52-53	> 50	I. i. 122-138	> 66
103	> 56	I. ii. 20	> 57
159		72-77	> 52
IV. iv. 179	> 55	I. iii. 24-30	
221-234	> 43	I. iii. 63	> 55
276-277	> 65	118	
288-342	> 45	I. iii. 376	> 62
387	> 42	II. i. 39-40	
429		III. iii. 329	> 66
<i>Hamlet</i> (Q 2)		387-395	> 69
Passages	Intervals	457-464	
II. ii. 211	> 57	III. iv. 196-197	> 48
238-268	> 53	IV. i. 37-43	
321		IV. i. 119	> 55
II. ii. 577	> 56	171-174	
III. i. 32		IV. ii. 102	> 63
IV. v. 93	> 67	152-165	
158-160		IV. iii. 30-51	> 50
IV. vii. 163	> 69	84-101	
V. i. 34-37	> 66	V. ii. 188-196	> 55
103		249-251	
V. i. 117	> 62	<i>King Lear</i> (Q 1)	
179		Passages	Intervals
<i>2 Henry IV</i> (Q)		I. i. 39-43	> 41
Passages	Intervals	83-84	
I. iii. 36-55	> 53	I. ii. 105-109	> 54
85-108		157-163	
IV. i. 55-79	> 60	II. iv. 6	> 48
103-139		45-54	> 43
IV. iv. 52	> 68	96-97	> 46
120	> 62	138-143	
IV. v. 50		II. iv. 295-296	> 41
<i>Troilus & Cressida</i> (Q 1)		III. i. 22-29	
Passages	Intervals	III. ii. 79-96	> 43
I. iii. 315	> 41	III. iv. 17-18	
354-356		IV. i. 6-9	> 46
III. iii. 161-163	> 34	55	> 51
197		IV. ii. 26	
IV. v. 94	> 38	V. iii. 90-91	> 53
132	> 38	144	
165-170	> 36	V. iii. 224	> 58
206		282	

Barnaby Rich: Soldierly Suitor and Honest Critic of Women

PAUL A. JORGENSEN

IN an age when women were first claiming their control over popular literature, one turns with justifiable interest and concern to the techniques of authors who courted the audience to financial advantage. Of these authors Barnaby Rich, whose *Farewell to Militarie Profession* was a Shakespearian source-book, offers perhaps the most instructive study in successful method. Falling short of his rivals' literary stature, lacking marked originality of idea or insight into female character, and spending much of his life as a professional soldier, he somehow became one of the best-known Elizabethan writers for women and authorities on matters feminine.¹

One reason for Rich's continued success in this new and variable field was his appeal to a comparatively stable portion of his readers. Recognizing that any audience of books for women would contain a substantial number of men, Rich was careful never to ignore these male readers, sometimes even including a dedication to them as well as to the women. And he never entirely lost the style which a later contemporary called "masculine and sinewy".^{1a} One can usually distinguish Rich's work from that of his rivals by its journalistic freshness, its sly insolence, and its concern with female peculiarities that would interest men—or women who were most concerned with how men felt about women.

But Rich's manliness as a women's author, however natural and important a character trait it may have been, was less natural and less important than the artistic trait which permitted him to use his manliness to best advantage. I refer to his dramatic flair for placing himself in a popular literary role. The role which he first found most suitable to his military background and manly disposition was that of the blunt soldier, a type popular in late sixteenth-century literature as a reluctant or inept lover. No single writer can be credited with beginning the vogue for this character type, though Shakespeare gave it the most various and important expression in the roles of Benedick, Hotspur, and Henry V. But Rich's contribution was an unusually personal one. Where other authors merely used the blunt soldier as a character in their writings, Rich, as a professional soldier, was able to identify himself with the role in his literary courtship of women.

He achieved nationwide attention in 1581 through his best-selling collection of stories called *Riche His Farewell to Militarie Profession*, dedicated to "the

¹ Paper read at the 1954 meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, in New York.

^{1a} Philip King, *The Surfeit to ABC* (1656), p. 55.

right courteous Gentlewomen, bothe of Englande and Irelande." Today this work is well known for its dramatic influence, but imperfectly known for what made it immediately intriguing to its readers: Rich's falling off from an honest man and a soldier to a suitor of women. When he wrote his *Farewell*, Rich was apparently a confirmed bachelor of thirty-nine. In two textbooks on war he had made a name for himself through his splendid denunciation of lovers and women, with accompanying verse tributes by sturdy martialists like Thomas Churchyard, affirming that a soldier is better accommodated by a horse than by a woman. Rich's apostasy must have been as spectacular as that of Shakespeare's Benedick. Unlike Benedick, however, he made no effort to conceal the shame. Indeed, he proclaimed the fact not only to the gentewomen readers but, in a second dedication, to "the noble Souldiers, bothe of Englande and Irelande." To this second, and potentially more troublesome audience, he admits that he had earlier promised to devote his next book to "the disciplines of warre, and with all to have set forth the orders of sundrie battailes." But the age had unfortunately proved itself unworthy of such literary fare. Hence these stories "all treatyng (sir reverence of you) of love." With these stories, he protests, "I trust I shall please gentewomen . . . and herein I doe but followe the course of the worlde."²

But though he becomes a lover in the *Farewell*, he does so in a manner calculated not to displease his fellow soldiers, for he devotes a prominent portion of the book to showing how the soldier may prosper as a suitor without losing his integrity as an honest man. Rich's techniques of courtship are similar in their complacent crudeness to those of Shakespeare's Henry V, or of Dekker's Orleans, whose love is "like his valour in the field, when he payes downeright blowes."³ Rich cannot, he gladly confesses, dance, sing "pretie dities", or "discourse pleasantly". All that he is prepared to offer are his plain devotion and what he calls his "rough heauen" stories.

In one of these stories, concerning a soldier's extramarital courtship of a so-called gentewoman, he demonstrates how "rough heauen" his literary approach indeed was. Soldiers must have read with delight, and women with fascinated vexation, of how this ungainly personage, "a rough heauen fellowe, that was so blunt and plaine, as well in his gesture as in his tearmes",⁴ succeeded in his suit. Obviously intended for male interest were the two diatribes against women, written by disappointed rivals of the soldier, which Rich regretfully felt obliged to quote in full. And though Rich supplies an eloquent defense of female virtue, it loses much of its persuasiveness by being placed in the mouth of the soldier who is then enjoying the illicit love of the gentewoman.

But nothing in the *Farewell* better reveals Rich's sly and controlled rudeness than the ending of his address to the gentewomen readers. Lyly had signed his corresponding address in *Euphues and His England*, "Your Ladiships to commaund"; and Stephen Gosson, in *The School of Abuse*, had more primly subscribed himself, "Yours to serve at Vertues call". It was ostensibly in trying to imitate these respectable models that Rich blundered into writing, "Yours in the

² *Rich's His Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1581), ed. J. P. Collier for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1846), pp. 7-8.

³ Thomas Dekker, *Olde Fortunatus* (1599), in *The Dramatic Works* (London, 1873), I, 130. For Rich's possible influence on Shakespeare see my article, "The Courtship Scene in *Henry V*", *M.L.Q.*, XI (1950), 180-188.

⁴ "Of Two Brethren and Their Wives", *Farewell*, p. 136.

way of honestie, Barnabe Riche." The expression had long been plain as a greeting from man to man. But in an address to women, it took on a pertinence so startling that for years to come, in books and on the stage, it became almost inseparably connected with Rich. Fifteen years later Nashe assumes that his readers will follow him when he writes: "A rich spirit, quoth a? nay then, a spirit in the way of honestie too: loe, this it is to bee read in nothing but in Barnabe Riches workes."⁵ And in an anonymous play, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, occurs an allusion even more confident; Barnaby Brunch, a tailor, proffers his services as follows: "Ye shall commaund me to serve you, your wife, and your daughter in the way of honestie, like honest Barnabie."⁶

More, however, than a single audacity of phrase kept Rich before a feminine audience as "honest Barnabie", and as a writer whose works showed "a spirit in the way of honestie". In part, he perpetuated the role merely by repeating his soldierly courtship in other books, with other "rough heaven" stories, asserting the suitability of a soldier for a "delicate damosels bed".⁷ And as his fame and sophistication grew, he retained the pose of a simple, unlettered soldier in his more respectful dedication of books to eminent ladies, including Queen Elizabeth and the daughter of King James.

But the "honest Barnabie" label persevered also, I believe, because of another, more critical kind of honesty that was becoming evident in Rich's writings. Although his change from a suitor of women to an honest critic of the sex cannot be traced to any one cause, a tempting explanation is to be found in a corresponding change in his personal life. Rich's courtship of the gentlewomen readers had so prospered that, at the age of forty-four, he found himself in possession of a wife. Soon thereafter his literary bent became critical rather than courtly. From what we know of Katheryn Rich, moreover, it seems unlikely that she would have encouraged her husband in a further courtship of the gentlewomen "bothe of Englande and Irelande". In the most emphatic utterance recorded of her, she defends King James's statute against bigamy as "a most godly edict, fit to be confirmed by a christian king",⁸ and her angry testimony helped her husband inform upon the culprit who had spoken irreverently of King and statute. However self-conscious Rich's enthusiasms may have been, his new role could not have been entirely self-planned. There was clearly an almost psychopathic sincerity in the impulse that made him a professional informer, upon men as well as women.

It is nevertheless important to notice that his change to honest Barnaby as a critic of women coincided with the rise in popularity of the "honest man" in literature—a plain-speaking type celebrated by Character writers and appearing in the drama as Honesty personified, with a knack for detecting all kinds of dishonesty. For Rich it was an easy step—once literary fashion or matrimony dic-

⁵ *Have with You to Saffron-Walden* (1596), in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1905), p. 16.

⁶ *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*, ed. W. W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints, no. 30 (1912), lines 499-500. This allusion is cited and commented upon by T. M. Cranfill, "Barnaby Rich's 'Sappho' and *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*", in *Studies in English*, Department of English, The University of Texas, 1945-1946, pp. 169-170.

⁷ *The Second Tome of the Travailes and Adventures of Don Simonides* (1584), sig. Sr. See also *The Adventures of Brissanus Prince of Hungaria* (1592).

⁸ Quoted by T. M. Cranfill and D. H. Bruce, *Barnaby Rich: A Short Biography* (Austin, Texas, 1953), p. 105.

tated the move—from the role of the blunt but amiable soldier as suitor to the more caustic bluntness of the soldier as honest critic. In *A Souldiers Wishe to Britons Welfare*, a book in which he is still speaking primarily as a soldier, he drops hints that he is also thinking of himself as the personification of Honesty. "Honestie", he complains, "that is of a reprehending humour . . . , shal begge his bread"; and again, "poore Honestie is so put to silence that he dares not speak."⁹ In a book called *The Honestie of This Age*, of which a major share is devoted to an examination of female honesty, Rich makes the personal identification clearer: "I confesse my self to be ill beholding to mine owne tongue, that could never flatter, lisse, nor lye. . . . I speake plainly, and I meane honestly, and although my wordes be not embroydered with high morality, I care not, for I leave that to Schollers."¹⁰ From this work, and others of similar temper, gentlewomen were learning that their honest Barnaby, like honest Iago, "speaks home, madam. You may relish him more in the soldier than in the scholar."¹¹ And like Iago, he professed to be "nothing if not critical" (II.i.120) when describing women.

As with Iago, moreover, it was Rich's fortunate merging of the two literary roles of Honesty and the blunt soldier that gave his strictures on women their distinctive boldness and authority. Certainly there was slight originality of idea in what he had to say.¹² At worst, he merely gave sincere repetition to the grimly abusive sentiments of puritanic writers. But when Rich as the blunt soldier spoke home, there was a robust, broadly comic quality in his moral instruction; and gentlewomen doubtless found him, as Desdemona found Iago, amusing in his criticism. Much as was the case in the *Farewell*, his efforts to be edifying seemed fated to lead him into felicitous indiscretions. In trying to expound Solomon's comparison of a virtuous woman to a merchant ship, he gets himself hopelessly floundered in structural similarities between the two, and doesn't extricate himself before making several shocking puns.¹³ More consciously leering—but also more quotable—is his statement warning women not to imitate a merchant ship too literally; for "one shippe may belong to many marchants and one marchant may be owner in many ships but this is a special note of the unchaste woman, for she cries still the more the merrier" (p. 12).

Besides helpful hints to women, Rich offered much good advice to men concerning women. Honest Barnaby could be depended upon for shrewd marriage counsel; consolation on the problem of fashionable, extravagant wives; and nostalgic glimpses of Spartan women—wenches who knew "how to charge a Pyke or a Lance" rather than "how to manage a Tobacco-pipe."¹⁴

But for male readers, particularly husbands, the most distinctive and fascinating contribution of honest Barnaby was doubtless his Iago-like office of helping

⁹ *A Souldiers Wishe to Britons Welfare* (1604), pp. 59, 20.

¹⁰ *The Honestie of This Age* (1614), ed. Peter Cunningham for the Percy Society (London, 1844), p. 5.

¹¹ *Othello* II.i.166-167, in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

¹² The traditional content of Rich's criticism of women can be most conveniently deduced from two present-day studies of Renaissance controversies about women: Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), Chapter XIII; and Carroll Camden, *The Elizabethan Woman* (Houston, 1952), Chapter IX.

¹³ *The Excellency of Good Women* (1613), p. 9.

¹⁴ *The Honestie of This Age*, p. 49.

to tell an honest woman from a harlot. It is in this capacity that he appears in *The Honestie of This Age*; and he prominently advertises his services in the running titles of two other works—*My Ladies Looking Glasse (Wherein May Be Discerned . . . a Good Woman from a Bad)* and *The Excellency of Good Women (The Infallible Markes Whereby to Know Them)*. Though he may protest sarcastically that there are no dishonest women in England because nowadays none can be considered a harlot without ocular proof,¹⁵ Rich offers helpful clues to surmount this tedious difficulty. If a woman powders her periwig, paints her face, "bespots herselfe with patches, layes her selfe naked, shamefull to thinke on, . . . disguiseth and deformeth her selfe every day with new fashions, if this Woman be honest, wherefore should she doe these things, unlesse of purpose, because she would be thought a harlot, but if the woman that doth thus disguise her selfe doth not want a little honesty, I am sure she wants a great deale of wit."¹⁶ It is also, Rich observes, a rare honest woman who has many friends that will take her part, quarrel for her, lend her money, and "send her daily provision of capons, conies, partridge."¹⁷ Rich makes a woman's face a specially sensitive index of her virtue. In loose women there is an "impudency of looks" and "rowling of wanton eyes".¹⁸ And the harlot, he never tires of repeating, cannot blush. It should, in fact, be enough to make an honest woman blush merely to imagine that she cannot blush.¹⁹ Traditional though these criteria were, they took on a fresh authority through the person of honest Barnaby, a self-acknowledged expert on the subject. And he gave them a special persuasiveness through his startling claim that he had gathered some of them "by observation".²⁰ Indeed, in his remarkable combination of a scandalous subject matter with a respectable research technique, Rich deserves to rank as a forerunner of modern students of the subject.

It is possible, moreover, that he won almost comparable public notice. In Ireland, the response to his services as a student of female honesty was especially lively. Though the men of that country had already acknowledged his labors as an informer by one or two beatings, Rich had occasion to regret that he did not limit his researches to male subjects. A particularly regrettable incident followed the publication of his *New Description of Ireland*, in which he had found aspects of the female situation so depressing that he protested, "I will not meddle with their honesties."²¹ As Rich describes the incident, he was guest at an alderman's house in Dublin, when "a woman (if I may tearme her to be a woman that hath forgotten to blush) but such a creature there was that . . . beganne to picke quarrelles both at me and at my booke." Presently, he reports, he "was brought into a generall oblique throughout the whol citie of Dublyne, but especially amongst the citizens wives." Rich met this attack with fortitude; in his own words, "Let her goe for smooke, fortitude doth shew it selfe more worthy in suffering than in doing wrong."²² It was possibly as a result of such disillusioning experiences that

¹⁵ *The Excellency of Good Women*, p. 12.

¹⁶ *The Irish Hubbub* (1617), p. 22.

¹⁷ *Faultes Faults, and Nothing Else but Faultes* (1606), fol. 24.

¹⁸ *The Honestie of This Age*, p. 16.

¹⁹ *My Ladies Looking Glasse* (1616), p. 14.

²⁰ *Faultes Faults, and Nothing Else but Faultes*, fol. 24.

²¹ *A New Description of Ireland* (1610), p. 9.

²² *A True and Kinde Excuse Written in Defence of that Booke, Intituled a Newe Description of Ireland* (1612), sig. C1.

Rich was to write wearily, just a year before his death: "Plaine dealing: Honesty is dead . . . , but this is the mischief, he died without issue."²³ He might equally well have used the words of another honest soul who claimed martyrdom for daring to impugn womanly virtue:

Take note, take note, O world,
To be direct and honest is not safe.²⁴

Though honest Barnaby suffered from his bold criticism of women, personal exposure was an inevitable part of his successful technique. Without the personal touch of an actor in the scene, he could not have held his public for almost forty years. Today the remnants of his twenty-six books make repetitious reading. Without an actor's assurance he could scarcely have repeated his lines, and those of his literary betters, through book after book with the accent of fresh, authoritative utterance. And besides the actor's gifts, Rich must have used the related and equally confident artistry of the personal columnist, whose name and assured manner give new authority to old banalities. Only his journalistic status as an expert can account for his being cited as an authority on ideas for which he could claim not the slightest originality. A divine was to quote him as a specialist on the evils of cosmetics, and a fashionable physician was to use his name in support of breast feeding for infants.²⁵

It behooves modern students of women's literature to view Rich's pioneering efforts with respect as well as concern. Only an inventive use of his modest gifts could have permitted him to anticipate techniques successful today. And for his own age, it was no mean feat to hold in thrall that difficult, mutually distrustful audience of amused soldiers, anxious husbands, and "the right courteous Gentlewomen, bothe of Englande and Irelande."

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²³ *My Ladies Looking Glasse*, p. 60.

²⁴ *Othello* III. iii. 378.

²⁵ Rev. Thomas Tukes, *A Treatise against Paint[i]ng and Tincturing of Men and Women* (1616), p. 25; Dr. John Jones, *The Arte and Science of Preserving Bodie and Soule* (1570), sig. H2. Both works cited by Cranfill and Bruce, p. 6.

The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century:

A Caveat for Interpretors of Stage History

ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN



HE traditional view that the great actor David Garrick was the chief factor in the rising popularity of Shakespeare's plays in the eighteenth century encounters contrary testimony in the data compiled by C. B. Hogan in the first volume of his *Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800*.¹ Using the lists of performances given by Mr. Hogan and in several other publications,² I should like to present some description of the reputation of these plays in order to provide a more acceptable explanation of the causes of the phenomenon (Bardolatry) under survey. First, however, a few remarks need to be made about the proper methodology of using the data of stage history.

Some years ago I made an attempt to refute the concept of Garrick as prime mover, resting the case almost entirely on performance records to show that most of Shakespeare's plays had been revived before Garrick made his triumphant entry.³ This procedure was rejected in a *PMLA* article by G. W. Stone, Jr., who retorted by saying, "We may be permitted a broader view than that of . . . his purely statistical article dealing with the years 1736-40."⁴ The same rebuke could also be applied to the raw data which make up the contents of Mr. Hogan's initial volume. The mere listing of performances, one after the other, can be misleading. For one thing, the principle of selection which governs the book (and a compiler of a single author's work has possibly no other choice) isolates the Shakespearian play not only from the entirety of an evening's production but also from the context of the theatrical season. Mr. Hogan's book contains an

¹ *A Record of Performances in London, 1701-1750* (Oxford, 1952).

² Such as Dougald MacMillan's *Drury Lane Calendar* (Oxford, 1938); the handlists in Allardyce Nicoll's *History of English Drama, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1952); Emmett L. Avery's *Congreve's Plays on the 18th Century Stage* (New York, 1951), together with numerous recent articles on stage history.

³ "Shakespeare's Plays in the Theatrical Repertory When Garrick Came to London", *University of Texas Studies in English* (Austin, 1945), pp. 257-268.

⁴ "David Garrick's Significance in the History of Shakespearean Criticism", *PMLA*, LXV (March, 1950), 186.

alphabetical listing of Shakespeare's plays, under dates of performance of each, in which he enters the cast of actors for the presentation. The procedure used is that of giving the entire cast on the initial production and entering only the changes from that at additional performances during the year. He describes his method as follows:

In the left-hand column of each page will be found a transcript of the playbill for the first performance in each calendar year. . . . In the right-hand column, in small type, will be found the changes in the cast that took place in subsequent performances throughout that year. . . . Each time a change in a cast occurs an asterisk appears after the character in question.⁵

What engenders immediate confusion here is the fact that Mr. Hogan disregards the very basis of eighteenth-century theatrical organization: the theatrical season. Accordingly, this section of his book shows a great number of cast changes in January and February performances. One example will be given.

In recording the fortunes of *1 Henry IV* at Covent Garden in 1748, Mr. Hogan enters a full cast on 22 April, the first performance of that calendar year. For 17 October he gives a full cast that contains eleven changes, though only one is starred. Then, under the year 1749, he lists for 10 January a full cast again, starring seven parts as being changed.⁶ Actually there was no such sweeping change of actors on this night. What really happened can be seen at once if these three performances are re-examined in the proper context of the theatrical season. The performance of 22 April belongs back in the 1747-48 season. In the fall of 1748, at the beginning of a new season, a number of different players had been added to the Covent Garden company, and the changes are reflected in the performance of 17 October. Luke Sparks (announced in the bills as "first time on that stage") took the part of Henry IV. Delane displaced Ryan as Hotspur, the latter playing the Prince, previously enacted by Giffard. Mrs. Woffington played Lady Percy, formerly taken by Mrs. Hale; and there were some changes in the minor parts. The play had now been cast, and the players of the night of 17 October held the same roles on 10 January 1749, in the middle of the season, save for two minor parts, Worcester and the First Carrier. But Hogan stars seven of the characters at this performance because, in his system, a January performance belongs in a new year. Regularly organized companies such as those at Drury Lane and Covent Garden rarely changed players during the middle of the season, a period that began in mid-September and extended until June. So uncommon was such substitution that some explanatory note is usually given ("Mr. Reddish, being a little out of his Senses, he could not play", writes the prompter Hopkins).⁷ But Mr. Hogan's lists, though authentic, give the misleading impression that every January or February a company suddenly juggled its players for a stock play. This in the conservative eighteenth century, where an actor who had "created" a role considered that he owned that part as long as he was active on the stage! Furthermore, a person seeking biographical information can obtain

⁵ P. 87. I do not wish to misrepresent Mr. Hogan as being unfamiliar with the theatrical season. In an introductory statement on p. 1 of his work he explicitly refers to it and then says, "... it has seemed simpler and clearer to make use of the ordinary calendar year. . . ."

⁶ See pp. 177-178.

⁷ As quoted by D. MacMillan, p. 185.

the impression that a certain actor stayed for two years at a given theatre, whereas that player was actually engaged for only one theatrical season at that house.

Next, Mr. Hogan, in the other section of his book (which gives a running chronological listing of performances), records each Shakespearian item as if it were the *raison d'être* of the night's production, although he does describe benefit nights as such. Actually, an evening's entertainment at a London theatre consisted of music, a three- or five-act play as the mainpiece, one or two afterpieces, entr'actes of singing or dancing or both, and possibly a specialty act. Seeing only the title of a Shakespearian play entered for a given night in Hogan's lists, the reader may be inclined to believe that this was what drew the audience. On the contrary, a full bill for that night might show that a new pantomime was the main attraction, a favorite stratagem, for example, of David Garrick's during his managership of Drury Lane. *The Beggar's Opera* may have made Rich gay, but according to the treasurer's account books it was the pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda* that made him rich.

Mr. Hogan also isolates a number of skits like *The Cobler of Preston* and *Pyramus and Thisbe*, listing the performances as if each were the production of the evening. He includes over 120 performances of adaptations or extracts from Shakespeare in such a manner. I will discuss this problem later on, but for the moment it is necessary to point out that this kind of entry is quite misleading. Such pieces, when performed, constituted part of a double or even triple bill.⁸

A trustworthy study of a topic pertaining to stage history must be done within the frame of reference of the repertory system. Under this system, a London theatre throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century offered old favorites in the fall (frequently playing the same play on the same day for several seasons), produced some new plays in mid-winter, and returned to the old favorites or recent successes when the benefit season began in the spring. The success of a particular actor in a given role might hold that play on the boards longer than changes in contemporary taste would normally allow. Conversely, some popular plays dropped out of the bills for a time because of the death or retirement of a certain actor or actress. Such plays were later revived, acted frequently for several seasons, then presented once or twice each season until they finally disappeared again. In addition, certain kinds of plays lost favor with changing trends in taste. Furthermore, new types of comedians, character actors, and the like would appear on the stage; and these players would revive older plays as a vehicle for their talents if the current drama did not provide such an opportunity. These and many other factors created a cyclical aspect to the pattern of the repertory throughout the century.

An examination of the records of performance at the London theatres will show that various categories of plays experienced such vicissitudes. The new sentimental drama burgeoned, diminished, and was revived. Jonsonian comedy, though making a fainter trace on the graph, flourished, declined, and was restored. The comedy of manners went through several cycles. And the plays of Shakespeare tended to be produced in a series of expanding cycles.

Though the theatre bills at the beginning of the century are not extant, it is known that there was something of a Shakespeare revival in 1700. *Henry VIII*

⁸ For example, *The Cobler of Preston* was advertised on the nights of 2 and 14 April 1716 and 31 December 1717 as one of three pieces to be performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields. See note 22.

and 1 *Henry IV* were revived by Betterton, and Cibber's *Richard III* was the most popular of the current adaptations. In 1702 the bills began to appear in the *Daily Courant*, but not with any regularity. By the fall of 1703 the Drury Lane bills appeared daily, and the other company advertised somewhat more frequently than before, so that we can identify a majority of the performances. In the 1703-04 season, both houses gave only 27 performances of Shakespearian drama out of the 277 nights in which we know they were open. The ratio of one to ten indicates that the Shakespearian drama held but a small share of the repertory, and for a number of years the proportion was not much better. For purposes of reference, there follows a table showing the totals of Shakespearian performances and total performances of plays at all theatres for different periods during the century:

Table A⁹

Theatrical Seasons:	Performances of Shakespeare's Plays:	Performances of all Plays at all Theatres:	%
1703-1710	182	1,712	11 ⁰ / ₁₀
1710-1717	269	1,885	14 ⁰ / ₁₀
1717-1723	403	2,318	17 ⁰ / ₁₀
1723-1734	688	5,464	12 ¹ / ₂ ⁰ / ₁₀
1734-1740	447	2,844	16 ⁰ / ₁₀
1740-1747	831	3,510	24 ⁰ / ₁₀
At Drury Lane:			
1734-1747	555	2,358	23 ⁰ / ₁₀
1747-1776	1,231	5,400	23 ⁰ / ₁₀

These figures show a considerable fluctuation in the popularity of Shakespearian drama. The percentage increases considerably, until it reaches 24%, or nearly one out of every four performances, but the acceleration is not constant nor are the data self-explanatory. A chart now follows showing the different plays (and adaptations) which achieved these totals. I have made a distinction in each column of the chart between those plays acted from a good text but with omissions and those plays into which the adaptor has inserted additional material. The validity of my thesis does not, however, depend on this classification nor upon its complete accuracy. I have followed the consensus of the scholarly findings of G. C. D. Odell, Hazelton Spencer, Allardyce Nicoll, G. W. Stone, Jr., and C. B. Hogan. On my own judgment I would have excluded Lillo's *Marina* and Miller's *Universal Passion* and probably included Theobald's *Double Falsehood*, a production widely advertised as by Shakespeare and one which may

⁹ The totals represent all known performances at all theatres, taverns, amphitheatres, concert-rooms, and booths in or close to London. Certain problems at the booths in Southwark, at the New Wells, Mayfair, and during the time of Bartholomew Fair tend to undermine the validity of the above totals. Promoters at these booths advertised continuous production, usually "from Noon to Ten". During this length of time and from oblique references in the London newspapers, it appears that each booth at the Fair may have produced five shows each day. For a single booth the total, on this basis, would be the product of five performances times the number of days the booth was open (usually four days), or a total of twenty. Since we do not know that all scheduled performances were actually given, I have calculated on the basis of only one performance on each day when the troupe announced a program.

The periods of time shown in the left column of the table are not selected on any arbitrary basis, but reflect a grouping of seasons according to Shakespearian revivals or to relative inactivity in producing Shakespearian plays.

contain more lines of Shakespeare than some of the plays mangled by Nahum Tate. Nevertheless, I have followed the prevailing views of those scholars who work in this field, and to avoid complicating the record, I have used the plays which they have designated.

Table B. Repertory Plays and Revivals

In stock 1717	Revived 1717-23	In stock 1724	Revived 1735-8	In stock 1740
Shakespeare texts				
<i>Hamlet</i>		<i>Hamlet</i>		<i>Hamlet</i>
1 <i>Henry IV</i>		1 <i>Henry IV</i>		1 <i>Henry IV</i>
<i>Henry VIII</i>		<i>Henry VIII</i>		2 <i>Henry IV</i>
<i>Julius Caesar</i>		<i>Julius Caesar</i>		<i>Henry V</i>
<i>Merry Wives</i>		<i>Measure for Measure</i>		<i>Henry VIII</i>
<i>Othello</i>		<i>Measure</i>		<i>Julius Caesar</i>
	<i>Coriolanus</i>	<i>Merry Wives</i>	2 <i>Henry IV</i>	<i>King John</i>
	<i>Measure for Measure</i>	<i>Othello</i>	<i>Henry V</i>	<i>Measure for Measure</i>
	<i>Much Ado</i>		1 <i>Henry VI</i>	<i>Merry Wives</i>
			<i>King John</i>	<i>Much Ado</i>
			<i>Much Ado</i>	<i>Othello</i>
			<i>Richard II</i>	
Adapted texts				
<i>Caius Marius</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>	2 <i>Henry IV</i>	<i>Caius Marius</i>	2 <i>Henry IV</i>
(— <i>Romeo</i>), Otway	Durfee	<i>Jew of Venice</i>	<i>Henry V</i>	<i>Jew of Venice</i>
<i>Jew of Venice</i> , Landsdowne	2 <i>Henry IV</i> , Betterton	<i>Lear and Three Daughters</i>	<i>Marina</i> (—Per.) Lillo	<i>Lear and Three Daughters</i>
<i>Lear and Three Daughters</i> , Tate	<i>Henry V</i> , Hill	<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>Universal Passion</i> (Much Ado) Miller	<i>Macbeth</i>
<i>Macbeth</i> , Davenant	3 <i>Henry VI</i> , T. Cibber	<i>Richard III</i>		<i>Richard III</i>
<i>Richard III</i> , C. Cibber	<i>Humphrey Duke of Gloster</i>	<i>Sauny the Scot</i>		<i>Sauny the Scot</i>
<i>Sauny the Scot</i> (— <i>Shrew</i>), Lacy	Phillips	<i>Tempest</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>	<i>Tempest</i>
<i>Tempest</i> , Shadwell	<i>Invader of His Country</i> (—Cor), Theobald	<i>Timon of Athens</i>		<i>Timon of Athens</i>
<i>Timon of Athens</i> , Shadwell	<i>Love in a Forest</i> (—AYLI), C. Johnson	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>		
<i>Titus Andronicus</i> , Ravenscroft	<i>Richard II</i> , Theobald			
	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i> , Dryden			
15 plays	11 plays, <i>Coriolanus</i> in two versions	16 plays	9 plays; <i>Henry V</i> and <i>Much Ado</i> in two versions	18 plays; 2 <i>Henry IV</i> in two versions
Revived 1740-6	In stock 1747	Revived by Garrick 1747-76	In stock at Drury Lane 1776	
<i>As You Like It</i> (Fleet-	<i>All's Well</i>			

wood)* 20 Dec 1740	<i>As You Like It</i>		
<i>Twelfth Night</i> (Fleetwood)	<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Antony and</i>	<i>As You Like It</i>
15 Jan 1741	1 <i>Henry IV</i>	<i>Cleopatra</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>
<i>Winter's Tale</i> (Giffard)	2 <i>Henry IV</i>	<i>Coriolanus</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>
15 Jan 1741	<i>Henry V</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>	<i>Measure for</i>
<i>Merchant of Venice</i>	<i>Henry VIII</i>		<i>Measure</i>
(Fleetwood) 14 Feb 1741	<i>Julius Caesar</i>		<i>Merchant of</i>
<i>All's Well</i> (Giffard)	<i>King John</i>		<i>Venice</i>
17 March 1741	<i>Macbeth</i>		<i>Much Ado</i>
<i>Comedy of Errors</i>	<i>Measure for</i>		<i>Othello</i>
(Fleetwood) 11 Nov 1741	<i>Measure</i>		<i>Romeo and</i>
<i>Macbeth</i> (Garrick)	<i>Merchant of Venice</i>		<i>Juliet</i>
7 Jan 1744	<i>Merry Wives</i>		<i>Tempest</i>
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (T. Cibber) 11 Sept 1744	<i>Much Ado</i>		<i>Twelfth Night</i>
<i>Cymbeline</i> (T. Cibber)	<i>Othello</i>		
8 Nov 1744	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>		
<i>Tempest</i> (Lacy)	<i>Tempest</i>		
31 Jan 1746	<i>Twelfth Night</i>		
<i>Papal Tyranny</i> (—King John), C. Cibber	<i>Jew of Venice</i>	<i>The Fairies</i>	<i>Hamlet,</i>
	<i>Lear and Three</i>	(—MND)	Garrick
	<i>Daughters</i>	<i>Midsummer Night's</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
	<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>Dream</i> , Colman	<i>Richard III</i>
	<i>Richard III</i>	<i>Tempest</i> , Garrick	
	<i>Sauny the Scot</i>	<i>Timon of Athens,</i>	
	<i>Tempest</i>	Cumberland	
	<i>Timon of Athens</i>	<i>Two Gentlemen of</i>	
		<i>Verona</i> , Victor	
		<i>Winter's Tale,</i>	
		Garrick	
		<i>Florizel and</i>	
		<i>Perdita</i> (—WT)	
11 plays	22 plays; <i>Macbeth,</i>	8 plays; MND and	13 plays
	<i>Merchant</i> and	WT in two	
	<i>Tempest</i> in two	versions	
	versions		

*name in parenthesis is the person who revived the play

The information provided in these two tables should show, once and for all, that Garrick could not have been the chief cause of the Shakespearian revival and that instead of one "revival" there was a series of revivals. Table B shows that by the time of Garrick's first appearance as an actor there were only a few plays from the canon that had not been recently staged. It is interesting to notice how few of Shakespeare's plays Garrick kept in the repertory in comparison to the number in stock at the beginning of his managership of Drury Lane. Various other observations may be quickly made, but much of the information needs further exposition in order to disclose the reasons for the increase in popularity of Shakespeare's plays throughout the course of the century.

Before the Shakespearian revival that commenced in the 1717-18 season, there were fifteen plays in the repertory. Of these, it will be noticed that nine,

or the majority, are of adaptations, with only six unaltered plays. Next, there is the surprising proportion of nine tragedies to six comedies, a dominance directly contrary to the normal relation of comedy and tragedy in all the plays given during a season. One of the many valuable contributions of Allardyce Nicoll's study of early eighteenth-century drama is his analysis of the proportion of comedy to tragedy in the Augustan Age. He begins his summary of his statistics by saying, "Tragedy as a whole is clearly subordinate in the repertoires, in the early years to comedy, later to opera and comedy, and, toward the middle and end of the period, to opera, comedy and pantomime" (II, 59). Later (II, 60), Professor Nicoll comments on the fact that his handlist contains far fewer tragedies in proportion to the total number of plays than does his handlist for the Restoration period or Sir Walter Greg's *Handlist of Plays* up to 1642. Consequently, the proportion of Shakespearian tragedies to comedies in stock in 1717 appears to represent a deviation from the taste of the times. This apparent discrepancy will, however, lead us to a more comprehensive and revealing explanation for the presence of Shakespearian plays at any time during the century. That is, the fortunes of a particular play or group of plays should not be studied without reference to contemporary manifestations of creative art in the drama. A brief review may be needed to provide supporting evidence.

After the decline of the late Jacobean and Caroline drama, Restoration audiences witnessed the regeneration of dramatic art in two different types: the heroic tragedy (which turned out to have no enduring value) and the comedy of manners (one of the most artistic forms of English literature). Small wonder that Shakespeare's plays were made into operas. In a word, the early Restoration comedy of manners, followed by the plays of the later practitioners, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, pre-empted and dominated the offerings in comedy, leaving little room for those of Shakespeare. But the heroic tragedy, though the current dramatic form, was quite disappointing. Accordingly, there was a great vacancy, as the years passed, in the field of tragedy, and it became occupied by the main tragedies of Shakespeare. In the years immediately preceding 1717 there had been many efforts to write in the contemporary sub-genre of neo-classical tragedy, but *Cato* remained the only completely successful example. Once again, there was a place for Shakespeare: *Julius Caesar* and *Timon of Athens* were favorites, and two versions of *Coriolanus* were forthcoming. Consequently, the proportion between tragedy and comedy still required more tragedies of Shakespeare than comedies, since the latter type could be supplied by contemporary writers.

In the seasons from the fall of 1717 to the spring of 1723 another wave of Shakespearian popularity may be observed. It can be seen both in the numbers of plays acted and in the total performances. Here also was the last major outbreak of mutilations of Shakespeare's texts, nine of the twelve plays added during these six years being adaptations of one kind or another. Nevertheless, in a very short time twenty-six plays of Shakespeare were represented in some form or another. Most of the revivals were at the new theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where John Rich's troupe performed. Their best season was 1720-21, when sixteen different plays were performed for a total of 66 nights, the theatre being open only 164 nights in all. This is an amazing record. In so far as I have examined the primary sources, no other London theatre in the eighteenth century ever produced as many as sixteen plays in one season. The total of 66 nights in one season

was exceeded only twice by the Drury Lane company (85 in 1740-41 and 69 in 1748-49) and once by the Covent Garden company, who achieved 69 performances in 1750-51, the year of the great run of *Romeo and Juliet*.

There is another aspect of this unusual activity at Lincoln's Inn Fields this season of 1720-21 that is of significance when considered simultaneously with the high record of production: the receipts show that these performances were not very successful at the box-office. Performances of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* nearly filled the house, but 22 of the 66 productions lost money for the proprietor, the receipts falling under the fixed daily expenses. Therefore while we must recognize that in these years we may have witnessed the largest revival thus far, we must also observe that the time was not ripe, the audience not yet ready. Further proof develops as we note the abandonment of the twelve plays (or adaptations) so recently introduced. In 1724, as shown in Table B, only sixteen plays remained in stock, as compared with fifteen in 1717, before the revival started.

Furthermore, in the next eleven years, there is a considerable decline in the ratio of Shakespeare's plays to the total of the season's productions. From 17% in the time of the revival, the proportion dropped to 12½%, or one play out of eight. The reason for this decline is instructive and confirms, by contrast, the explanation suggested earlier for the presence of Shakespeare's plays in the repertory. That is, within a few years of each other three new dramatic forms made their appearance. Gay's ballad opera, *The Beggar's Opera* (keeping the house open one-third of a season by itself), was one emanation of creative genius. Of lesser literary merit, but still a new creative art form were Henry Fielding's satirical comedies (such as *Pasquin*) and burlesques (such as *Tom Thumb*), that were presented at the little theatre in the Haymarket. The third was crude, turgid, clumsy, but potentially the most dynamic of all—the *Schicksalstragödie*, such as *The Fatal Curiosity*, *The London Merchant*, *The Fatal Extravagance*, *Arden of Feversham*, and the like. These plays, crude as they were, pointed directly to the nineteenth-century problem play. With this resurgence of contemporary creative genius, there was no room for Shakespearian drama at the Haymarket Theatre. What happened can be seen at once from the following table.

Table C. The Haymarket Theatre.

Season:	Plays by Shakespeare	New plays	Total nights the house was open
1728-29	one performance	nine	116
1729-30	one performance	eleven	ca. 100
1730-31	three performances	nine	106
1735-36	—	eleven	101
1736-37	one performance	fourteen	59 or 60 ¹⁰

The theatrical situation at the Haymarket, as shown by the figures in the above Table, should be of interest to those who have never studied this period. Fifty-four new plays were staged in the five seasons listed above; of the 482 performances given, only six nights were devoted to Shakespeare. A warning may

¹⁰ Totals based on newspaper advertisements; some performances scheduled may not have been given.

be needed at this point. I am not trying to hint that some of these new plays at the Haymarket were dramatic masterpieces. Far from it. Instead, the observation to be made is that when a manager of a company has a supply of from nine to fourteen new plays that he considers worth staging each season, there is not room for anything else. Nor were the Grand Mogul's comedians offering other Elizabethan or Restoration plays. Their productions consisted of new plays and successful plays of the previous season or seasons. To a certain extent, this principle was in effect at Goodman's Fields as well. That is, Odell and Giffard staged several new plays each season and for the other nights that the house was open generally played recent drama.

What all this activity would have led to is a matter for conjecture. The signs pointed toward a great upsurge in the drama. What did happen was the Licensing Act of 1737, whereby all London theatres but Drury Lane and Covent Garden were silenced. The market for playwrights was suddenly closed, not only by the legal prohibition against the unlicensed theatres, but also because the great resentment of the London public against the Act led them to shout down any new play at Drury Lane or Covent Garden. The managers soon learned of this attitude, at their cost, and for a dozen years there were only a very few new plays brought out at the two licensed theatres.

Therefore, the demands of a repertory system, when new plays were lacking, required the revival of some older plays. This granted, the question may arise as to why were not some other Elizabethan plays than those of Shakespeare revived. The question can be answered. Just prior to the crisis another influence made itself felt. At the risk of being charged with heresy by stage historians, I would like to suggest that the publication record of Shakespeare's plays in the second quarter of the century had a strong connection with the increased offering of the plays upon the stage. To the three printings of Rowe's edition early in the century must be added Pope's (1725, 1728), Theobald's (1733, 1740), some nonce collections in 1735, Hanmer's (1744, 1745, 1747 (2)), and Warburton's (1747).¹¹ Most of these editions, especially Pope's first edition and Hanmer's first edition, were expensive, and hence not within the reach of any considerable portion of the reading public. Of more importance than these edited sets was the appearance at a very low price of great quantities of printed texts of single plays as a result of the Tonson-Walker copyright war in 1734 and 1735. Walker had entered the lists against Tonson by offering a separate printing of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* at fourpence (a shilling was the customary price for a play) and by proposing to print all the plays of Shakespeare separately. Tonson retaliated by reducing his price to threepence¹² and then to a penny,¹³ as long as Walker continued. Walker persisted, however, and brought out about five plays a month for about seven or eight months.¹⁴ The upshot was that (together with a few other publishers) they offered for sale 115 different separate printings of all thirty-seven plays¹⁵ in 1734 and 1735. Of these, seven had not been printed

¹¹ Editions later than 1747 are not pertinent to the topic under consideration.

¹² H. L. Ford, *Shakespeare, 1700-1740* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 40-43.

¹³ Giles E. Dawson, "The Copyright of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works", *University of Missouri Studies*, XXI (1946), p. 30.

¹⁴ According to Dawson.

¹⁵ Together with the apocrypha, a list of which is not pertinent here.

separately since the Restoration; six had not been printed separately in a faithful text since 1660; and nine had never been printed separately. These nine are,

All's Well that Ends Well
Antony and Cleopatra
Cymbeline
As You Like It
The Comedy of Errors

1 Henry VI
Twelfth Night
Two Gentlemen of Verona
The Winter's Tale

The incidence between these titles and those of the Shakespearian revivals in 1735-38 and 1740-41, as shown in Table B, is striking. *1 Henry VI* was brought out at Covent Garden right away, and five of the others in the season of 1740-41. *Cymbeline* was the only one previously in the repertory; and *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* were brought out during Garrick's tenure at Drury Lane. When one considers that these single plays were marketed unbound and not designed for any kind of permanence and then observes the great numbers of copies extant at present, 220 years later, where repositories like the University of Texas and the Folger Library literally have bushels of them (and they are strewn everywhere on the shelves of British booksellers), he will realize that great numbers of them were printed. And the whole canon could be acquired for thirty-seven pence.

Women must have bought these books too. In 1735 the Ladies Shakespeare Club raised by subscription enough funds to underwrite the staging at Covent Garden of Shakespeare's plays from a good text.¹⁶ From the list in Table B it can be seen that for the first time authentic versions outnumbered the adaptations. It was too much to expect *1 Henry VI* to hold the stage, and *Richard II* did not satisfy the taste of the times. Fortunately, some of the altered versions dropped out too, so that in 1740, owing partly to the ladies, there were eleven good versions in the repertory, together with eight adaptations, one of which (*Betterton's 2 Henry IV*) was continued at Drury Lane while Covent Garden played the original, making a total of eighteen different plays.

By now the cycles of the Shakespearian vogue were recurring more closely than in previous years. Instead of an eleven-year hiatus, only two seasons passed before a new and expanding period of revivals set in. Five long-neglected comedies were brought out in 1740-41, and the total number of Shakespearian productions was to increase sharply. In the 1739-40 season, the ratio had been one play of Shakespeare to every eight nights of acting; in the following season, the ratio was one to four. The reason for the increase in performances and for the revivals is instructive. Successful comedy is generally contemporary comedy, but the unfortunate theatrical situation in 1740 occasioned by the dearth of new comedies and the audience resentment against new plays registered under the Licensing Act made this general truth inapplicable at this particular time. Once again, the entire theatrical situation must be surveyed in order to make valid observations.

First of all, Giffard had re-opened the Goodman's Fields house in an evasion of the Licensing Act, establishing a third company in competition for the play-going public. At Covent Garden, John Rich had engaged the beautiful young

¹⁶ See Nicoll, II, 68-69. These ladies were quite active in promoting the staging of Shakespearian plays, and a fuller account of their contribution is given elsewhere in this journal in an article by Emmett L. Avery, see pp. 153-158.

actress, Margaret Woffington. To exploit this new actress, Rich's manager, Lacy Ryan, aided and abetted by the Prince of Wales, selected plays containing "breeches" parts, *i.e.*, roles where women dressed in fashionable male attire. Accordingly, the shapely limbs of Mistress Woffington were displayed in the roles of Sylvia in *The Recruiting Officer* and Sir Harry Wildair in *The Constant Couple*. The latter part was indeed an innovation, never having been attempted by a woman before, and was an immediate success. From Rich's cash book, now at the Folger Library, and from Rylands MS 1111, it can be seen that the play ran ten nights consecutively, to large houses. Davies and other contemporaries testify to the sensation created in the theatre world by this program.

Well, the Drury Lane actresses had legs too; and there were other dramatists besides Farquhar who had written plays in which a woman took a male disguise. Accordingly, Fleetwood and Macklin, at Drury Lane, put *As You Like It* into rehearsal, and on 20 December the company revived this play for the first time since the Restoration. It was an immediate success, achieving a run of twelve nights, and, surprisingly enough, was not supported by any kind of afterpiece, though the double bill was now standard practice. Encouraged by this reception, the company brought out *Twelfth Night*, "never acted there", on 15 January. On the same night, Giffard, at Goodman's Fields, revived *The Winter's Tale*, "not acted 100 Years", and both plays ran for nine nights. Now Covent Garden began to offer some Shakespearian plays, and on twelve nights this month at least two of the three theatres had a Shakespearian play on the boards. In fact, from mid-December to the end of March there were only six acting nights without a Shakespearian production at one of the three houses.

The apogee was reached on 14 February, when Macklin interpreted the role of Shylock in the new "natural" school of acting. The play was acted twenty times, with great applause and considerable notice in the press. The last revival was staged at Goodman's Fields, where *All's Well that Ends Well* was offered to a London audience for the first time since the closing of the theatres in 1642. The season continued with *Hamlet*, *1 Henry IV*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* being played at all three theatres. By the season's end, the Drury Lane company had produced 14 plays of Shakespeare for a total of 85 performances in a season of 192 acting nights. Garrick, it might be noted, never gave as many as 85 nights to Shakespeare in any one season in his entire tenure at Drury Lane; sixty in 1761-62 and 69 in 1748-49 were the highest totals during his managership.

It is obvious that a shrewd student of the theatre (and friend and foe alike conceded this trait to David Garrick) could see that the Shakespearian vogue was dominant in the contemporary theatre. Fleetwood, at Drury Lane, evidently thought so; for he hired Margaret Woffington away from Covent Garden and cast her as Rosalind for a number of successful performances. Then he put into rehearsal the Shakespearian play that Giffard had just revived at Goodman's Fields and cast his new actress as Helena. Throughout this season of 1741-42, the Drury Lane company played a Shakespearian drama on one night out of three.

By this time there remained only six plays which had not been revived:

Antony and Cleopatra
Cymbeline
Love's Labour's Lost

Romeo and Juliet
Midsummer Night's Dream
Two Gentlemen of Verona

Two of these were introduced at the little theatre in the Haymarket by a man whose personal reputation was a joke, Theophilus Cibber. His record in the theatre, however, shows that he was a shrewd judge of trends in contemporary taste. It was he who had first brought out, as a summer manager, the domestic tragedy *The London Merchant*, back in 1731.

Now, in the fall of 1744 his revival of *Romeo and Juliet* was played to crowded houses in the Haymarket Theatre. From the newspapers we learn that an unusually high proportion of the audience were women. Cibber followed this success by restoring the original *Cymbeline*. The crowds proved his undoing. Very shortly, the managers of Covent Garden and Drury Lane called the magistrate to enforce the Licensing Act and close the theatre.¹⁷ In due time, when they acquired the kind of actors and actresses needed, Rich and Garrick followed this move by producing *Romeo and Juliet* at their own theatres, often on the same night, and so frequently that it ranks as the most popular Shakespearian play in the third quarter of the century. Cibber had been quite right. Years before, the audiences had clamored for Booth: Booth as Brutus, Booth as Cato, and (our witness is Alexander Pope) applauded his entry before he spoke a word. It was all different now. Audiences were anxious to see Susannah Cibber or George Ann Bellamy lean from a balcony to a Garrick or a Barry. To say that Theophilus Cibber must have been a grotesque Romeo is to obscure the issue. But to credit Garrick with reviving *Romeo and Juliet* (in the light of the way in which the theatrical cartel squelched Cibber) is to provide a disingenuous account of stage history.

From Table B it can be seen that when Garrick took over at Drury Lane there were twenty-two of the plays of Shakespeare in the repertory, with only a small number of adaptations still on the boards.¹⁸ Let us look at what Garrick added. He brought back *Coriolanus* after it had been allowed to lapse for some years, he revived *Antony and Cleopatra*, and he produced *Cymbeline*, which had been closed at the Haymarket. He restored the text of a considerable number of plays, such as *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear*. But he dropped the "good" *Tempest* which had been restored at Drury Lane by Lacy and replaced it with an operatic version. *Midsummer Night's Dream* was also brought out as an opera and then chopped up into an afterpiece. He introduced two altered versions of *The Winter's Tale* (though the original had been revived), Cumberland's version of *Timon of Athens*, and Victor's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Meanwhile he kept the Tate *Lear* and the Cibber *Richard III*. Charles Fox wanted Garrick to restore the original *Richard III*, but Garrick would not hear of it.¹⁹

As for the production of all the plays, Garrick offered twenty-six during his tenure. He never produced *Julius Caesar* and gradually dropped from the existing Drury Lane repertory the plays in which he did not take a role. By the closing seasons of his career, there remained only thirteen plays in stock, a little more than half the number currently presented when he took control of Drury Lane. It is interesting to note (in Table A) that the percentage of Shakespearian drama

¹⁷ See T. Cibber, *A Serio-Comic Apology* (Dublin, 1748) and Genest, IV, 171.

¹⁸ Of the eleven plays revived in this period, 1740-47, only one, old Colley Cibber's *Papal Tyranny*, was an adaptation of the kind once so prevalent.

¹⁹ J. H. Smith and W. G. B. Carson, "Genest's Additions and Corrections to *The English Stage*", *Theatre Notebook*, IV (January, 1950), 30.

offered under his managership is exactly the same as it had been for the period of thirteen seasons before he became manager. Professor Dougald MacMillan's comment on this is that "Garrick made no startling innovations" (p. xxvi).

Other statistics have been given. In speaking of the decade 1750-60, G. W. Stone, Jr., states that Garrick produced "A total of 527 performances of Shakespeare's plays, or 30% of the total Drury Lane production for that decade."²⁰ From the records in Dougald MacMillan's *Drury Lane Calendar*, I can reach a total of only 468 productions of Shakespeare out of the 1,845 nights the theatre was open, a proportion of 25%. In the same article, Professor Stone writes, "Garrick averaged 44 Shakespearian performances yearly at Drury Lane. During the whole period he presented twenty-eight different Shakespeare plays" (p. 128). But the list of titles comes only to twenty-seven, one of which (*Catherine and Petruccio*) was an afterpiece. The total of 1,231 performances of Shakespeare's plays under Garrick's management, as listed in Table A, is based on a count of the main pieces only. Garrick produced twenty-six as such. But for a man who wrote that it was his

. . . plan

To spill no drop of that immortal Man

he somehow managed to offer a quota of fragments and adaptations as afterpieces. *The Fairy Tale* was one; *Catherine and Petruccio* was another; McNamara Morgan's *Sheep-Shearing* was still another. These and other extracts from Shakespeare achieved a sum total of about a hundred performances. It is, however, faulty arithmetic to add these performances of afterpieces to the sum total of the main plays in order to reach an average figure for seasonal production. That is, Drury Lane was open some 5,400 nights during Garrick's ownership. If the Shakespearian total of 1,231 performances is divided by 5,400, the proportion is 23%. But if one adds the hundred-odd performances of *The Sheep-Shearing* and such other afterpieces to the previous total of 1,231, one must also add the number of performances of all the other afterpieces to the other figure, 5,400. Drury Lane was a double-feature house. Under Garrick's ownership, performances of afterpieces reached a total of nearly five thousand.²¹ Adding this total to 5,400 would reduce the proportion of Shakespearian drama to a very low percentage and give a distorted picture of stage history.²² Production records

²⁰ "The God of His Idolatry", *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, D. C., 1948), p. 117.

²¹ See the tabulation made by H. W. Pedicord, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick* (New York, 1954), pp. 198-219.

²² The most glaring example of this error can be found in C. B. Hogan's summary of statistics, which he gives as follows: "1701-1750: Total number of plays performed: 18,663; Number of plays by Shakespeare performed: 3,226 (of which 15 are double bills)" (p. 459). He goes on to say that the proportion is one to six. If one consults his Appendix B, on the relative order of popularity, he will find that 120 or so of these entries represent pieces used as afterpieces. To divide this figure by 18,663 is to obscure the record. There must have been about fifteen thousand performances of afterpieces during this period. Consequently, if Mr. Hogan means what he says above ("Total number of plays performed"), he must add about 15,000 to his total of 18,663. The ratio of 3,226 to the new total of some 33,000 is not one to six but one to ten or eleven. One can, fairly enough, subtract the 120-odd performances of afterpieces from 3,226 and examine the proportion of the latter figure to the number of nights all the theatres were open, but afterpieces must be examined statistically only in the light of other afterpieces. His total of 18,663 should be used with caution, anyhow, as it means he has missed over five hundred performances during the period, including forty productions of Shakespeare.

of Shakespeare's plays offered as the main pieces in the evening's entertainment may be compared with the records of other Elizabethan, Restoration, or eighteenth-century plays used as the main piece; but lists of performances of afterpieces culled from Shakespeare may be compared only with other afterpieces, such as pantomimes, farces, ballad operas, and the like.

No one cause can be assigned to explain the great increase in the plays of Shakespeare at this time, not even Oliver Goldsmith's shrewd observation that it was "an empty veneration for antiquity".²³ A more balanced proportion of the several factors which produced it is essential for an understanding of the rising popularity of Shakespeare's plays on the London stage. I trust no one, misreading my presentation, will think that the Ladies Club or the ubiquitous T. Cibber or the treasurer of Covent Garden is now set forth as the leading candidate in the genesis of Shakespeare idolatry. My intention is the opposite; the evidence shows a multiplicity of reasons. Naming these different factors is not original with me. Almost everything in this article was said by John Genest over a century ago or by Allardyce Nicoll in recent years.²⁴

Not long ago the recent motion picture production of *Julius Caesar* experienced a remarkably long run in a downtown Philadelphia cinema. I refuse to believe that all of these thousands of people came only to see Marlon Brando, or that a sufficient antiquarianism packed the building each time. Instead, I am inclined to believe that there were a number of people who enjoyed this relatively faithful text of a very great play.

Of Garrick, Boswell asks:

"But has he not brought Shakespeare into notice?"

Johnson: "Sir, to allow that, would be to lampoon the age."²⁵

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²³ *Works*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London, 1854), II, 59.

²⁴ Or has been suggested to me by E. L. Avery, R. W. Babcock, Herschel Baker, Giles E. Dawson, Leo Hughes, H. Schless, and H. W. Pedicord, to whom I am indebted in one way or another in the preparation of this article.

²⁵ *Life of Johnson* (Oxford, 1934), II, 92.

The Original Music to Middleton's *The Witch*

JOHN P. CUTTS



THE link between Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and Middleton's *The Witch* has long been a source of trouble. James G. McManaway has summed this up very concisely in *Shakespeare Survey* 2, (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 147-148. Although *The Witch* proved a failure on the stage and lay long "in an Imprisoned-Obscurity" it would seem that its music was successful, for two of its songs "Come away Hecate" and "Black spirits and white" are familiarly quoted in the 1623 Folio *Macbeth* merely by title (III. v. 33, S.D.; IV. i. 43, S.D.). This, and the inclusion of the full texts of the songs in the 1673 version of *Macbeth*, are the only evidence of a definite link.

How did Davenant recover the two Middleton songs? As McManaway has pointed out "the only MS of Middleton's *Witch* from which the two songs were extracted is non-theatrical, it is a transcript in the hand of Ralph Crane which the author presented to his friend Thomas Holmes, and which, presumably, always remained in private hands". This King's Men play had never been printed. No copy of *The Witch* was then known to exist. The earliest printed copy of the play is dated 1778, when over a hundred copies of it were printed for private circulation.¹ For a list of other editions of the play readers are referred to the Preface to the *Malone Society Reprint*, pp. ix-x. All these editions derive from the Ralph Crane MS.

The problem faced the editor of the New Arden edition of *Macbeth*. McManaway in reviewing this work made it quite clear that the problem still remained:

Muir accepts as genuine all the scenes previous critics have attributed to another hand than Shakespeare's except the Hecate passages of III. v and IV. i, but he thinks "it has been too easily assumed that the interpolator was Middleton". He does not attempt to explain how the text of songs from Middleton's *Witch* was available in 1673 when Davenant's operatic version was performed, though if we had the answer to this question we should know a great deal more than now we do about what happened to the dramatic library of the King's Men at the closing of the theatres in 1642.²

Nosworthy's suggestion³ that "possibly (Hecate) had encroached gradually on the territory of the Weird Sisters for years" involves him, as McManaway

¹ Cf. A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of Thomas Middleton* (London, 1885), V, 353, and W. W. Greg, and F. P. Wilson, eds., *The Witch* (*Malone Society Reprints*, 1949), p. ix.

² "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearean Study," *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 148.

³ Cf. James Nosworthy, "The Hecate Scenes in *Macbeth*", *Review of English Studies*, XXIV (April 1948), 138-139. It is to Nosworthy that I owe much of the initial encouragement to pursue this problem.

asserts, "in all sorts of difficulties. It implies that the theatrical manuscripts of *Macbeth* bearing successive alterations were in existence in or about 1663 or 1664 when Davenant staged his adaptation". Possibly the explanation of how the text of Middleton's *Witch* songs was available in 1673 lies in this direction. There is however, another consideration which I feel ought to be put forward, as it might go part of the way to solving the problem.

My study of dramatic music MSS of the early seventeenth century leads me to suggest that just as King's Men plays were handed down in the company's keeping, so the original music manuscripts recording stage and masque music were handed down among the King's Men Musicians. Both actors and musicians served together in the King's private and public entertainment. I suggest that it was through John Wilson's connection with the King's Men that he knew of Robert Johnson's music to the *Tempest* songs, and that when he printed them in *Cheerfull Ayres* (Oxford, 1660), he was not working from personal copies he had made of those songs all those years ago but from the original music MSS that had been handed down among the King's Musicians, to which company he belonged. As will be shown in the progress of this paper Matthew Locke in his capacity as a King's Musician had access to King's Men dramatic music MSS, one of which concerns us most here, for it recorded a setting by Robert Johnson of "Come away Hecket", a *Witch* song.

Fortunately it has been possible to trace a good deal of the later history of this MS.

John Stafford Smith published in *Musica Antiqua*⁴ (London, 1812), I, 48, "The original Music in the Witches scene in Middleton's comedy of 'The Witch'" as being "From a MS. of that age in the Editor's possession". Smith's library was indiscriminately dispersed, his "name did not appear on the catalogue; nothing was done to attract the attention of the musical world, and two dealers, who had obtained information of the sale, purchased many of the lots at very low prices. These after a time were brought into the market, but it is feared the greater part of the MSS is altogether lost."⁵

It would seem from the text of the song as given by Smith that his claim to be transcribing from an original MS might be quite genuine, since he gives the *cristall/mistie* variant, bracketing each word on equal standing, and prints "rull" for "cull" due to a misreading of the minuscule "c" of Elizabethan secretary hand which closely resembles the modern letter "r".

Edward Francis Rimbault thirty-five years later published as No. 1 of his *The Ancient Vocal Music of England*,⁶ "The original music to Middleton's Tragi-Comedy of The Witch Temp. James I" and claimed that it was "From the original MS in the possession of the Editor". Rimbault further gave the information that the composer was Robert Johnson "lutenist to Sir Thomas Kytson of Hengrave Hall", and printed the following comments: "The Tragi-Comedy of the Witch was probably first acted in 1610. Davenant availed himself of this drama in his alteration of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The music universally known as Locke's is the composition of Richard Leveridge and was

⁴ Copy in the Bodleian Library, reference I. c. 262.

⁵ Cf. H. C. Colles, ed: *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1927), IV, 793. The library was sold April 24, 1844.

⁶ Copy in the British Museum, reference H.1693.b.

first printed in 1704. The composer was deeply indebted to the present beautiful dramatic sketch. The Accom^{nt} has been constructed upon the original bass by the Editor". The problem inherent in this latter comment of subsequent influence will be discussed later in the progress of this paper. The prime consideration must be to assess the validity of both Rimbault's and Stafford Smith's claims to be working from original MSS.

Although Rimbault's version differs from Smith's in numerous instances of notation and in several important variants of text⁷ which are quite distinct from spelling differences, the settings are intrinsically the same. On internal evidence it would seem, therefore, that Stafford Smith and Rimbault were transcribing from two different MSS. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Rimbault's version of the song was printed three years after Smith's library was sold, and thus the possibility arises that Rimbault may have come by Smith's manuscript either at the sale or later in a music dealer's, and that, in point of fact, both he and Smith were working from the same MS. It is also possible that Rimbault had one of the copies of the 1778 edition of *The Witch* in his possession.

Since there seemed little likelihood of tracing Smith's MS source of "Come away Heket" from *The Witch*, it seemed advisable to follow up any possible clue to the existence of Rimbault's.

Rimbault's library in turn came to be sold on July 3, 1877, and following days. Fortunately it was well catalogued.⁸ Lots 1387, 1388 and 1389, MSS of seventeenth-century songs, were purchased for the Drexel collection and passed into the Music Division of the New York Public Library and are now designated as Dx. 4257, 4041 and 4175 respectively. It is this latter MS which aroused suspicion, for it is catalogued as:

1389 "Songs unto the viol and lute", written in the early part of the 17th century, autograph letter of Thomas Oliphant inserted in the original binding, "Anne Twice her booke", written on the outside of the front cover.

for Stafford Smith had referred to a MS "Songs unto the viol and lute", written about the year 1620" from which he printed "Ist for a grace or ist for some mislike" in *Musica Antiqua*, I, 62.

Through the good offices of the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, I have been able to secure a complete microfilm of all three MSS, and am able to identify Dx. 4175 as the MS from which Stafford Smith worked. Not only does the MS contain the song "Ist for a grace or ist for some mislike" (No. XX) but also "Come away Heket" (No. LIIII) the song from *The Witch*, the identical version printed by Stafford Smith. Furthermore Smith printed "Though your strangnes frett my hart" as a "Song from a M.S. of James the 1st time in the Editor's collⁿ" (*Musica Antiqua*, I, 52); "Deare doe not your faire bewty

⁷ *helway* Smith: *Hellwain* Rimbault; *rull* Smith: *coll* Rimbault; *ayre so* Smith: *air's so* Rimbault; *freshe* Smith: *sweet* Rimbault; *well* Smith: *still* Rimbault; *sing and toy* Smith: *sing and dance, and toy* Rimbault; *ore* ^{*crisall*} *misie* } Smith: *ore crystal* Rimbault; *howles* Smith: *howl* Rimbault; *nor yelps* Smith: *no yelp* Rimbault; *nor* Smith: *not* Rimbault; *water* Smith: *water's* Rimbault; *rauv'nous* Smith: *cannon's* Rimbault.

⁸ Auction catalogue of the library of Edward Francis Rimbault, 1877. Bodleian Library ref. Uns. Bibl. III. 8° 702 (4).

wronge", "Taken from the above mentioned MS—Composed by Johnson" (*Musica Antiqua*, I, 53); "Rest awhile you cruell cares", "Song from Manuscripts in James the 1st time" (*Musica Antiqua*, I, 54); and "Tell me dearest what is love", "SONG. from the same M.S." (*Musica Antiqua*, I, 55), all of which are to be found in Dx. 4175 as XXV, XLI (violl; LI lute), XL and XLIII respectively. And the viol version of "Deare doe not your faire bewty wronge" is ascribed in the MS to "Mr. Johnson". On the title leaf occurs the note "1389" ringed and similarly the notes "songs" and "preserve".⁹

It is now absolutely certain that Smith misread "cull" as "rull", "cannons" as "rav'nous" and "our mistris" as "ore mistie"; the cristall/mistris version occurs in the MS. Both the texts of the play as printed by Bullen,¹⁰ and Greg and Wilson¹¹ read "our mistress fountains"; *Macbeth* (1673) has "Over misty Hills and Fountains", and Davenant's revision (1674), "Over Hills and misty fountains". Rimbault merely records "ore crystal". The 1673 *Macbeth* text has the reading "Steepe" which agrees with that of Bullen and of Greg and Wilson; Davenant has "Steeple", the reading of the musical MS.

Rimbault's statement that Robert Johnson¹² was the composer of the music is probably correct, but it is certainly not based on an ascription in Dx. 4175. Johnson's name is attached to "Deare doe not your faire bewty wronge" in Dx. 4175, the only indication of a composer throughout the MS. This song was probably sung in the original production of the play *The Old Couple*, by Thomas May c.1615. The first quarto of the play belongs to 1658. Robert Johnson's settings of "O let us howle" from Webster's *The Dutchesse of Malfy*, 1613 (XLII), "Tell me dearest what is love" from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Captain*, 1612 (XLIII), and "Have you seene the bright lilly growe" from Jonson's *The Divell is an Asse*, 1616 (XLIX) all occur in Dx. 4175. The MS once contained, according to the Table of contents, "Heare you ladyes y^t (despise)" from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian*, 1614 (XIX) (Robert Johnson's music for "Care charminge sleepe" from the same play is extant in B.M. Add. MS. 11608 f.16b ascribed, in Christ Church MS Mus. 87.f.5, and in Bod. Lib. MS. Don c.57 20 (36)), and "Orpheus I am come" from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Mad Lover*, 1617 (XXX) (Robert Johnson's music for "Arme arme the scouts are all come in" from the same play is extant in Dx. 4041. 34 ascribed). All the plays mentioned were produced by the King's Men, for whom Robert Johnson was busily writing in the period 1608-1617.¹³

On stylistic grounds I feel quite certain that "Come away Hecket" is Robert Johnson's setting. It has distinct affinities with an ascribed Robert Johnson setting

⁹ Thus it is clear that all the Smith references to MSS quoted above appertain to one MS and not to four different ones. It is encouraging to realize that the number of Smith's MSS presumed lost is thereby diminished by three.

¹⁰ Cf. A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, V, 417, *The Witch*, III. iii.

¹¹ Cf. Greg, and Wilson, eds., *The Witch*, p. 59, III. iii. Greg notes "1364 our Mistris" apparently corrupt", but the text in the musical MS would seem to substantiate the authority of the earlier reading.

¹² The Johnson who was in the service of the Kytsons at Hengrave Hall is certainly not Robert, the King's Musician: most probably the reference is to his father John.

¹³ A setting of the play song "Cupid is Venus only joy" from Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* occurs in the MS as No. XXIII (viol) and No. LVI (lute), but this stands alone in the MS as not belonging to a King's Men play, though it occurs again in Middleton's *More Dissembles Besides Women*, produced by the King's Men in 1615.

of "Come away y^a Lady gay" from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Chances*, c.1615, the music being extant in Bod. Lib. MS. Don. c.57. 119 (129). The same technique and emphasis on verbal rhythm is in evidence. Both are witch songs and are essentially dramatic in character.

Finally, something must be said on the problem of subsequent influence of the music of "Come away Hecker". Smith's own comment that "Mathew Locke, or whoever was the author of the music to 'Macbeth' had evidently seen this composition", deserves consideration.

It would seem to me on examining both Johnson's and Locke's versions that the similarity is rather one of mood than actual melodic notation, but this cannot be dismissed as an instance of much the same dramatic and pictorial suggestion inspiring much the same kind of musical phenomena. Locke's version would seem to be modelled on the earlier one and shows thereby some influence, the extent of which is open to subjective criticism.¹⁴

Other bits of information may be brought to bear to help us to understand how Locke could have known of Johnson's setting. Both were King's Musicians, and it is to Locke to whom we are indebted for the preservation of a manuscript (BM Add. MS. 38539) which contains some of Robert Johnson's masque and stage music. The MS, which is dated c.1613-16 (Hughes-Hughes *Catalogue*), has on the inside cover of the present binding part of the old embossed calf binding of the second half of the seventeenth century, bearing Matthew Locke's initials in the center. It may well be, too, that it is to Matthew Locke we owe the survival of another manuscript of masque tunes preserved in the British Museum.¹⁵

A setting of "In a maiden time profest", a *Witch* song which was not used in *Macbeth* is extant in two MSS, Bodleian Library MS. Mus. b.I. f.21 and Dx. MS. 4257 (No. 32). Music for the "witches Dance" "here they Dance y^a witches Dance"¹⁶ is discussed in my paper on "Jacobean Masque and Stage Music" already referred to.

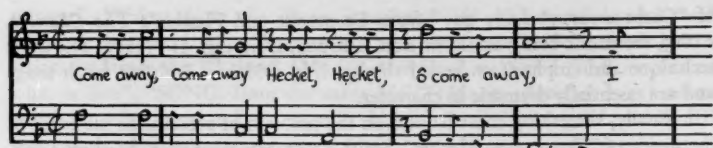
Since *Musica Antiqua* is now so rare I have decided to publish the original music to "Come away Hecker" along with the "witches Dance". The music is given in the simple Treble and Bass version of the MSS.¹⁷

¹⁴ Cf. W. H. Cummings, "Purcell's Music to 'Macbeth'", *Musical Times* (1882), pp. 259 ff.: "... This music was evidently wrought out and elaborated from the meagre sketch". Cummings claims the *Macbeth* music for Purcell, Rimbault for Leveridge: it has generally been accredited to Matthew Locke, whose claim in view of the evidence above, I am inclined to think is the strongest.

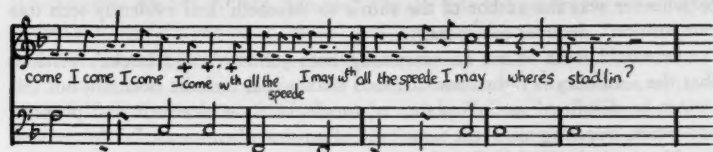
¹⁵ Cf. John P. Cutts, "Jacobean Masque and Stage Music", *Musical Letters*, XXXV (July 1954), 185-200.

¹⁶ The italics are mine. It would seem to indicate an already existing dance which was well known. The witches dance only once; cf. *Malone Society Reprints*, V. iii. 222-224.

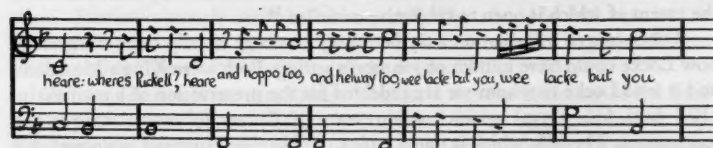
¹⁷ A setting of "Come away heciett" is extant also in Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 52. D. ff. 107^r-108^r, unascrbed. It is in company with Robert Johnson's setting of "Care charming sleepe," ascribed, and other settings of songs which would seem to belong to plays. The setting is intrinsically the same as that printed by Smith (from Dx. 4175) and Rimbault, but is nevertheless independent of both, preserving the variants: *and feast & sing & toy & kiss; over seas & misty fountaynes; over reeples.*



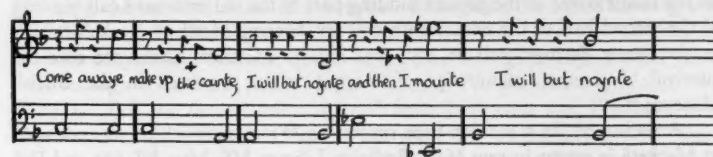
Come away, Come away Hecket, Hecket, 6 come away, I



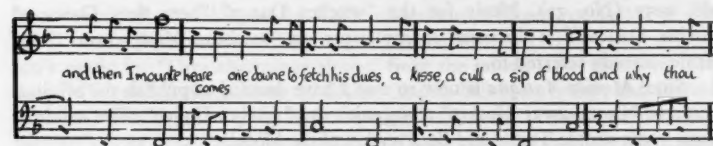
come I come I come I come with all the speale I may wth all the speale I may wheres stadlin?



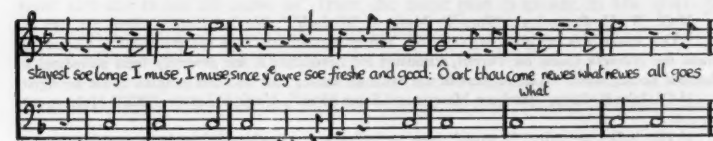
heare: wheres Rickell? heare and hoppo too, and helway too, wee lacke but you, wee lacke but you



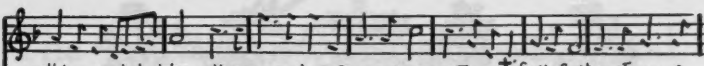
Come away make up the carle, I will but noynte and then I mounte I will but noynte



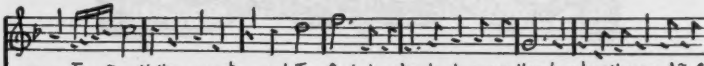
and then I mounte heare one dwine to fetch his dues, a kesse, a cull a sip of blood and why thou comes



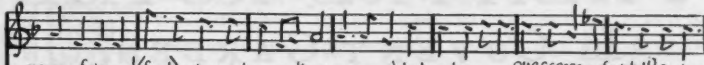
stayest soe longe I muse, I muse since y^e are soe freshe and good. O art thou come newes what newes all goes what



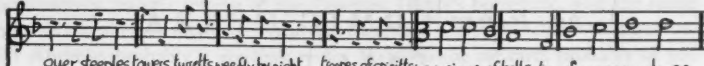
well to our delight; either come or els refuse refuse now I am ⁺ for the flight, now I goe, &
fourisht.



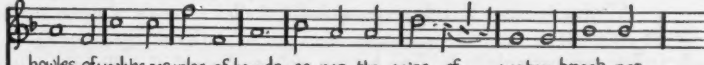
now I flye Halfrin my sweete ^{Spirit} and I ô what a dayntie pleasure is this to ride in the aire whē yē



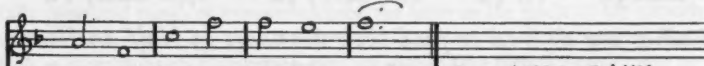
moone faire and (feast) singe, a toy, a kisse over wood; highe rode ^{over seares our cristall fountaynes} ^{mountaines} ^(mistres) shines



ouer steeples towers, turrets, wee fly by night ^{mongst} troopes of spiritts: no ringe of bells to o' eares sounde, no



howles of woodkes, nor yelps of hounds, no nor the noise of water breach, nor



cannons throte o' height can reach.

Drexel MS. 4175. Liii.



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after Three o'Clock.*

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To-morrow, **O T H E L L O.**

A mid-eighteenth-century playbill of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden.
See page 287.

The *Twelfth Night* of Shakespeare and of Professor Draper

NORMAN A. BRITTIN

ROFESSOR John W. Draper's recent interpretive book, *The Twelfth Night of Shakespeare's Audience*, set me to reconsidering *Twelfth Night*; for, though I found Draper's intention laudable—to restore the play to its original luster, as if it were an old painting; that is, to see it through the eyes of its Elizabethan audience—I felt uneasy, nevertheless, over some of his conclusions, and I could not give my entire confidence to some of his assumptions and methods.

Professor Draper rightly stresses the realistic elements of the comedy: the persuasively realistic setting of the Countess Olivia's household, and the recognizable Elizabethan characters who live there: Sir Toby, probably a younger son; Sir Andrew, probably a *nouveau riche*; Malvolio the steward, probably of yeoman stock, and so on. It is good to know more of the social backgrounds of the classes of Elizabethan people whom these characters represent. And yet I do not feel satisfied that Draper has rightly judged the high-comedy characters, that he has seen the plot in just perspective, or that he has correctly identified the theme of the comedy when he calls it "Shakespeare's play of social security".¹

Draper regards Olivia as the most important character in the play, an efficient, self-willed, independent, clear-sighted, and calculating woman realistically portrayed; whereas Viola is merely a bundle of stage conventions, an unrealistic fairy princess, whose role has been greatly over-emphasized. Both Orsino and Olivia, he thinks, are realistically drawn, the former in the real and sympathetically presented pangs of love-melancholy, the latter in the midst of her cleverly utilized mourning which provides her a shield against unwelcome wooers. If we look at them through Elizabethan eyes, we should take them seriously: they are not sentimental; Orsino is seeking a mate so that there will be an heir to carry on his name; Olivia is arranging matters so that she can preserve her independence by marrying—in her own good time—a man whom she can dominate. This is the way in which many Elizabethans proceeded, and it would be sensible to suppose that Orsino and Olivia are also proceeding thus. And yet—though this may be a matter of subtle emphases—I doubt that even the Elizabethan audience could look on the noble duke and countess with entire sympathy for their pangs of love and for their basic practicality.

I have always felt that Orsino is somewhat ostentatious about his love-pangs, somewhat sentimental in his indulgence in sighs, music, flowers, and bombast

¹ John W. Draper, *The Twelfth Night of Shakespeare's Audience* (Stanford and London, 1950), p. 250.

about "the beating of so strong a passion".² Draper rightly says (p. 248) that the purple passages in the play "are built upon parody and satire rather than on passion"; and if the play "certainly lacks a Romeo", is it not because the duke presses too hard on the amorous note, singing and fluting all the day about a woman he has only seen but never spoken to? As he leaves at the end of the first scene, crying

Away before me to sweet beds of flowers;
Love-thoughts lie rich when canopied with bowers,

can an audience—could even the Elizabethan audience—hear him without feeling that here is another lover carrying on about his pangs, another lover sighing like a furnace—and so, fair game for smiles from the reasonable and heart-whole? Again in the last scene of the play Orsino looks rather foolish as he querulously ejaculates:

You uncivil lady,
To whose ingrate and un auspicious altars
My soul the faithfull'st off'rings have breath'd out
That e'er devotion tender'd! What shall I do? (V. i. 115-118)

and when he threatens her with death but adds:

a savage jealousy
That sometime savours nobly, (V. i. 122-123)

he is guilty of a laughable and self-conscious posturing. The key to Orsino's condition is in Barnabe Rich's introduction to *Apollonius and Silla*. Orsino is one who has taken

a sup of the cup of error. In all other things, wherein we show ourselves to be most drunken with this poisoned cup, it is in our actions of love; for the lover is so estranged from all that is right, and wandereth so wide from the bounds of reason, that he is not able to deem white from black, good from bad.³

When Viola reports to Olivia that Orsino loves "With groans that thunder love, with sighs of fire" (I. v. 275), surely the exaggeration calls forth smiles. In spite of his nobility Orsino belongs among those comic figures that achieve their comic quality by falling in love and taking it too hard; he is akin to Sylvius in *As You Like It*—"sure I think did never man love so"—who breaks "from company Abruptly", crying "O Phebe, Phebe, Phebe!" (II. iv. 29, 40 ff.).

Though we may for the most part agree with Draper's analysis of Olivia—Gervinus long ago said (p. 434), "We infer from her bearing that she is a woman of unusual energy"—Draper attributes to her more decisiveness and more activity than are due her. He thinks that Olivia is bent on preserving her independence and on dominating her husband. She refuses the duke, for, "worst of all, he thinks of women as distinctly subservient to men, and proposes to be the 'one selfe king' of his wife's every thought and feeling" (p. 180). Olivia, however, does not *know* what the duke's opinion of women is; they have never met;

² *Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 97, in the Neilson and Hill edition of *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*.

³ Quoted in G. G. Gervinus, *Shakespeare Commentaries* (London, 1892), p. 425.

and she gives no such reason for refusing him. Sebastian, Draper says (p. 154), is "pleasing and reserved and unobtrusive, as Olivia required of a husband". But Olivia fell in love with Cesario; can we say that Cesario is reserved and unobtrusive? Sebastian "is essential to the comic outcome of Olivia's plans" (p. 154)—but is not "hopes" more accurate than "plans"? Finally, Draper states (p. 183) that "she cleverly persuades the Duke to join with her in a double wedding. . . ." Actually, though it may be thought clever of her to suggest the double wedding, she exercises no persuasion whatever: she merely suggests the double wedding at her expense, and Orsino agrees to it without demur. Since he has already committed his heart to Viola, no persuasion is necessary.

I believe that Olivia also becomes a figure of sport—Draper acknowledges (p. 249) that "we have no great compassion for her". Her grief for her brother may seem pitiable; but when we learn that she has vowed to keep veiled for seven years during which she will weep daily for her brother's death, we feel that here is an excess of grief, or grief made ostentatious, which is similar to Orsino's ostentation in love. Draper believes (p. 178) that Olivia made this vow "in the shock of her first grief . . . ; but, as time wore on and her youth reasserted itself, this rigid mourning became more and more a matter of convenience. He calls her "artful" and "astute". Yet he says too that

for months Olivia has been living as a cloistress and weeping daily; and then Feste comes back from his sojourn at the Duke's and . . . she is tricked into laughter, and so recoils to her natural, sanguine self. (P. 185)

The critic cannot have it both ways. If she is artful and her mourning has become a matter of convenience, then we can hardly think her sincere about it at the opening of the play; nor can we believe that she begins to laugh at Feste's jokes "before she knows it" (p. 170). It seems more reasonable to think that she has made a hasty vow, given excessive hostages to grief, but that by the time the play opens, some ten months at least since her brother's death, she has resumed normal living, though she has not advertised this fact to the world. At any rate, she has to send Maria to bring her veil; she is not wearing it when Viola seeks admission. Furthermore, she shows herself delightfully vulnerable by the alacrity with which she breaks the vow that we have been hearing about; obviously she cannot bear for this handsome young stranger not to see her face; she is eager enough to show it and, what is more, to ask for his comment on its beauty. For all her efficiency as a chatelaine, on which Draper rightly insists, she is still a woman who, blinded by self-confidence perhaps, does not know herself very well. This beauty and cynosure of neighboring eyes who handles her suitors so deftly nevertheless sprawls most undeftly into love.

The plot requires her to do so. As I see it, the key speech of the play is Viola's:

Love make his heart of flint that you shall love;
And let your fervour, like my master's, be
Placed in contempt. (I. v. 305-307)

This speech foreshadows the whole situation of Olivia from then on. Six lines later she is asking: "Even so quickly may one catch the plague?" And thus the tables are turned on the independent (if not haughty) countess. "The strong-

willed but shrewd Olivia is a dominating figure", Draper declares (p. 179). Therefore the fun lies in placing her in the situation of the mistress mastered, the scorner scorned, the independent become dependent. Her passion puts her "much out of quiet" (II. iii. 143) and leads her to beg for favor from Cesario. Cesario does not place her fervor in contempt or have a heart of flint; but the rebuff to Olivia's honor is profound. She even considers making Cesario a gift in the spirit of a bribe: "For youth is bought more oft than begg'd or borrow'd" (II. iii. 143). Her "headstrong potent fault" (III. iv. 3) rushes her onward, mocking reproof. Her situation might seem pitiful, wondrous pitiful, but the audience knows that she is outrageously deceived, and since she is in love—helplessly, futilely—with a woman, she becomes a figure of fun, and this action of the play has some kinship—even though remote and on the distaff side—with *Charley's Aunt*.

Thus Olivia is fair game; and so is Orsino, poor fool, importuning a countess who will not listen, while ignorant of the love that is at hand, blooming day-long about him.⁴

Draper says that *Twelfth Night* is not a story of love

but of the very realistic struggles and intrigues over the betrothal of a rich Countess, whose selection of a mate determines the future of all the major and most of the minor characters. . . . This is not a play of passion, but of marriage in its most prudential aspects. . . . (P. 249)

Now it seems to me that "struggles" and "intrigues" are terms far too strong to describe properly the actual situation in the play; it is essentially a play of comic mistakes, not a play of intrigue. Sir Andrew, though he has Sir Toby's support, is no serious threat; his courtship constitutes neither a struggle nor an intrigue. Olivia is not even aware, until the very end of the comedy, that Malvolio has considered himself a suitor; and he could hardly have done so with any assurance unless he had been "most notoriously abused" (V. i. 388) by the sportful malice of his enemies. Orsino's courtship does involve an opposition of wills, but not intrigue. I believe, further, that Draper reads into the play as actualities far too many elements that are only possibilities because they occurred in Elizabethan life—possibilities nevertheless that never occurred to Shakespeare or that he discarded. Draper says that *Twelfth Night* is "the comedy of the social struggles of the time: Orsino wishes to fulfill his duty as head of the house and prolong his family line by a suitable marriage" (p. 249)—but there is not a line, not a word, about this in the play. Similarly, "Sir Toby might . . . try to betroth [Olivia] as he pleased, or he might even connive at an abduction" (p. 181). The play contains no hint of such actions.

To call *Twelfth Night* a play of social security seems to me to make it over into something like a Middleton comedy of London life—*A Trick to Catch the Old One*, perhaps. That is really a play of social security. But it is not much like *Twelfth Night*.⁵ I feel that Professor Draper, in his eagerness to show the im-

⁴ Some suggestions for "bringing more of the romantic characters [i.e., Olivia and Orsino] into the comedy" are contained in E. J. West's "Bradleyan Reprise: On the Fool in *Twelfth Night*", *SAB*, XXIV (1949), 268.

⁵ After discussion of prudential motives and the decline of old families into debt, Draper admits that to Orsino and Olivia "social security is merely a matter of providing suitable heirs to the family name and fortune and enjoying happiness in wedlock" (p. 253). I believe this admission empties most of the wind from the sails of the theme of social security.

portance of the realistic elements of the comedy and to establish Olivia as its most important figure, has somewhat distorted the picture Shakespeare meant us to see. For the romantic elements (granting that Viola is a sort of fairy princess) are not merely excrescences upon, or adornments of, or foils to, the realistic elements. The coming of the romantic twins determines, after all, the outcome of the plot. The main dramatic question is not: Which of these suitors will Olivia choose, but rather, how will Olivia be got out of the way so that Viola can have the man she loves? Actually, in what Draper says about the excellent qualities of Viola, he has the key to the theme of the play. Viola is a fairy princess; she is perfect; she is ideal. Her love is deep, true love—true unto death. And of course Sebastian, her identical twin, must be just like her.

Viola is not merely a contrast but a determiner. She and Sebastian bring the ideal into the midst of the realism, which, lacking the ideal, is insufficient. "With this play", wrote the late Professor Stauffer, "Shakespeare touches the pinnacles of romantic love. . . . Harmony achieved through unselfish love—how all the Golden Comedies point to that as the moral ideal!"⁶ The theme of the comedy is not social security. For without the ideal, which Viola represents, the realism of the "good catch" angled after by various undesirable suitors is inadequate to Shakespeare's purposes. The theme of the comedy is, rather, the power of true love, romantic, self-sacrificing love with a minimum of prudential consideration, to give happiness; and the superiority of this love to earthier matches of prudence and convenience.⁷

Draper says (p. 18) that he has prepared a short biography of each character "so far as the play states or implies the facts". But Draper tries to read too much between the lines, and thus he arrives at some ludicrous ideas. For example:

Viola's late unhappy voyage has apparently given her an occasional nautical turn of phrase, and she knows that sailors swab decks and that the London watermen cried "Westward hoe" to tell the direction they were going.⁸

But this is to consider too curiously. Perhaps Draper's basic assumption is at fault. He declares (p. 8) that the allusions each character makes, "if a play is truly drama",

should . . . illustrate, when collected and systematically arranged, the character who is speaking—his education and interests and mental bent—and so furnish a clue to his motives and psychology and also to his former life. . . .

Thus he asserts (p. 172), to demonstrate that Olivia is "a very Portia", that "she knows something of law, understands the office of 'Crownor', . . . the technical terms of heraldry . . . , and itemized inventories. . . ." Her references to text and homily, the devil tempting souls to hell, and insane persons being possessed of devils, prove to Draper that "she has been duly instructed in religion". He is surprised to find that the few lines of the captain who saved Viola "strangely

⁶ Donald A. Stauffer, *Shakespeare's World of Images* (New York, 1949), pp. 81-82.

⁷ Arguing against love as the theme of the play, Draper asks, "Is it really love in any strict sense between Maria and Sir Toby, or between Olivia and most of her wooers?" (p. 248). Of course it is not; and thus the effectiveness, by contrast, of Viola's feeling, which is "really love".

⁸ P. 142. Since Tullus Aufidius says, "Though thy tackle's torn, Thou show'st a noble vessel" (*Coriolanus*, IV. v. 67-68), must we say that Aufidius has been a sailor? Cf., for a criticism of a similar comment on Iago, Arthur Sewall, *Character and Society in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1951), p. 28.

enough, draw their allusions, not from the sea but from the court and classics". Therefore the captain is "not only traveled but also educated" — in fact, a cut above his class . . ." (p. 159). Thus Draper makes Shakespeare look like a naturalistic novelist, a Zola or a Sinclair Lewis, who prepares a *dossier* for each character before ever touching pen to paper. One may be permitted to doubt that Shakespeare curbed himself thus (to put it one way) or (to put it another way) was so exquisitely meticulous in adjusting language to character.

Draper complains (p. 255) that most critics of Shakespeare are irresponsible, wandering "fancy-free" over the field, strewing obiter dicta up and down. . . . But Draper's approach leads inevitably to considering literary characters as real people, who have an independent life outside Shakespeare's lines.⁹ Every time we encounter a "perhaps" in Draper's pages, we may expect some snatch of his fancy.¹⁰ In this respect Draper is as irresponsible as the critics whom he condemns.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute

⁹ Cf. *TLS*, L (Feb. 9, 1951), 86.

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 122, 128, 130.

A Time Scheme for *Othello*

ALBERT FREDERICK SPROULE



THE time references in *Othello* are of such nature that difficulty has been experienced in devising a time scheme for the play. Act I, in which the action takes place in Venice, presents no problem. It is in the succeeding action, where the action is centered in Cyprus, that numerous and apparently irreconcilable time references appear. The Wilson-Halpin theory of Double Time has been widely accepted as the answer to the problem. The theory has been explained as follows:

Shakespeare counts off days and hours, as it were, by two clocks, on one of which the True Historic Time is recorded, and on the other, the Dramatic Time, or a false show of time, whereby days, weeks, and months may be to the utmost contracted.¹

The Double Time theory as applied to the action at Cyprus has given the following results: One set of time references produces the True Historic Time or the duration of the main action. The time required is said to be about thirty-six hours (*Variorum*, p. 360). The other set of time references, the references which cannot be reconciled to the main action, produces the Dramatic Time. The time suggested for the latter is rather indefinite, but a period of two months may strike the average.

There is evidence in *Othello* that the duration of the main action at Cyprus is longer than thirty-six hours. The purpose of this study is to present arguments for a three-day time scheme. An attempt will be made to reconcile *all* time references to the three-day time scheme. In presenting the scheme it seems best to suggest some reorganization of Act and Scene divisions. It should be noted that a somewhat similar time scheme has been advanced by Fleay (*Variorum*, pp. 371-372). The weakness of his scheme seems to be the lack of adequate proofs which would support his suggestions.

Day One at Cyprus

There has never been any disagreement that Act II constitutes the first period of action at Cyprus. The action begins on Saturday² and continues into the early hours of Sunday morning. It has not been generally emphasized that the opening action of Scene i takes place in the darkness of Saturday morning.³ In answering Montano's questions the second Gentleman mentions that the

¹ H. H. Furness (editor), *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. Othello* (London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1886), p. 358.

² *Othello*, III. iii. 55-60. All lines quoted are from the edition of W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

³ The *Variorum* merely says, "The afternoon was Saturday". See page 359.

waves "seem to cast water on the burning Bear and quench the guards of th' ever-fixed Pole" (II. i. 14-15). The reference to the stars is quite out of place if one presumes the action to be taking place in daylight. Dawn is probably evident at line 39 where Montano speaks of the "blue".

Cassio makes a puzzling statement when he hears that Iago and Desdemona have arrived in Cyprus. He says that Iago's arrival "anticipates our thoughts a se'nnight's speed" (II. i. 76-77). The remark does not indicate that the voyage from Venice to Cyprus required seven days. Cassio is merely saying that Iago has arrived seven days earlier than expected. Just why Iago arrives so soon we can only speculate. He may have been anxious to advance his schemes at the earliest moment. At any rate his arrival permits a quick development of the plot.

The military situation at Cyprus *should* have governed the departure of Iago and the women from Venice. Iago risked blundering into a dangerous state of affairs. It is possible that when Cassio learned the situation was secure at Cyprus he planned to send a message to that effect to Iago. The "se'nnight" he mentions could cover the time required for the despatch of a message to Iago at Venice and for Iago's voyage to Cyprus. Iago seems to have left the mainland without knowing the situation at Cyprus. Notice that Othello greets Desdemona as "my fair warrior" and is surprised to find her at Cyprus. Iago, escaping the adverse effects of the storm, may have made the trip in three days, whereas Cassio and Othello may have required a longer time.

Naturally it is unreasonable to entertain the idea that the 1400-mile trip from Venice to Cyprus could be made in three or four days if one is a geographer or a sailor. The point is, did Shakespeare scrupulously check his geography book and consult the latest Venetian sailing schedule when writing *Othello*? Shakespeare may not have been concerned with such matters. He is distinguished by the fact that he gave Bohemia a seacoast! As the play unfolds we shall again have occasion to examine Shakespeare's concept of the distance between Venice and Cyprus.

The Herald's proclamation, which opens Scene ii of Act II, informs us that there is "full liberty of feasting from this present hour of five till the bell have told eleven" (II. ii. 9-10). We therefore know that the preceding action of Scene i is spread over the period from early morning to 5 p.m. The mention of 11 p.m. would indicate the curfew hour. In Scene iii, when Cassio asks Iago to go with him to the watch, Iago protests that it is too early. He establishes the time as shortly before 10 p.m. (II. iii. 13-14). The drinking scene would represent the lapse of about one hour. The fight and the associated clamor would occur after the eleven o'clock curfew. We understand Othello's anger at the "propriety" of the town being disturbed (II. iii. 176). Time flies for the remainder of Scene iii. Near the end Iago indicates the time: "In troth 'tis morning; pleasure and action make the hours seem short" (II. iii. 384-385).

Day Two at Cyprus

The second day at Cyprus begins with Act III. The actions and remarks of Cassio make the events of the second day almost continuous with those of the first. In Act II, he says "betimes in the morning I will beseech the virtuous Desdemona to undertake for me" (II. iii. 335). Early in Act III a conversation between Cassio and Iago proves the continuity of time.

Iago. You have not been a-bed then?

Cassio. Why, no; the day had broke before we parted. (III. i. 34-35)

In Scene iii Desdemona asks Othello's permission to invite Cassio to the castle for a dining engagement (III. iii. 54 ff.). Othello, because of previous engagements, and to preserve good relations with the people of Cyprus, is unable to receive Cassio in the immediate future. Consequently Desdemona says, "I prithee, name the time, but let it not exceed three days".

The important matter may be the three-day limit set by Desdemona. She has mentally given herself three days to carry out her solemn promise to Cassio (III. iii. 19 ff.). Desdemona is a determined woman, and there is no indication that the three days ever expire during the play. Three days, therefore, actually represent the *outside limit* for the remainder of the action.

Scenes i, ii, and iii of Act III cover a period of several hours. The duration of the action is from mid-morning to the hours of darkness. If we are aware that Shakespeare is contracting time greatly in Scene iii, we are somewhat better prepared for the dramatic intensity of the latter part of this scene. A number of time references should be noted in Scene iii. Emilia in her soliloquy about the handkerchief (III. iii. 290 ff.) remarks that Iago "hath a hundred times woo'd me to steal it". Her statement has been used to justify a very long lapse of time at Cyprus. She is obviously exaggerating. When she speaks to Iago about the handkerchief, he does not know what she is talking about! He rather stupidly says, "What handkerchief?" (III. iii. 307). Emilia has to explain that she is speaking about Desdemona's handkerchief. The handkerchief has apparently had some significance in a *former* scheme of Iago's. He may not have mentioned it during the time at Cyprus. Iago, however, immediately sees an opportunity and snatches the handkerchief from Emilia's hand.

As Scene iii progresses Iago makes remarks pertinent to approaching night.

Look, where he comes! Not poppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
Which thou ow'dst yesterday. (III. iii. 330-333)

Iago makes a time reference in his story about Cassio's dream (III. iii. 410-426). He says, "I lay with Cassio lately." The remark is no proof that a great deal of time has elapsed at Cyprus. At this point in the play only *one night* has been spent at Cyprus. Cassio's own words prove that he did not go to bed the previous night (III. i. 34-35). Iago's story is a complete lie—he is *never* to be trusted. Iago may have slept with Cassio some time in the past, but it was not at Cyprus.

The time references in the latter part of Act III, Scene iii, are very important. The events of the second day at Cyprus are drawing to a close. Let us check what time it must be at this point. Othello swears his vengeance by "yond marble heaven" (III. iii. 460). Marble comes in many colors, one of them being black. Iago asks the "ever-burning lights above" to witness his oath (III. iii. 463). The "ever-burning lights" must be the stars. Othello and Iago both establish the fact that the darkness of night now envelops them.

Othello, like Desdemona, sets an *outside time limit* on the remaining action. He says to Iago, "Within these three days let me hear thee say that Cassio's not

alive" (III.iii.473). We never hear Othello reproach Iago that the three days have expired and Cassio is still alive. On the contrary, we later hear Othello say, "Iago keeps his word" (V.i.28). Shakespeare, through both Desdemona and Othello, indicates a swift climax to the story.

The last time reference in Scene iii suggests how Othello will spend the rest of the night. He says to Iago:

Come, go with me apart; I will *withdraw*
To furnish me with some swift means of death
For the fair devil. (III.iii.476-477)

Scene iii of Act III concludes the second day at Cyprus. Terminating the action of the second day at this point in no way emasculates the events of the third day. A number of developments not specifically evident in the text take place during the second night.

Othello spends a night such as Iago prophesied (III.iii.330-332). The long night exhausts him physically as well as mentally. On the third day he collapses from the strain which has continued almost without respite since the night in Venice (III.iii.285).

Desdemona spends the night *alone* and troubled. Othello has excused himself on some unconvincing pretext, maybe the headache of the afternoon. Othello does not leave her mind. Has she offended him in some way? Rather pathetically she thinks of the wedding sheets. They may be the answer! On the morrow she must ask Emilia to put them on her bed again (IV.ii.105-106). The missing handkerchief has probably come to her attention by this time. She must have Emilia help her look for it in the morning.

Cassio's "leaden thoughts" keep him occupied, but Bianca is getting impatient over his prolonged neglect of her. The wily Iago finds an opportunity to leave the handkerchief in Cassio's chamber where it will be easily found. Roderigo is getting annoyed with the emptiness of Iago's promises and has time to reflect on the wisdom of his actions. At sea is a galley bearing Lodovico to Cyprus with the news of Othello's new assignment. A few hours behind is Gratiano with the news of Brabantio's death.

Day Three at Cyprus

Scene iv of Act III is where the action of Monday, the third day at Cyprus begins.⁴ The first few lines of Scene iv have a time significance. Thomas M. Raysor supports the idea that "comic interruptions come at each necessary interval of time".⁵ The conversation between Desdemona and the Clown is something of a comic interruption and can very well indicate passage of time after Scene iii. What other need is there for the first twenty-four lines of Scene iv? It is true that Desdemona sends the Clown to deliver a message to Cassio, but do we ever learn if he receives the message? Iago is the one responsible for Cassio's appearance at the castle (III.iv.106-107). We might do well to remember that a comic action also introduces Act III or the second day at Cyprus. The comic-action introduction of Scene iv seems to be more than a coincidence and can very well serve a parallel purpose.

⁴ The events of Act III, IV, and V, are considered to constitute the second day at Cyprus by those who believe that the main action there takes thirty-six hours.

⁵ Thomas M. Raysor, "The Aesthetic Significance of Shakespeare's Handling of Time", *SP*, XXXII (1935), 200.

There is no doubt that it is quite dark towards the end of Scene iii, Act III. We would expect that if the succeeding action of Scene iv is on the same night, there would be continued evidence of darkness. The opposite is true in Scene iv. There is no evidence that the stars or moon is shining. There is no indication of artificial lighting. The absence of both supports the idea that it is now the daylight hours of the third day at Cyprus. The editors have given the locale of Scene iv as before the castle. Such a location is obviously out-of-doors. Is it natural and fitting that everyone, including the women, should hold lengthy conversations in the outdoors when it is dark night? Their vision must be exceptionally good under such conditions (III. iv. 32; III. iv. 106)! The location and nature of the action in Scene i of Act IV also supports the idea that the action is taking place in a new day. There are a number of references which do not indicate continuity of *time* with Act III, Scene iii (IV. i. 100-104; IV. i. 149; IV. i. 165; IV. i. 231).

The action of the third day may best begin in the afternoon. The earlier part of the day can be accounted for satisfactorily. Desdemona and Emilia need time to search for the handkerchief. Othello is absent, as the captains of the citadel have asked him to dinner (III. iii. 59). Desdemona thinks that the time is now appropriate to ask Cassio to the castle, as Othello is now almost free from other engagements. Iago needs some time to persuade Cassio to renew his plea with Desdemona.

Bianca's "seven days and nights" (III. iv. 173) require a somewhat lengthy explanation; therefore the matter will be discussed at a later time. She does, however, supply time references pertinent for discussion at this point. She hopes to see Cassio "soon at night" (III. iv. 198). In the next scene she delivers an ultimatum to him in the form of a *supper* invitation (IV. i. 166-168). Both references must seem queerly timed if one considers them to occur *after* the hour of night indicated by Othello and Iago in Act III, Scene iii, lines 460 to 464. Iago asks Cassio if he is going to accept the invitation. Cassio replies, "Yes, I *intend* so" (IV. i. 173). The reply makes one believe that night and supper are not immediately at hand. The whole matter becomes clear if we agree that the third day is now in progress.

Othello voices his intention of murdering Desdemona "to-night" and "this night" (IV. i. 191; IV. i. 216). The remarks indicate that night is close at hand, but it is not the night of Act III, Scene iii. Othello's supper invitation to Lodovico is given *some time* after these remarks (IV. i. 273). The actual summons to supper comes in the next scene (IV. ii. 170). The summons to supper could conceivably come while it is still daylight as we usually consider *Othello* to be a summer action. It is hard to reconcile the matter to the time indicated in Act III, Scene iii, but easy to understand if the third day is under way.

A remark made by Iago can be used to support a three-day time scheme at Cyprus. When Cassio sees Othello lying on the ground he does not know what the trouble is (IV. i. 50). Iago tells him, "This is his second fit; he had one yesterday" (IV. i. 52). The remark cannot be explained if we have only *two* days at Cyprus. We know, Cassio knows, and Iago knows, that Othello had no "fit" on the first day. Why does Cassio accept Iago's explanation? The answer is clear in a three-day time scheme. Iago's remark is made on the *third* day. Cassio has had no contact with Othello on the second day. Iago runs no risk in telling the lie. He knows that Cassio cannot contradict or question his statement.

Action is usually more closely interlocked in scenes than in acts. It may be significant that Scene iii and Scene iv of Act III have no close interlocking action. Yet Scene iv of Act III, and Scene i of Act IV, are closely interlocked in time and place (III. iv. 196-201; IV. i. 150-155). The structure of the play, therefore, supports the lapse of three days, and, if one wishes, Act IV can be shifted forward one scene to emphasize the idea.

There are a number of time references in the play which have been used to support a long lapse of time at Cyprus. It seems possible to put them in the confines of a three-day time scheme.

Emilia, speaking for all women, says to Desdemona:

'Tis not a year or two shows us a man.
They are all but stomachs, and we all but food;
They eat us hungerly, and when they are full
They belch us. III. iv. 103-106

Emilia's "year or two" has little to do with the time scheme. The only thing the statement supports is a short lapse of time. The word "not" should explain the sense of the passage. Emilia means that even though Desdemona has been married but a few days she is already learning what other married women learn.

The handkerchief might be a factor in the time scheme. It seems that Emilia did not realize that its loss was a serious matter.⁶ If she had suspected its importance, her love for Desdemona would not have allowed many days to elapse before she would have taken steps to rectify the matter. When she realizes the importance of the handkerchief, she does not hesitate to lay bare Iago's treachery. A stage direction might help in one of the handkerchief scenes. Othello should wave Emilia out of earshot during his conversation with Desdemona (III. iv. 35-98). Let Emilia watch the action from a distance. Emilia can say, "Is not this man jealous?" (III. iv. 99), without getting the exact gist of the conversation. The scene can be one which parallels the technique Iago used to convince Othello that Cassio was on intimate terms with Desdemona (IV. i. 110 ff.).

Othello intimates that instant and fearful consequences will result if the handkerchief is ever lost or stolen (III. iv. 65-76). We do not take his remarks very seriously. In Shakespeare's time, however, such a tale might make a profound impression upon the reader or spectator. The lost handkerchief would have a more dramatic significance. The reader or the audience might expect swift fulfilment of the prophecy. Weeks or months would not elapse before disaster overtakes all.

Cassio strikes a blow against a long lapse of time at Cyprus. Anyone who thinks that Cassio mopes around the island for days, weeks, or months does his character injury. Let Cassio speak for himself:

I would not be *delay'd*.
If my offence be of such mortal kind
That nor my service past, nor present sorrows,
Nor purpos'd merit in futurity
Can ransom me into his love again,
But to know so must be my benefit;
So shall I clothe me in forc'd content,

* Emilia intended to have the pattern of the handkerchief copied for Iago (III. iii. 296-297).

And shut myself up in some other course,
To fortune's alms. III. iv. 114-122

In reply to the second appeal, Desdemona tells Cassio: "You must a while be patient" (III. iv. 129). Would she ask for patience if Cassio had spent several days or weeks waiting for re-instatement? Desdemona can well ask Cassio for patience because he is renewing his "former suit" only one day after the first appeal. Iago seems to be the person responsible for the renewal of the request at this time (III. iv. 107-108).

Iago has an important influence on the development of events at Cyprus. The whole success of *his* plot lies in the short lapse of time. At any moment some unexpected event may expose him. He recklessly and somewhat successfully seizes every opportunity that might advance his plans. Two excerpts from his soliloquies explain his position:

Ay, that's the way;
Dull not device by coldness and *delay*.
(II. iii. 394)

If Cassio do remain,
He hath a *daily* beauty in his life
That makes me ugly; and, besides, the Moor
May unfold me to him; there stand I in much peril.
No, he must die. (V. i. 18-22)

It has been suggested that a long lapse of time at Cyprus is required to bring about Roderigo's bankruptcy (II. iii. 369-375; IV. ii. 187-188). The idea is not necessarily correct. Roderigo may not have required much time or opportunity to hurry the process of bankruptcy. Iago makes heavy demands on Roderigo's purse (I. iii. 392; IV. ii. 188-190; V. i. 15-16). As early as the first few lines of Act I we learn that Iago has had access to Roderigo's wealth for some time. Roderigo was forced to sell his land to finance the venture at Cyprus (I. iii. 388). The voyage and the time spent at Cyprus may have depleted the proceeds from the land sale.

A forward shift of Act IV has already been suggested. A similar forward shift might be justified for Act V. All of Act V takes place in some degree of darkness. Scene iii of Act IV is also a night scene and is closely interlocked with the developments of Act V. A long lapse of time is most evident between Scene ii and Scene iii of Act IV. Act IV might best end with Scene ii thereby leaving Scene iii to be included in Act V. The objection might be the extra switch in locale then required in the last Act.

We are now left free to discuss Bianca's troublesome "seven days and nights" time reference. Her remarks are the main support for a long lapse of time at Cyprus.

Bian. Save you, friend Cassio!
Cas. What make you from home?
How is it with you, my fair Bianca?
Indeed, sweet love, I was coming to your house.
Bian. And I was going to your lodging, Cassio.
What, keep a week away? seven days and nights?
Eightscore eight hours? and lovers' absent hours,

More tedious than the dial eightscore times?
O weary reck'ning!

Cas. Pardon me, Bianca.
I have this while with leaden thoughts been press'd;
But I shall, in a more continue time,
Strike off this score of absence. (III. iv. 169-179)

We notice that Cassio because of "leaden thoughts" has not found the past seven days "continue" enough to gratify the desires of Bianca. Furthermore, the familiarity of the conversation leads one to believe that they have been acquainted for a much longer time than seven days. Cassio speaks of Bianca's "house", and elsewhere Bianca is called a "housewife" (IV. i. 95). How can one reconcile the "seven days" reference to a three-day time scheme at Cyprus? First, we should note that Bianca's remarks are made on the afternoon of the third day. If we can account for about four more days the problem should be solved. One possibility is that Bianca also made the trip from Venice to Cyprus. The "seven days" could then include days prior to her arrival. This idea is usually dismissed as absurd but it merits closer examination.

The play *Othello* is consistent in a way not generally realized. The entire atmosphere of the story is essentially that of seventeenth-century *Venetian* society. Bianca represents a section of Venetian society. Therefore the idea that she too travelled to Cyprus should be acceptable. There seems to be no reason to believe that she is in character as a native of Cyprus. Let us examine some evidence to support the contention that Bianca was a Venetian. Here are some excerpts from a well documented history of Venice by Pompeo Molmenti:⁷

The woman who sold herself and earned an opprobrious epithet, in Venice was called by the gentle title of *cortigiana*, and, curiously enough, enjoyed the further designation of *honorata*. The women of this class carried on their trade in their own houses, and are not to be confounded with their luckless sisters, who, though often styled *cortigiane*, passed their wretched existence in brothels. (Pt. II, II, 245)

Even in the first half of the seventeenth century the courtesans of Venice continued to enjoy their old reputation for beauty and grace (Pt. III, II, 95).

Not only were they to be seen in the streets dressed like great ladies, but they took more particular care of their persons than did the great ladies. (Pt. II, II, 259)

Tom Coryat, with the carelessness common to the passing tourist asserts that at the time of his sojourn in Venice in 1608 there were at least twenty thousand [courtesans]. These figures are fantastic. We know that from the close of the sixteenth century and onwards prostitution was on the decline. Sanudo gives the number of courtesans in his day as 11,654. [The total population appears to have been about 130,000.] and we should have thought even that an exaggeration, were not the statement supported by a truthful witness, Merlini, the merchant, whom we have already quoted. . . .

. . . Coryat says that this leniency toward prostitution was conceded *ad vitanda maiora mala*; otherwise family honour would have been assailed, wives seduced, and husbands *capricornified*, which was the indignity least endurable to a Venetian. (Pt. II, II, 241)

⁷ Pompeo G. Molmenti, *Venice: its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic*; translated by H. F. Brown (Chicago: McClung, 1906-1908, 6 volumes).

The crowded canvases of the Venetian masters give us likenesses of well-known courtesans or of women of the people, gorgeously dressed or in seductive *dishabille*. (Pt. II, II, 147)

Without descending to personal abuse Venetian satirists lashed the vices of their day,—the venality of women in love affairs, the shamelessness of courtesans, the less ascetic occupations of the nuns, and so on. (Pt. II, I, 244)

Let us review what these extracts tell us about a courtesan. We notice that the very word "courtesan" is Venetian in origin. (The earliest quartos of *Othello* list Bianca as a courtesan in the *Dramatis Personae*.) Courtesans appear to have been rather numerous in Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were a recognized and accepted part of Venetian society, and a popular subject in the Italian literature and art of that time. The higher class courtesan carried on her trade in her own house. (Bianca, therefore, would have her "home" and the term "housewife" would have an honorable implication).⁸

Many points of evidence could be presented to show that these facts would have been known in Shakespeare's England but perhaps H. F. Brown's comment will suffice:⁹

Shakespeare displays a knowledge of Venice and the Venetian dominions deeper than that which he appears to have possessed about any other Italian state. Omitting the references to Rome, which are just under four hundred in number, we find that the chief cities of Italy come in this order: Venice, with fifty-one references; Naples, thirty-four; Milan, twenty-five; Florence, twenty-three; Padua, twenty-three; and Verona, twenty.

Shakespeare must have regarded the courtesan as an essential element in a play dealing with Venetian society. Why do many find it such a stretch of the imagination that Bianca also made the trip to Cyprus?

Bianca speaks of the "lovers' hours" which have been lost during the preceding seven days. Cassio has an answer to this complaint. He says that he has "this while with leaden thoughts been press'd." Instantly we think he is referring to the time he has spent in disgrace. Let us check back in the story. On Cassio's arrival at Cyprus, one of the gentlemen says of Cassio, "yet he looks sadly and prays the Moor be safe, for they were parted with foul and violent tempest" (II. i. 31-33). May not the gentleman's remark extend "this while" to include not only the time spent at Cyprus, but also the period of the hazardous sea voyage? If Bianca made the voyage to Cyprus on Cassio's galley she may well think he has neglected her. But, Cassio, being second-in-command of the expedition, could properly have been concerned with graver matters during the voyage. Cassio, concerned with the storm, the Turkish fleet, and Othello's safety, may have believed it was not a "continue" enough time for love-making. We might notice that even on the second day at Cyprus Desdemona believes Othello's headache is due to "watching" (III. iii. 285).

But could the Venetian State use its galleys to transport courtesans? We would hardly think so, yet in reply one can ask the question: Could the Venetian State use its galleys to transport clowns and pet dogs? The clown is designated

⁸ The word "housewife" is never used contemptuously by Shakespeare except with an adjective—as "false housewife".

⁹ H. F. Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice* (London: John Murray, 1907), II, 160.

as Othello's clown (see *Dramatis Personae*) and Iago speaks of his "young mistress' dog" (II. iii. 53).

Cassio may have gone against his better judgement if he permitted Bianca to accompany him to Cyprus. There is a passage which may indicate how Bianca had her way.

I was the other day talking on the sea-bank with certain Venetians; and thither comes the bauble, and, falls me thus around the neck. . . . So hangs, and lolls, and weeps upon me; so shakes and pulls me. IV. i. 136 ff.

A comparison between Cassio and Lodovico may be in order. In a conversation with Desdemona about the merits of Lodovico, Emilia says, "I know a lady in Venice would have walk'd barefoot to Palestine for a touch of his nether lip" (IV. iii. 38-40). Bianca may have been prepared to go to similar lengths to be with Cassio.

Lodovico's movements are in harmony with a three-day time scheme at Cyprus. He arrives on the third day with orders for Othello's recall and for Cassio's appointment in Othello's place. How has this come about? The news of the destruction of the Turkish fleet must have been despatched at some time during the voyage to Cyprus. To prove that it was possible to despatch news, we need but check Act I and notice that the galleys kept in constant touch with Venice (I. ii. 40-43; I. iii. 13; I. iii. 32). (Shakespeare, of course, sacrifices distance for dramatic effect.) The despatches Othello sends on the second day at Cyprus (III. ii. 1-4) may have been primarily concerned with Cassio's drunken brawl and subsequent dismissal from service. Lodovico would have been well on his way to Cyprus when Othello sent his despatches. The Venetian government would not have been so imprudent as to appoint Cassio as Othello's successor had the letters arrived in time.

It is easy to see why the Wilson-Halpin Double Time theory has been applied to *Othello*. The very fact that the entire plot depends on and demands split-second timing makes us very conscious of time references. Rather embarrassingly for us, Shakespeare neglected to furnish all the details for an *over-all* time scheme. However, the evidence within the play, the background of the period, and imagination enough to assess Shakespeare's purposes can produce a three-day time scheme for the action at Cyprus. For those who have been persuaded that a three-day time scheme is acceptable, the following may be considered.

Many people criticize *Othello* on the grounds that a tragedy of such magnitude cannot convincingly reach its climax in such a short period of time. There is some justification in this view if one holds that the main action at Cyprus lasts only thirty-six hours. If Shakespeare envisaged a three-day time scheme for the action at Cyprus, this criticism is weakened and a better appreciation of his work is possible. Each day (twenty-four hour period) has a dramatic cycle. The hours of darkness bring fear, despair, and tragedy. The hours of daylight offer happiness, hope, or comic action. In tracing the cycles through, three days are warranted. *Othello* is a study in black and white. Link up the hours of darkness and sunshine with the action, and the effect becomes tremendous. A battle seems to take place. Each day the forces of evil are strengthened by the night, until on the third evening, a climax of doom and disaster occurs.

Edmonton, Alberta

Cleopatra Again

ELIZABETH STORY DONNO



IN his new Cambridge edition, Professor Dover Wilson summarizing the values that he finds stressed in *Antony and Cleopatra*—"the nobleness of life", the strength and majesty of human nature, its instincts of generosity, graciousness and large-heartedness; its gaiety of spirit, warmth of blood, 'infinite variety' of mood"—concludes that "the play is, in short, its author's Hymn to Man".¹ Mrs. Dolora G. Cunningham, however, in a recent article in *Shakespeare Quarterly* offers an interpretation of the play "in terms of Christian morality", emphasizing, particularly, the characterization of Cleopatra, "whose actions in the final act", she asserts, "are in their main outlines comparable to those of the penitent Christian".²

These two conclusions seem, at least to one reader, so antithetical that one wonders if they can both possibly derive from an equally perceptive reading of the text, or whether, in the one case, a kind of Christian apologetics has been imposed *ab extra*. Since Mrs. Cunningham's article is fairly representative of one current approach to Shakespeare, it may be profitable to examine her method in some detail. It seems to me that her conclusions issue from (1) an inadequate following through of the role of Enobarbus and (2) an injudicious compression of portions of the text.

Mrs. Cunningham offers (p. 10) four kinds of evidence for her interpretation (although, actually, she lists only three). Her first evidence is simply the assertion in answer to those who might object "to the imposition of Christian principles upon explicitly pre-Christian materials" that Shakespeare "is habitually guilty of this practice". Since to consider this assertion would involve a discussion of a number of plays and since it is true, as Mrs. Cunningham observes, that Shakespeare is "always thinking in Elizabethan terms", I propose to accept the notion that Shakespeare, if he had wished, could very well have written *Antony and Cleopatra* in terms of Christian morality.

The second kind of evidence is provided "by the explicit statements of characters within the play, notably of Enobarbus". Mrs. Cunningham feels that Enobarbus "repeatedly makes available to us the specifically Christian principles which are the form of the play and that the final resolution of the tragedy is achieved with reference to those standards which he has abstracted from the action of the whole" (p. 11). It is here that I quarrel with her interpretation of the role.

¹ J. Dover Wilson, *Antony and Cleopatra* (Cambridge U.P., 1950), p. xxxvi.

² Dolora G. Cunningham, "The Characterization of Shakespeare's Cleopatra", *SQ*, VI (Winter, 1955), 14.

As has been frequently pointed out, Enobarbus serves in a semi-choric capacity, presenting clearly, tersely, and wittily observations on the various characters and their actions. Furthermore, since he is uninhibited in the presence of his superiors and since he has a reputation for "plainness", we tend to accept his observations as objective. Let us examine, then, what his comments on Cleopatra are.

In Act One, Scene Two, a series of messengers relate the disturbing news to Antony that his wife Fulvia and his brother Lucius have been at war with Caesar, that Labienus has seized on territories in Asia, and lastly that Fulvia has died in Sicyon; Antony frets at his "Egyptian fetters", resolves to "break off" from this enchanting queen, and exclaims to Enobarbus, "Would I had never seen her." To which Enobarbus retorts:

O, sir, you had then left unseen a wonderful piece of work, which not to have been blest withal, would have discredited your travel.

(I. ii. 151-53)⁸

Enobarbus' next comment on Cleopatra is the blazing description he gives to Agrippa and Maecenas of her appearance in the barge ("O'er-picturing that Venus where we see/ The fancy outwork Nature"), followed by the equally remarkable testimony to her variety:

I saw her once

Hop forty paces through the public street,
And having lost her breath, she spoke, and panted,
That she did make defect perfection,
And, breathless, power breathe forth. (II. ii. 228-232)

He then flatly denies Maecenas' statement that Antony (having agreed to marry Octavia) must leave her utterly: "Never; he will not." And, later, during the revels aboard Pompey's galley, he asserts to Menas that Antony who is not, like Octavia, of a "holy, cold, and still conversation" [behavior] will to his Egyptian dish again. (II. vi. 119ff.)

Thus, up to Antony's return to Egypt (III. vii), it is the clear-sighted Enobarbus who, while perceiving that Antony's expedient marriage will in the end prove the basis for dissension with Caesar, provides the most eloquent comments on Cleopatra. These comments, it should be noticed, are nowhere adverse in nature; they simply bear witness to the telling effect of Cleopatra's personality. It is left to others—Philo, Pompey, Scarus, and especially *Antony himself*—to present the unflattering side of Cleopatra's nature. For Enobarbus, she is simply a "wonderful piece of work".

After Antony's return to Egypt, we find Enobarbus endeavoring to dissuade Cleopatra from accompanying Antony to the battle of Actium; as a soldier, Enobarbus would have "our captain" keep the heroic and the amatory distinct. But when Cleopatra declares she will not stay behind, Enobarbus quickly desists ("Nay, I have done") and utilizes his greatest efforts to urge Antony to fight by land and not by sea (III. vii. 34-39; 41-48).

Then occurs the defeat at Actium, following upon Cleopatra's flight and

⁸ All textual references are to the Arden edition, ed. M. R. Ridley (London: Methuen and Co., 1954).

Antony's ignominious pursuit "like a doting mallard". Although quickly forgiven by Antony, Cleopatra, in her palace, broods over her conduct. She asks Enobarbus what they should do and receives the reply, "Think, and die"; a reply, it should be noted, that in its ironic foreshadowing is applicable only to Enobarbus' death. To Cleopatra's question whether it is Antony or Cleopatra herself who has been at fault, Enobarbus declares the fault is Antony's:

What though you fled,
From that great face of war, whose several ranges
Frighted each other? why should he follow? (III. xiii. 4-6)

A little later in the same scene Enobarbus again speaks words applicable at the moment to Cleopatra but again prefigurative of his own action in deserting Antony. He had first considered this possibility immediately following the defeat at Actium (III. x. 35-38); now, after Antony declares he will challenge Caesar "sword against sword",⁴ he debates the question with himself once again (III. xiii. 41-46); then, as he listens to Caesar's ambassador negotiate with Cleopatra, he remarks on Antony, aside:

Sir, sir, thou art so leaky
That we must leave thee to thy sinking, for
Thy dearest quit thee. (III. xiii. 63-65)

By the end of the scene, when Antony is aroused to "outstare the lightning", Enobarbus has determined to find some way to leave him.

Although becoming "onion-ey'd" at Antony's speech to his servants the night before the second battle, Enobarbus defects to join the disloyal ranks composed of Canidius and the six kings. For Enobarbus, however, this defection stimulates a tremendous sense of guilt:

I have done ill,
Of which I do accuse myself so sorely,
That I will joy no more. (IV. vi. 18-20)

The arrival of all his treasure with bounty overplus "blows" his heart, and Enobarbus declares he will not fight against Antony:

No, I will go seek
Some ditch, wherein to die: the foul'st best fit
My latter part of life. (IV. vi. 37-39)

This he proceeds to do, after reiterating his shame:

O Antony,
Nobler than my revolt is infamous,

⁴It should be observed that in Act III when Antony decides to battle by sea merely because Caesar "dares" it, Enobarbus points out that Antony has himself "dared" Caesar to single fight, and Canidius adds that those offers which do not serve for his advantage Caesar "shakes off" (III. vii. 31-33). With this in mind, we should understand that Enobarbus' remarks here do not emphasize Antony's fatuousness in challenging Caesar who still wears the rose of youth upon him (as some critics have taken it) but rather his misjudgment in assuming that Caesar, having the upper hand, would so "unstate" his advantage as to risk all in single combat. Cf. also Cleopatra's remark as Antony goes off to the one sally from which he will return victorious:

that he and Caesar might
Determine this great war in single fight!
Then Antony—; but now—Well, on. (IV. iv. 36-38)

Forgive me in thine own particular,
 But let the world rank me in register
 A master-leaver, and a fugitive:
 O Antony! O Antony! (IV. ix. 18-23)

This ignominious end of the brave blunt soldier provides a marked contrast with Cleopatra's rapt apotheosis as she becomes fire and air, leaving her other elements to baser life. One questions whether Enobarbus in any way emerges as a Christian stalwart or whether an audience could possibly conclude that either by comment or action he has made available the "specifically Christian principles which are the form of the play".

The third type of evidence Mrs. Cunningham adduces "for the Christian framework of the play" is to be found in the dramatic amplification of the "extravagant language and actions of hero and heroine" (p. 12). It is quite true that language and action are extravagant; but we are not here dealing with little people—rather with one in whose mere name lay "a moiety of the world" and with the empress of Egypt, "a princess/ Descended of so many royal kings". As Professor Wilson has pointed out, Antony is conceived on a colossal scale: in stature, force of character, generosity, affections and passions (p. xxx). Cleopatra has subjected this "huge spirit" to her captivating personality; hence imagery, hyperbole, and extravagance reinforce the range and sweep of the drama. I doubt that the effect of Cleopatra's words, "Eternity was in our lips, and eyes/ Bliss in our brows' bent . . .", would, as Mrs. Cunningham asserts, have caused "any schoolboy" to conclude that "eternity was [sic] no such place" (p. 13). Rather, the poetical and psychological effect would have been then as now to give cosmic dimension to the love which Cleopatra is describing.⁵

Mrs. Cunningham finds the action of the play after the death of Antony centering on the Egypt-Rome conflict, especially as exemplified in "Cleopatra's own struggle to die nobly; for she has to fight not only Roman shrewdness but also her own baser nature whose allegiance to sensuality wars against the nobler Roman qualities to which she aspires" (p. 14). Since it is at this point, it seems to me, that the greatest violation has been done to the text, I should like to quote Mrs. Cunningham extensively. "Her efforts to die better than she has lived are analogous to the familiar steps in the discipline of repentance, inherited from the Middle Ages as the primary means of grace for fallen man and hence absolutely necessary for salvation." The steps cited are "the conviction of sin, the contrition of the heart, the faith that God will forgive sin, and the firm purpose of amendment of life."

To support her assertion that "Cleopatra's actions in the final act are in their main outlines comparable to those of the penitent Christian", Mrs. Cunningham first quotes in compressed form Cleopatra's speech after Antony's death in Act Four, to which she then juxtaposes Cleopatra's speech at the beginning of the second scene of Act Five.

If we examine this nineteen-line speech at the end of Act Four (reduced in Mrs. Cunningham's quotation to seven selected lines), we see that Cleopatra gives expression to her grief at Antony's death in language that rapidly shifts and alters in tone and emphasis.

⁵ See G. Wilson Knight, *The Imperial Theme* (London: Methuen and Co., 1951), pp. 227 ff., for a discussion of the imagery.

The first effect of her grief is to reduce her queenliness to the bedrock of simple womanhood:

No more but e'en a woman, and commanded
By such poor passion as the maid that milks,
And does the meanest chares. (IV. xv. 73-75)

Abruptly, she veers to a would-be defiance of the gods, which recalls the defiance of "that Atheist *Tamburlan*"⁶ in a corresponding situation upon the death of his beloved Zenocrate.⁷

It were for me
To throw my scepter at the injurious gods,
To tell them that this world did equal theirs,
Till they had stol'n our jewel. (ll. 75-78)

Again Cleopatra alters her tone to state dolefully:

All's but naught:
Patience is sottish, and impatience does
Become a dog that's mad. (ll. 78-80)

This is followed by the question:

then is it sin,
To rush into the secret house of death,
Ere death dare come to us? (ll. 80-82)⁸

Immediately, after observing her grieving women, she bestirs herself to urge "good cheer":

How do you, women?
What, what, good cheer! Why, how now, Charmian?
My noble girls! Ah, women, women, Look,
Our lamp is spent, it's out. Good sirs, take heart,

⁶ Robert Greene, *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith*, in Grosart, *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse*, V.7 (privately printed, 1881-6), p. 8.

⁷ "*Tamburlaine, Part II*", ll. 3070-3076 in *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

*Casane and Theridamas to armes,
Raise Cavalieros higher than the cloudes,
And with the cannon breake the frame of heauen,
Batter the shining pallace of the Sun,
And shiuer all the starry firmament:
For amorous loue hath snatcht my loue from hence,
Meaning to make her stately Queene of heauen.*

⁸ It is again instructive to refer to *Tamburlaine, Part II*, ll. 3025-3033, where Zenocrate explicitly directs Tamburlaine (termed, as we have seen, an atheist, by Shakespeare's contemporary) to have no thought of suicide upon her death:

*Liue still my Lord, O let my soueraigne liue,
And sooner let the fiery Element
Dissolue, and make your kingdome in the Sky,
Than this base earth should shroud your maiesty:
For should I but suspect your death by mine,
The comfort of my future happinesse
And hope to meet your highnesse in the heauens,
Turn'd to dispaire, would break my wretched breast,
And furie would confound my present rest.*

We'll bury him: and then, what's brave, what's noble,
 Let's do it after the high Roman fashion,
 And make death proud to take us. Come, away,
 This case of that huge spirit now is cold.
 Ah, women, women! come, we have no friend
 But resolution, and the briefest end. (ll. 82-91)

The entire passage is beautifully constructed to reveal through its shifting ideas Cleopatra's fluctuating psychological state. In terms of her defiance of "the injurious gods", her nihilistic "All's but naught", and her ultimate resolution to "rush into the secret house of death", it clearly seems impossible to accept the passage as descriptive of "the penitent Christian".

Mrs. Cunningham then adds Cleopatra's speech from the beginning of Act Five, Scene Two. This, she reads as indicative that Cleopatra has "achieved the humility of the hard lesson that mortality is subject to the accidents of temporal life and the qualifications of finite being".⁹ Furthermore, according to Mrs. Cunningham, Cleopatra's weapons of defiance now "against Caesar—and against her own inconstancy—are the penitential disciplines of fasting and mortification" (p. 15), and she cites the lines:

Sir, I will eat no meat, I'll not drink, sir,—
 If idle talk will once be necessary,—
 I'll not sleep neither. This mortal house I'll ruin,
 Do Caesar what he can. (V. ii. 49-52)

But let us examine the dramatic context of these lines. Proculeius has been sent by Caesar in order to forestall any possibility of Cleopatra's suicide (V. i. 61 ff.); while he speaks to her, Gallus and soldiers enter the monument and easily surprise her. When Charmian cries, "O Cleopatra, thou art taken, queen", she draws forth her dagger: "Quick, quick good hands"; but the soldiers at once disarm her, relieving her of that death which rids even dogs of "language". As Proculeius presses her not to abuse his master's bounty, Cleopatra cries:

Where art thou, death?
 Come hither, come; come, come, and take a queen
 Worth many babes and beggars! (V. ii. 45-47)

It is then to Proculeius' urging, "O, temperance, lady", that Cleopatra utters her threat, "Sir, I will eat no meat, I'll not drink, Sir". Taken in dramatic context, can these lines possibly be equated with "the penitential discipline of fasting and mortification"?

While it is possible to find support in the text for the view that Cleopatra's "fear of a Roman triumph wins out over the fear of death", there seems to me no support for the assertion that "she embraces death primarily from weariness of life". The entire play is surcharged with Cleopatra's remarkable vitality, up to and including the moment prior to her death when she applies the second asp: "Nay, I will take thee too."

⁹ Cunningham, p. 15. One might here compare Granville-Barker's interpretation that Cleopatra shows failure's contempt for success (a note once struck by Brutus, sustained by Hamlet), an exalting of the solitary dignity of the soul. *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, I (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1946), 445.

Finally, the attitudes of the several characters in respect to death together with their conception of a future life should be noted in opposing the view that the play is to be understood in terms of Christian doctrine.¹⁰

Enobarbus having become in his own mind a "villain of the earth" seeks death solely as escape from his sense of infamy. He literally thinks of his shame and dies.

Antony, before committing suicide, envisions himself hand-in-hand with Cleopatra, preeminent among famous lovers, "where souls do couch on flowers". Consequently, he resolves to run to death "as to a lover's bed".

Cleopatra, preparing to robe herself "again for Cydnus" in all her queenly attire, requests this last assistance from Charmian before giving her "leave/ To play till doomsday". As Iras dies, Cleopatra describes the stroke of death as like a "lover's pinch/ Which hurts, and is desir'd". Then, thinking upon the "curled Antony" and "that kiss/ Which is my heaven to have", she applies the asp to her breast.

Charmian bids farewell to Cleopatra, notices her crown is awry, and recalls her mistress' words: "I'll mend it, and then play". Within a few moments, she commits suicide.

Even the "Roman"¹¹ Caesar looking upon the dead Cleopatra utters his apt tribute in terms not of "the Christian penitent" but of the eternal seductress:

but she looks like sleep,
As she would catch another Antony
In her strong toil of grace. (V. ii. 344-346)

Action, atmosphere, and poetic imagery blend to an inevitable triumphant conclusion. And the conclusion seems triumphant precisely because death and that which follows has been projected as an extension of the "nobleness of life". Professor Wilson is right, it seems to me; *Antony and Cleopatra* is its author's "Hymn to Man".

I submit that only by a wrenching of the poetic and dramatic context can an explicit Christian scheme be imposed upon *Antony and Cleopatra*. Of the Christian ethos of Shakespearian England, there is no question; one asks only that the Shakespearian text be given its due.

New York City

¹⁰ For Mrs. Cunningham's assertion that Cleopatra "maneuvers unscrupulously against Caesar and is out-manuevered", I would refer only to Professor Wilson's important discussion of this passage where he cites North's statement that Caesar "took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself", as well as North's reinforcing marginal comment. Wilson, p. xxxv.

¹¹ Mrs. Cunningham identifies the "noble Roman qualities" with the Christian concept of the reasonable soul in opposition to the "pagan", i.e. Egyptian, concept of irrational sensuality; see p. 16.

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Shakespeare Through the Camera's Eye:

III

ALICE GRIFFIN



WHEN the plays of Shakespeare are presented in media other than the stage, any judgment of the success or failure of the undertaking must be based on how well the medium—here motion picture and television—serves the works—not the reverse. For unlike the average movie or television script, these masterpieces offer the camera unsurpassed opportunities for imagination, beauty, and significance. To the presentation of a Shakespeare play, the medium can bring new and exciting resources, from the focusing on the subtle and intimate emotion of a character through close-up to the wide panorama which Shakespeare's "wooden O" could not contain. But no matter the medium, the play is still the thing, and if virtuosity of camera be considered more important, then the production is not true to the spirit of Shakespeare's creation. With this standard applied to the films which have appeared in the past year—Orson Welles's *Othello*, Renato Castellani's *Romeo and Juliet*, and Laurence Olivier's *Richard III*—only the last-named can be considered an artistic success.

The chief virtue of *Richard III* is one that it shares with Olivier's *Henry V*, that of clarity. Sir Laurence may not achieve subtlety, but what he does achieve is to present a point of view—the heroism (and variations on this characteristic) of Henry V and its results; the villainy (and variations on it) of Richard III and its results. This point of view is carried through *Richard III* from the first to the last, with every detail related to this main purpose. Compared to the bilious *Romeo and Juliet* and the confused *Othello* films, this is no mean achievement. *Richard III* is presented to the viewer as an intricate and beautiful medieval tapestry, but its message is a clear one. Richard towers over the film as he does the play, and the other characters, brilliantly depicted, are related to Richard throughout.

In insisting on clarity for the benefit of the millions who will see the film, Sir Laurence unfortunately has sacrificed the larger significance of the work. He cuts out the character of the virago Queen Margaret, who runs like a thread through Shakespeare's text, reminding Richard, his fellow sinners, and the audience, that retribution will come. And in so doing, Olivier narrows his scope from the execution of divine justice on doers of evil to a chronicle of Richard and his pawns, and his theme from the falls of princes to the punishment of one man. But within this smaller framework the film is a *tour de force*, in one

opinion the best of the Olivier films to date and the best of motion picture Shakespeare.

To make the involved politics and genealogy of the warring factions of York and Lancaster clear, Olivier uses the camera with stunning effect. For one thing, the complicated relationship of the historical characters can be depicted visually as it is discussed, or shown in place of the discussion, an example being when Richard and Buckingham, in their plotting against the Queen and her followers, observe these characters through a window, the former characters in the foreground, the latter moving, like pawns on a chessboard, in the background.

Mistress Shore, who is referred to in the original text, is mimed by Pamela Brown, most effectively. Thus, when we hear of "... the King and Mistress Shore" "Heard you not what an humble suppliant / Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?" the scene is set in the Tower and we see the mysterious and beautiful Jane Shore actually leading Hastings forth from his cell. Her relationship to the king is suggested entirely without dialogue, and her open transfer of her affections to Hastings is made vividly pictorial in a single shot at the king's death bed when she and Hastings, in the foreground of the frame, exchange an understanding look as the king breathes his last.

Also for clarity the opening of the film takes place at the coronation of Edward IV, and the camera travels to each of the main characters. After the full and colorful scene, Richard is left alone to begin his soliloquy, which he delivers looking directly into the lens.

Another visual image that explains in a second several lines of exposition is the shot of the empty saddles in the prince's "little train" where formerly his uncles rode. Some scenes are pictured as well as or in place of being described, such as Clarence's death and the murder of the little princes.

Olivier uses two symbols throughout to depict the rise and fall of Richard, the crown for ambition and the shadow for the monstrous methods by which Richard achieves the crown. The film opens with a shot of the crown, then we see Edward crowned, and later Richard, the crown kept prominently in the foreground. Finally the crown, which has rolled from Richard's head into a bush during the closing scene, is carried by Stanley to Richmond. Symbolizing villainy in an effective camera technique, the black shadow of Richard is shown preceding him as he engages in his nefarious plots, such as arranging the death of Clarence or approaching Lady Anne to woo her.

Since the play is dominated by Shakespeare's Machiavellian Richard, the success of the motion picture depends heavily on the acting of the title role. Less challenging than Hamlet, Richard is the finest of Olivier's Shakespearian film portrayals. His Richard is a villain conceived in human proportions, a man heroic in stature and with brilliant endowments which he turns to evil ends. While fearing and hating Olivier's Richard, one cannot but admire him. Possibly he brings too much sympathy to the portrayal, and certainly he overdoes the humor, but his human rather than beast-like Richard is plausible, and it is an interpretation fitting to the intimate medium of the screen, for a superhuman villain with all stops out would be ridiculous and unbelievable in the motion picture, which brings the viewer eye to eye with the character.

The close-up lens is used to fine effect in the first soliloquy, for while Richard is dedicating himself to evil, we can see in his eyes the hurt that makes

him take this course. (A wild expression in the eyes, rather than extravagant behavior, is used to suggest a demented character at times.) The ambition of Richard as compensation for his ugliness is brought out in the initial soliloquy, and the close-up is impressive here, for while Richard's speech is ironic his eyes reveal his true emotion.

Richard's strength and vitality are stressed as well, in such scenes as his sliding down the bell rope after the crowd, instigated by Buckingham, has called on Richard to assume the crown; or the scene where he cruelly thrusts Buckingham from him when the latter demands his promised rewards. Though the cruelty of the character is brought out consistently, particular images stress it—such as the terrified face of the little prince, in close-up, when Richard looks at him after the boy has jested about his uncle's deformity.

Possibly Olivier's greatest contribution to the role is his subtlety and sensitivity, and here the close-up is of great aid. The expression in his eyes in the first soliloquy has been mentioned; we also see the reflection of his true, hurt feelings when he speaks of his own deformity after wooing Anne. To the ambition, the cruelty, the scheming, and the sensitivity at the beginning of the play, Olivier adds the unrest, just suggested at first, in such scenes as his harshness to Stanley, but finally leading directly to the disquieting dream on the battlefield, so that by the morning of the battle he is quite a different person from the Richard of the first scene. In the battle scenes he displays true heroism; yet in his death throes (and these are excessive) he is again the ugly boar, a contrast to the stalwart Richmond.

As to the physical characteristics of Richard, Olivier adopts a high-pitched voice and a clipped speech, suggesting a man who is determined because he is afraid he may be hurt. He has a long, wide nose and a hump that is not so much gross as it is unnatural, and the feeling is that he himself thinks of it as being larger than it is. He walks with only a slight limp, and—except in the accusation of Hastings—wears gloves to hide his deformed hand.

An important achievement of the film is the intelligent interpretation of the main secondary roles, each of which is played by an outstanding British classical actor of stellar rank. Ralph Richardson's Buckingham is most impressive, for he reveals dimensions seldom seen, at least in recent productions in America. Sir Ralph stresses the intellect of Buckingham, so that in a way his tragedy is even greater than that of Richard's, for Buckingham realizes that he is sacrificing his soul for worldly considerations, and allies himself with Richard for personal gain fully aware of the consequences—whereas Richard does not at the beginning seem to realize that he must pay for his actions.

On the stage Hastings has never seemed to have much individuality. Here, brilliantly portrayed by Alec Clunes, Hastings is the average man; lacking the cleverness of Buckingham or the shrewdness of Richard, he is the politician who follows the course of least resistance; he wants to get ahead, he loves beautiful women, he is boastful, flattered when the man in power smiles at him. When, in the council called to decide on the coronation, he realizes in the middle of a speech that Richard actually is his dangerous foe, Mr. Clunes' portrayal of this fearful character is most memorable.

In all likelihood the minor character of Clarence has never been so well portrayed as it is by John Gielgud, who, with Olivier, ranks as one of the two

most outstanding Shakespearian actors in the English-speaking world. Gielgud takes his cue for the characterization from Richard's sneering "simple plain Clarence". The scene with the murderers is heavily cut, so that his main contribution is the rendering of the sea speech. Here is description that lives. The lines ring with variety, music, and emotion, for Gielgud acts the passage with his voice, and on the line "... smother'd it within my panting bulk", one feels that he actually is being smothered.

The character of Stanley, well acted by Laurence Naismith, is also an indication of how well the motion picture medium can serve the clarity of this play. Though he has few lines and little action, he is focused upon throughout and assumes more importance than in the staged play, for in the film he is made to symbolize the ordinary man with human failings but a common sense of decency who triumphs over the brilliant villain at the end.

Stanley Baker is a fine Richmond, though his part is cut considerably, and having the ghosts appear only to Richard and not to Richmond seems to reduce them to bad dreams, when they were intended as a sign that divine providence is guiding Richmond. Giving Richmond a Welsh accent adds to the characterization as an honest, straightforward soldier in contrast to the warped Richard.

Of the women, since Margaret is cut, the most important female becomes that of Anne, played by Claire Bloom. Visually, her youth and beauty provide a splendid contrast to the ugly Richard, but more important, she brings sensitivity and intelligence to the role. Her Anne is genuinely attracted to Richard as a man, although at the same time she is repelled by him. To emphasize the attraction, Olivier changes history and Shakespeare by making the coffin she follows that of her husband.

Other changes include cutting of the text and characters, and the addition of lines from Cibber and Garrick: "Off with his head, so much for Buckingham" and "Richard's himself again". The color is well used, especially in the scenes of pageantry such as the two coronations. For the action in the palace, Westminster Abbey, and the Tower, Roger Furse has provided a composite set, and his interiors are uncluttered and at the same time successful in evoking a definite atmosphere fitting to the scene.

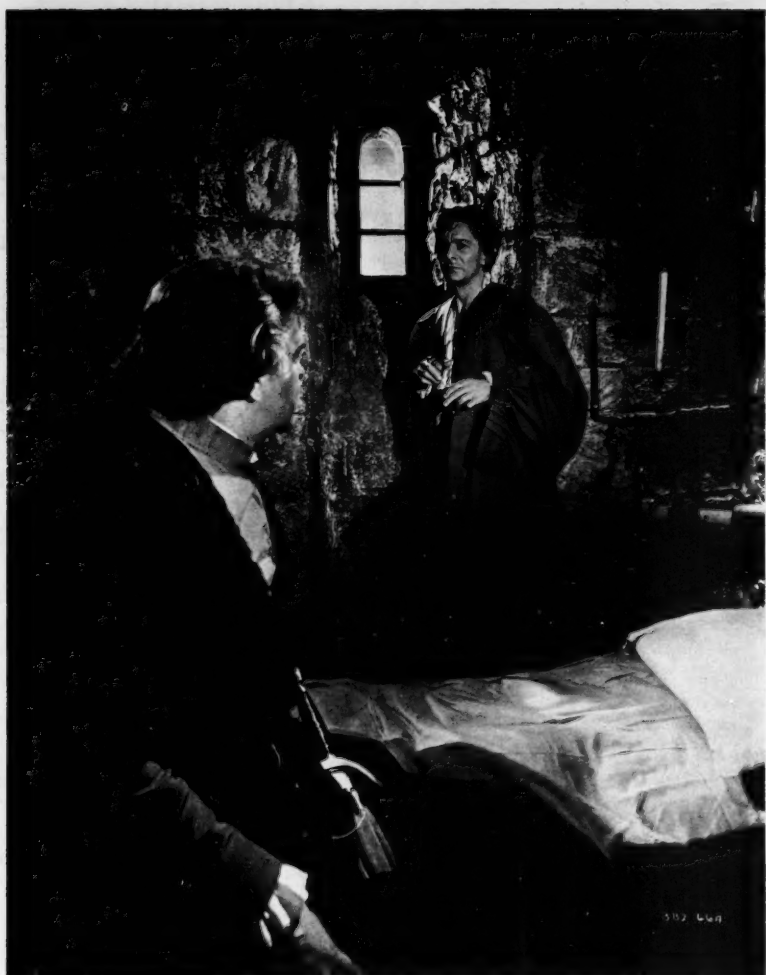
The battle scenes, shot in Spain, not only provide visual beauty but are meaningful as well, for the panorama gives importance to this battle in which the Tudor line was to triumph. The light for the scenes at dawn is excellent. The fighting itself is much superior to that in the film *Julius Caesar*, for instead of being realistic, suggesting a Western, it is ritualistic, suggesting its great importance to English history.

Orson Welles in his film *Othello*, which was shot in Italy, also attempts to use the setting symbolically, but he is excessively occupied with cinematic technique—odd angles of statuary, unusual shots of architecture, soaring seagulls, and a raging ocean, the latter to symbolize the troubled and raging emotions of Othello. The film's chief fault is that there is no unity; it seems a chopped-up version of scenes from *Othello*. Yet this motion picture, which Welles titles an "adaptation from Shakespeare", is generally interesting.

Welles's characterization of Othello, were it to be put into a more conventional production, would be an impressive one. He has a heroic stature, noble bearing, a sonorous voice, and the technical equipment necessary for a Shake-



Richard (Olivier) woos Lady Anne (Claire Bloom). *Richard III* (film—United Artists).



Clarence (John Gielgud) relates his dream to Brakenbury (Andrew Cruickshank). *Richard III* (film—United Artists).



Richard (Laurence Olivier) plots the downfall of Hastings with Buckingham (Ralph Richardson). *Richard III* (film—United Artists).



Iago (Michael MacLiammoir, right) first plants the seeds of suspicion in the mind of Othello (Orson Welles, left), *Othello* (film—United Artists).

spearian hero. Starting on a low note in the scene where he is brought to account for having married Desdemona, he works up through the first pangs of jealousy to the full-blown range of emotion. A tortured giant, he makes his way to Desdemona's chamber, his passion controlled but smoldering inside. The physical attraction between the two is stressed throughout, and brought home most effectively as he bends over her, about to kill her, but is overwhelmed by her presence. To keep from being distracted by her beauty, he pulls the sheet over her face before smothering her. The candle, at an altar, he smothers with his hand, a foreshadowing of Desdemona's death.

Welles uses light and dark symbolically in his screen version, carrying out the contrast between Desdemona and Othello. The soliloquies are recited in close-up, with Welles's face spotlighted in the darkness. These speeches, so simply done as far as cinema technique is concerned, are the most effective scenes in a motion picture which revels in unusual uses of the camera. In a text so ruthlessly cut and transposed, these soliloquies are among the film's few examples of the true poetry and style of Shakespeare, and they make the viewer wish that Mr. Welles had seen fit to film Shakespeare's scenario instead of his own.

The other characters in the film are not too impressive: although Michael MacLiammoir is a fine actor, his Iago lacked substance; Suzanne Cloutier contributed little but beauty and frailty to Desdemona; but Fay Compton was quite effective as the earthy Emilia.

Renato Castellani's film *Romeo and Juliet* bears little resemblance to Shakespeare; he could have used Bandello as well for his particular purpose, which seems to have been a scenically splendid film about two young lovers not too different from the usual Hollywood pair. The outdoor scenes of Italy are very beautiful, and the indoor ones are visually gorgeous, being patterned after Renaissance paintings, with actors and properties arranged for balance and the artistic unity of the whole frame. But Shakespeare's contributions to the original plot are absent here. The speeches are limited to about the first two lines of each, and there are quite a few additional lines supplied by Mr. Castellani. John Gielgud's narration as Chorus is one of the best things about the movie, but neither Romeo (Laurence Harvey) nor Juliet (Susan Shentall) is adequate. They have youth and good looks but are unable to lift these characters above the commonplace boy and girl into the realm of tragic figures. Mervyn Johns is successful as Friar Laurence, but many of the other characters have been portrayed by Italian actors, and the dubbing-in is not always successful.

In the past year, Shakespeare on television reached a new low with a network production of *Julius Caesar* in August on Studio One, in a fifty-minute adaptation by Leo Penn. It was about the most confused and confusing professional production of Shakespeare to face the camera. The actors seemed to be unable to convey any characterization, they declaimed rather than acted their lines, and they seemed ill at ease in their costumes. The unit set by John Ward was impractical and hampered the actors. Theodore Bikel played Caesar, Shepherd Strudwick Cassius, Alfred Ryder Antony and Philip Bourneuf Brutus. Daniel Petrie directed.

For the record, although it was not a full production, scenes from *Hamlet* were presented on the C.B.S. network over Omnibus in January of 1955, acted by the Canadian Players, members of the Stratford Company of Ontario,

Canada. Drama critic Walter Kerr narrated the scenes, each of which was done in two ways, first as Mr. Kerr believed the Elizabethans might have played it—stressing strong action and rapid speech, and the second in what Mr. Kerr described as the “modern conception” of the leading role—a weak, melancholy hero, an interpretation which the critic said was today’s Hamlet, which we have conceived “in deference to Chekhov”. Mr. Kerr’s interpretation of “modern” seems to be nineteenth-century, for it ignores the twentieth-century writings of E. E. Stoll and other scholars as well as the stage portrayal of Maurice Evans and the film by Laurence Olivier. As the scenes were acted, it was difficult to tell when the interpretation was Elizabethan and when modern. Douglas Campbell seemed miscast and unconvincing as Hamlet, lacking the musical voice and the sensitivity for the role.

Hunter College

The Catholic University *Hamlet*

GILES E. DAWSON



HE Catholic University's Speech and Drama Department, which has within the past decade produced *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*, achieved this season (January 27 to February 14) a notable success with *Hamlet*.

The function of a college drama department is to teach and to experiment. The danger is that in producing plays so familiar to the judicious spectator as Shakespeare's great tragedies, the attempt to do something new and striking will obscure rather than illuminate. In this *Hamlet*, James D. Waring, its director, and the whole company deserve high marks for staying clear of this danger and producing a restrained and conventional play. Not striving for any specially antiquarian or novel effects in stage, costume, or business, they bring off a *Hamlet* at once satisfying for the contemporary audience and, one feels, containing nothing which would have bewildered an Elizabethan audience.

Philip Bosco as Hamlet was, in the big things, right—not too melancholy, nor too mad, nor too much confused; intellectual, keen, dignified. In short, like the whole production, he was conservative. This was the total effect. He was not without faults, but the most conspicuous of these must be charged rather to the direction than to the actor. In I. v, at "If thou didst ever thy dear father love—" Hamlet collapsed and afterward lay prostrate and sobbing audibly till the patient ghost bade him adieu—with, one could but fear, doubts not only as to whether young Hamlet was made of the stuff required for the task ahead, but even as to whether he had heard the charge. The stricken prince rose just before "my sinews . . . bear me stiffly up", as if to give meaning to these words; but this is wrong, for they do not mean that he was already down—only that he felt his senses reeling and his knees shaky. Hamlet's deplorable weakness did not show itself again and was soon forgotten. On one or two occasions, on the contrary, he was a little too violent—especially in the closet scene, where he gave Gertrude good cause to fear for her life. In these whirlwinds of passion, when he displayed some tendency to shout too much, his voice, ordinarily excellent and excellently controlled, became unpleasant and his words difficult to follow.

The supporting cast was with few exceptions more than adequate. The king, a wily politician, exhibited subtly a growing awareness of his danger. He and Gertrude showed the purely carnal basis of their union without (which is difficult) much overdoing it—except for a regrettably protracted kiss after they took their places for the mousetrap. Polonius was conceived with restraint and avoided a common pitfall of amateur productions, the exaggeration of the comical. For a too weak Laertes, one of the stage managers afterward offered the explanation,

in my view without validity, that only such a man would be won over so quickly to the king's treacherous plot.

Though I have called this a conventional *Hamlet*, it was not lacking in imagination or well-placed originality. The problem of staging the ghost was handled particularly well. Played by Christopher Kotschnig, whose fine voice and delivery made him the ideal man for the part, this ghost was so well costumed and lighted that his being well forward for the big scene did not, for all his cap-a-pie armor, weaken his ghosthood. Effective too was the device of a double throne always present and on occasion strongly lighted though empty—a reminder to us and to Hamlet that the king is still alive and still to be reckoned with. It is now well known that Polonius' advice to Laertes can be found in various versions in a number of printed works known to Shakespeare's age, and it struck me as a legitimate and well-conceived piece of business that Polonius refreshed his memory by referring to a book while addressing his son. The duel, always difficult to bring off with anything like convincing naturalness, was managed as well as one is likely to see it done. Less satisfactory was the absence in the closet scene of any pictures of father and uncle except word pictures. And Ophelia's madness, in IV.v, though it might be praised as a good piece of acting and a triumph of cosmetic transformation, was exaggerated to an unwarranted and inartistic degree.

Though I have of course seen more finished acting, I have seen very few even professional productions that were on the whole more satisfying than this one.

Folger Shakespeare Library

Reviews

Richard II (New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare). Edited by MATTHEW W. BLACK. Pp. xxxii + 655. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott (for the Modern Language Association of America), 1955. \$17.50.

Everyone will welcome the most recent addition to this series. *Richard II* is a worthy successor to its immediate predecessors as an informative, well-groomed guide to the study of the play, and all future editors will be deeply indebted to Professor Black for the many years he has devoted to shortening their own labors. The task has plainly been congenial, but it must have been particularly arduous, since the passage of time has made it increasingly necessary to be more selective—and to condense is, as everyone knows, no saver of time or labor. For my own part, I welcome most of the curtailments that have been inevitable in order to bring the material within the compass of a single volume. The load of Shakespearian criticism accumulates at such a pace that selection is, in any case, needed if we are to keep our sanity.

The text and commentary run to 352 pages. It is, I think, a matter for regret that the text reproduced is that of F₁, especially if the choice was made for no other reason than that given on p. xiii—that F₁ furnishes the best basic text since it includes the deposition lines (IV. i. 155-324), which Q₁-3 omit and of which Q₄ gives a less satisfactory version. A facsimile reprint of Q₁ (the more authoritative text for the greater part of the play) would have been more in accordance with present-day editorial principles and especially useful in view of the untrustworthiness of the Griggs and Praetorius facsimiles. A most welcome innovation in the text is the indication of the point at which each Q₁ page and each F₁ page and column begins. I naturally wish that the innovation had been extended to include a through line numbering of the kind proposed by McKerrow, since this is among the most urgent needs in Shakespeare studies. In this edition it would have done something to compensate for the decision to reprint the Folio text.

The textual notes are comprehensive, though I was surprised to see no collation of the readings of Alexander's edition of 1951. Otherwise, the only defect I have noticed is a curious silence about the variant readings of the Petworth copy of Q₁. They are rarely cited but, in view of the notes to I. ii. 44 and I. iii. 169 (where the variants of the three other copies are given), readers may be wrong if they take silence to mean that its readings are in the corrected state; and, in fact, from what is said on p. 357, we are led to suppose that the Petworth copy exemplifies D(o) uncorrected.

By comparison with the fullness of the textual notes, the commentary is brief, but the need to economise space, to which reference is made on pp. xxiv-xxv, has proved a blessing in disguise since the commentary has far greater unity of purpose than that of early Variorum volumes. It has, in fact, an agreeably clear focus on one of the questions of first importance—the elucidation of the meaning; and this should recommend it all the more to serious students. In particular, I thought the recording of O.E.D. glosses, with systematic reference to section numbers and brief comments on any point of interest suggested by the Dictionary, wholly admirable. This will be of the greatest possible service to all, and especially to those who are not so fortunate as to have this indispensable

work at their elbow. As Professor Black so warmly recognizes, the play has been happy in its editors. He pays tribute, in particular, to those unassuming "school" editions, like the Warwick, to which we all turn for soundness of judgment—treasures which often embodied more wisdom than many a more ambitious edition. Extracts from editions of this kind are of considerable value at a time when the art of interpreting Shakespeare's meaning is sadly on the wane, and I was particularly pleased with the tribute to E. K. Chambers' work in these unpretentious series. In the nature of his assignment, Professor Black has to play second fiddle to the lead of earlier editors, but when his own note is heard he seems to me nearly always in harmony with the best tradition. I thought him at times too ready to follow the lead: "model" at III. ii. 156, for instance, must surely mean "module" (O.E.D. 1 = model 8) = allotted measure (i.e. just enough earth for burial). But for the most part users of his commentary will feel themselves in good hands and will find that his notes tell them what they want to know without fuss and nonsense.

The one general weakness of the commentary is the absence of discussion of readings. In the interests of compression, we are told (p. xxv), discussion of variants was deliberately excluded at a late stage in the preparation of the volume. I think this was a mistake as it is surely important that an edition of this kind should offer a critical opinion on the reliability of Q1 and on the comparative merits of rival emendations. It is not enough, for instance, to see in the textual notes that Q1's defective line "Mine innocence and saint George to thriue" (I. iii. 90) was emended by Pope in one way (. . . God and St. George . . .) and by Capell, whose reading is now generally preferred, in another (Mine innocence . . .)—especially as the customary emendation involves a failure to invoke the aid of the Deity that was uncommonly imprudent and fails to connect with Gaunt's words in I. iii. 84 and Mowbray's in I. iii. 91. For an opinion on problems of this kind future editors will turn to the Variorum *Richard II* in vain.

The loss is the more serious because in failing to answer questions of this kind the edition shirks some fundamental issues. This comes out very noticeably in the first section of the Appendix, on the Text. Here I found the information woefully unhelpful, though I hasten to record profound gratitude, which everyone will share, for Professor Black's real service to scholarship in collating (in photostat) not only all four copies of Q1 but also nearly all the copies in America of Q2-6 (29 prints in all). But what is the object of collating if it is not to present a coherent record of the variants together with a reasoned estimate of their bearing on the editing of the text? Collation is not an end in itself but only a beginning. Professor Black is in line with orthodox opinion in concluding that Q1 was a good text, set up from Shakespeare's foul papers; but so general a conclusion does little to help editors, who must determine the nature of the damage done to Q1 in its printing and the means that can legitimately be employed to correct its errors. Whether it is equally likely that the compositor omitted a word as a letter at I. iii. 90 is, for instance, the kind of question to which no answer is given.

In Professor Black's account of the Q1 press corrections we have both new and valuable information. The facts are confusingly recorded but (if I interpret them correctly) what they amount to is as follows. Daniel's collation of the Capell, Devonshire and Huth copies (see the Griggs Facsimile of the Devonshire copy, p. iv) made it evident that A(i), B(i), C(o), D(o) and I(o) survive in two states. Professor Black's collation of the Petworth copy (privately owned and not hitherto collated) shows that A(o), C(i), D(i), E(o) and F(i) are similarly in two states (though I confess to some misgivings about C(i) since the evidence is at variance with Daniel's Corrigenda, p. xxi). The most im-

portant of the new variants are clustered on D(i). Professor Black (p. 357) describes P's "sheet D" as in a state earlier than that in H, D and C. But this is not so: the unit for press-correction was the forme and all P's new variants occur on D(i)—so that we should perhaps infer (see above in connection with the textual notes) that P, like DC, exemplifies D(o) in its earlier state. The four new variants are as follows:

	P(uncorr.)	CDH (corr.)
II. i. 169 (D1 ^r)	coines	coine
II. i. 194-196 (D1 ^r)	om.	+ <i>King</i> . . . Oh
II. ii. 35-36 (D3 ^r)	om.	+ <i>Bush</i> . . . <i>Queene</i>
II. ii. 58 (D4 ^r)	lord	lords

The first and last of these variants will not surprise those who have pondered on the significance of Daniel's list, but the second and third reveal a type of error hitherto unexemplified—short omissions, which I should unhesitatingly describe as cases of eye-skip, though Professor Black (p. 358) explains them as probably due to marginal additions in that popular scapegoat, Shakespeare's foul papers. This seems hardly credible at II. ii. 35-36, since what is missing is necessary to continuity in sense and the line recovered begins with the same word as the line immediately following. Here, however, there is nothing in the text to suggest that what was at fault was beyond remedy. The omission at II. i. 194-196 raises more serious problems, for the immediately preceding line ("Or else he neuer would compare betweene.") leaves the sense incomplete and exemplifies an unparalleled (absolute) use of "compare between". Editors necessarily punctuate as an aposiopesis, but it is not impossible that the omission was here more extensive than could be accommodated in the available space. That there had been proof-correction on these two pages might have been guessed, since each contains 38 lines of dialogue (instead of the usual 37), the catchword ranging with the last line of type instead of below it. The same phenomenon occurs again on Er^r, F2^r, H3^r and we can therefore infer that E(i), F(o) and H(i) are in the corrected state.

The variant readings of substantive texts are not, of course, mere bibliographical curiosities. The systematic study of variants is one of the best means of diagnosing the maladies of a text. The editor of *Richard II* is, therefore, fortunate in having now about a score of significant variants which provide pointers to the sort of error which may have escaped correction in Qr. For this reason I should have liked to see in this Appendix an analytical list of all the press-variants in Qr together with a list of Qr readings which are now usually emended. A general discussion of these would have done something to compensate for the absence of discussion of readings in the Commentary. In my opinion, Daniel's evidence and Professor Black's combined imply carelessness but very little trouble in deciphering copy. Others must, of course, judge for themselves; but it is all the more necessary that we should form an estimate of the extent and character of printing-house corruption in Qr as the orthodox view about copy is, I understand, likely to be questioned.

About some aspects of transmission Professor Black is silent. The day will come when compositor analysis and press-work analysis will be expected of any scholarly edition. It is quite clear to me (though I can claim no ability to deal with such matters) that a press-work analysis of Qr is both wanted and would be worth-while. The pioneering work in this field has been done in America and there must be many who, like myself, earnestly wish that Shakespearian quartos could be as expertly examined as Fredson Bowers is examining the Dekker

quartos and Hinman the First Folio. I have an uneasy feeling that Professor Black takes little stock of bibliographical methods, but editors who disregard them do so at their peril. The material relating to the Folio text in the Appendix similarly fails to get down to bedrock on the problem of its transmission. In the choice of F1 as basic text and the failure to provide a critical evaluation of readings in both the Commentary and Appendix, the Variorum *Richard II* fails to grapple with what is of first importance—the text itself.

Other interests are better served. The Appendix runs to about 300 pages (including the Index) and covers the customary range of topics—the Date of Composition, the Authenticity of the Text, Dramatic Time, the Sources, Criticism, the play's Stage History, and, finally, "Elizabeth, Essex, and *Richard II*". Here, again, it has been necessary to economize space and again, I think, condensation has been all to the good, since it enables readers to get the gist of the matter more rapidly and Professor Black's poise makes his *résumés* very agreeable reading. The space allotted to source material (about 100 pages) is, rightly, generous in view of its importance. Readers will be pleased too with the generosity of the Index and grateful too for the clear type which is now so welcome a feature of the series.

Bude, Cornwall

ALICE WALKER

The First Night of 'Twelfth Night'. By LESLIE HOTSON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. Pp. 256. \$4.50.

Few scholars have shown such skill in the discovery of unsuspected but significant documents and fewer still have the gift of presenting the results of their discoveries with such telling effect as Dr. Leslie Hotson. For the present volume he has drawn on records and letters in England, Russia, Italy, and Germany in order to put together a complete picture of the celebrations at the court of Elizabeth I during the Christmas season of 1600-01. He argues that *Twelfth Night* was commissioned for performance at court on 6 January 1601 in honor of the visit of Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano (the youthful Giovanni of Webster's *White Devil*), and that the play is packed with oblique compliments and allusions to current court gossip. For full measure he maintains further that we have entirely misunderstood the way in which plays were staged at court, and he offers a new theory of stage-presentation. Inevitably the book has been much discussed, for some of its speculations are daring, and not all of them will win immediate acceptance. But it is an exciting book, and its story is told with a feeling for suspense that irresistibly hurries the reader along. It is not surprising that the book has won the coveted M.L.A.-Macmillan award.

This quasi-official recognition of the exceptional quality of the book by the largest organized group of scholars of language and literature at present existing suggests a possible approach for the reviewer. Does it reveal anything significant about current trends and ideals in scholarship and, if so, what are their virtues and shortcomings? The besetting sin of modern scholarship, we have often been told, is its dullness; scholars write merely for one another in the technical jargon of their profession, and are in danger of losing touch altogether with the general educated public. But dullness is merely the product of a dull mind, and Dr. Hotson's mind is anything but dull; his sense of the pageantry of history, his feeling for the vitality of language and literature, are far too lively for such a charge. If one has a cavil against him it is actually of the opposite sort; it is almost as if he were so haunted by the fear of being dull that he sometimes forgets that

what he writes will be read by fellow-scholars as well as those not so well-informed. He does not write down to his reader (he is far too sensitive to resort to that rather unpleasant form of patronage), but there are times when a fellow-scholar can complain with some justice that he does not take the trouble to put all his cards on the table.

Dr. Hotson knows as well as anyone that footnotes are not necessarily synonymous with dullness; he uses them freely and legitimately to supplement his text. But every now and then the scholarly reader cannot help feeling an impulse (it is an attitude of mind which the years have turned into an ineradicable habit) to check the evidence for some new theory or unexpected statement; yet, without the author's help, will he always know where to turn? The theory of stage-presentation at the court set out in chapters 2 and 8 is one which needs to be carefully considered in the light of all the available evidence; the reader has Dr. Hotson's conclusions from this evidence, but not the evidence itself. Even among scholars, not everyone will know enough to turn to the late Albert Feuillerat's *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the Reign of Elizabeth*, or, better still, to the original manuscripts from which Feuillerat's selection was made, now housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library. This reviewer, in his ignorance, would also be glad to have a full list of the sources which furnished the basis for the plan of Whitehall Palace facing page 175 and the reconstruction of the Great Hall of the Palace facing page 136. Dr. Hotson is asking too much of us in bidding us accept his conclusions on faith instead of giving us an opportunity to test them for ourselves.

It is impossible not to admire the linguistic ingenuity which is only one of the tools which Dr. Hotson, in chapters 6 and 7, brings to the elucidation of the play and its contemporary allusiveness. But the fundamental questions, How far are these parallels valid, and how far was such word-play recognizable by Shakespeare's audience? have not yet been asked by Dr. Hotson or by any other scholar. A rigorous sceptic might, in fact, quote Fluellen by way of parody on this part of the book:

I tell you, captain, if you look in the maps of the 'orld, I warrant you will find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; . . . and there is salmons in both.

But such a comparison is unfair. It is one of the virtues of modern poetry and modern criticism that we have been made acutely aware of all sorts of word-play and ambiguity that earlier generations of critics almost entirely ignored, but the new critical tools are so new that they are still being used without any proper sense of method. It is obvious that today the language of compliment and flattery is strikingly different from that of the Elizabethans; it is not so generally recognised that their ambivalences and obliquities were likewise different. We need, therefore, not only to be able to distinguish the habits of thought in the two periods but also to know how Shakespeare's court flattery differed from that of Lyly and Peele, and to what degree his puns and word-play can be distinguished from those of, say, Donne and Chapman. Here is a task for historical criticism, and until it has been attempted it will be impossible to say with any assurance whether Dr. Hotson has thrown valuable new light on the contemporaneity of *Twelfth Night* or whether he has illustrated anew one of the most characteristic vagaries of twentieth-century criticism.

The book also raises an even wider problem of methodology, which is far too little discussed and upon which there is almost no general agreement. What are

the criteria of proof in literary and historical studies? It is, we may agree, an established historical fact (and this, of course, is Dr. Hotson's discovery) that Virginio Orsini (or Orsino), Duke of Bracciano, visited Queen Elizabeth's court at the beginning of 1601 and that in anticipation of his visit choice was made of a play "that shalbe best furnished with rich apparell, have greate variety and change of Musicke and daunces, and of a Subiect that may be most pleasing to her Majestic." The play, too, was performed on Twelfth Night in the presence of the Queen and her distinguished visitor. What more natural than for the scholar to go one step further and suppose that the play in question was Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, both because of its title and because a Duke Orsino is one of its leading characters? So far, so good; but what of the supporting evidence adduced by Dr. Hotson to identify *Twelfth Night* with this unnamed play? How many other coincidences, and of what kind, must there be to make a conjecture irresistible? How many possibilities make a probability, and how many probabilities make a certainty? In strict logic, of course, the answer to both parts of the last question is None, no matter how many; but is this too rigorous a standard to apply? It might well be urged that scholarship almost daily faces problems where, from the very nature of the evidence, no certain answer has been or ever will be given, and where necessity forces us to a qualified acceptance of the most reasonable approximation to certainty that can be devised. Would not the advancement of learning be seriously impeded if we were not to accept these compromises?

Thus the modern scholar is still compelled to work with inadequate tools and to submit his conclusions to be judged by uncertain criteria. But it is doubtless just as well that Dr. Hotson is not overmuch concerned with these problems of methodology. Had he been, his book might well have lost some of its confident zest, and that would have been a pity. After all, he has stated on an early page his guiding principle: "The likeliest way to get ahead is not only to cling tightly to [an] excellent and reasonable hypothesis, . . . but to treat it as a fact until it proves to be wrong." And may it not be better, as the old saw reminds us, to travel hopefully than to arrive—at certainty?

University of Chicago

R. C. BALD

The Italian Influence in English Poetry, From Chaucer to Southwell. By A. LYTTON SELLS. Indiana University Press, 1955. Pp. 346, eight illustrations. \$6.75.

As Prof. Sells states in the preface, this book took its origin in a course of lectures delivered by the author in the University of Padua in 1946-47 under the auspices of the British Council; it is meant for the general public which needs to embrace the whole subject at a glance without bothering to search for material hidden away in unlikely places. I am not sure whether one of these was not T. S. Eliot's *Criterion*, certainly not a philological review: if so, both Prof. Sells and Prof. Friedrich—in his book on *Dante's Fame Abroad*—may be excused for omitting to mention my study on "Chaucer and the Great Italian Writers of the Trecento", which appeared in that magazine in 1927. As a general survey of a very extensive field (and Prof. Sells limits himself to poetry), the present work deserves to be praised for its easy style, its accuracy of Italian quotations, its generally reliable stock-taking of a mass of information. On the other hand, it hardly advances any new point of view, and the chapter on Shakespeare forms no exception.

This chapter begins promisingly with an attempt at drawing a parallel be-

tween Shakespeare's poems and Italian XVI-century painting, following J. J. Dwyer's *Italian Art in the Poems and Plays of Shakespeare* (Colchester, 1946); but the quotation of Abel Lefranc (*À la découverte de Shakespeare*, p. 198): "Il est manifeste que le poète ne s'est pas seulement inspiré de Virgile et d'Ovide, mais d'une série de peintures véritables qu'on n'a pas réussi encore à identifier" makes us aware that we are not on very safe ground.

The beginning of *Venus and Adonis* seems to Prof. Sells, as it seemed to Mr. Dwyer, to find a starting-point in Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, because in both cases Adonis is represented as indifferent or even rebellious to the claims of the goddess (whereas in all the ancient poets he is responsive to her love): "One may reasonably infer that this modern interpretation of the myth has come to Shakespeare directly or indirectly from the lips of a traveller who had seen Titian's painting, or one like it; or one might even suppose that he had seen it himself, though that would involve a further hypothesis". Since *Venus and Adonis* was painted in 1554 for Philip II of Spain, it would at first seem that Shakespeare could not have any opportunity of seeing it, and that the coincidence, if there is one, can be ascribed to the similarity of aims of the painter and the poet, who wrote in a period when the old formula *ut pictura poesis* was in full force. There is however, I find, a frequently reprinted letter of Lodovico Dolce to Alessandro Contarini, where Dolce describes the painting (which, according to Titian's habit is called *poesia*) of Venus and Adonis made "for the king of England": "Fu questa poesia di Adone poco tempo addietro fatta e mandata dal buon Tiziano al re d'Inghilterra". The letter describes the beauty of Adonis as partaking of both sexes, and "quanto a l'attitudine, egli si vede muovere, e il movimento è facile, gagliardo e con gentile maniera, perché sembra che egli sia in cammino per partirsi da Venere, con desiderio ardentissimo di gire alla caccia". As for the scenery: "D'intorno v'ha splendori e riflessi di sole mirabilissimi che allumano e allegnano tutto il paese". There are several points in this letter which would yield support to Mr. Dwyer's hypothesis, particularly the statement that the picture was "fatta a mandata dal buon Tiziano al re d'Inghilterra". This king of England was no one else but Philip II of Spain who had married Queen Mary: actually the painting reached London in very bad condition and took some time to restore (see Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, 3, 158, and Cavalcaselle, *Tiziano*, II, 193). But even thus reinforced by myself, Mr. Dwyer's hypothesis leaves me rather skeptical.

And what warrant have we for identifying the source of the picture of Troy owned by Lucrece with Giulio Romano's paintings of that subject at Mantua, beyond the fact that we find the Gonzagas mentioned in *Hamlet*, and Giulio Romano in *The Winter's Tale*, as a sculptor, though, which would only prove that Shakespeare had a very hazy knowledge of him? Why should a far from unenterprising scholar of the type of Prof. Sells let himself be waylaid by Lefranc, etc., into the boggy path of pseudo-Shakespearian scholarship? "If, as has been suggested, Shakespeare visited Venice, Padua and Verona with the Earl of Southampton in 1593, they might well have pushed as far as Mantua; in that case everything would be explained." Further on we read: "It seems incredible that a mind as active as Shakespeare's, an imagination as much occupied as his with the Italian scene, should not have seized an opportunity, such as may well have occurred in 1593, of visiting the peninsula". Luckily Prof. Sells did not see G. Lambin's articles *Sur la trace d'un Shakespeare inconnu*, which appeared in *Les Langues modernes* in 1951-52 (see my essay on "Shakespeare's Italy" in *Shakespeare Survey*, 7), or even that bur might have stuck on his coat.

As for the Sonnets Prof. Sells agrees with Prof. B. Cellini's dating in *Vita e*

arte nei Sonetti di Shakespeare, and reports, though with diffidence, Dr. Leslie Hotson's revolutionary hypothesis on "the mortal moon"; as for their sources he refers to Wolff's study, which he quotes second-hand from J. G. Scott's *Les Sonnets Elisabethains*. In fact, there is nothing in Prof. Sells's chapter on Shakespeare that has not been expounded elsewhere (he reports also Duff Cooper's hypothesis of Shakespeare's soldiering in the Netherlands), and moreover, since his book deals primarily with poetry, there is not much about Italian influence on Shakespeare's plays; so that, no matter how useful the book may be as a general survey of Italian influence, it can be safely ignored by the Shakespearian scholar.

Rome

MARIO PRAZ

Shakespeare Survey 8. An Annual Survey of Shakespearian Study and Production. Edited by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. viii + 172. \$3.75.

With the exception of Roy Walker's study of "The Celestial Plane in Shakespeare", which is of wider interest and comments on Shakespeare's use of astral imagery in general, *Shakespeare Survey 8* is almost entirely devoted to the study of the comedies, which, the Editor says, "have been accorded far less attention than his tragedies and history plays".

We are first offered a comprehensive survey of the critical works on Shakespeare's Comedies in the last fifty years. In this opening article, "The Interpretation of Shakespeare's Comedies", John Russell Brown deals with the Comedies to *Twelfth Night*, reviewing books and articles on literary influences, sources, life and thought of the age, characters, themes and language, then passing to the "Dark" or "Problem" Comedies which, indeed, are given special attention in this issue.

"Comic Form in *Measure for Measure*" is the subject of Nevil Coghill's essay that follows immediately. There are two chief interpretations of *Measure for Measure*, Mr. Coghill says: one insisting on the dark and disgusting aspect of a comedy written in much the same key as Huxley's *Point Counter Point*, that is on "the discovery of base, odious or imbecile motives in every living person" (p. 15). Angelo will then appear as an image of "puritanism, lubricity, blackmail, treachery, hypocrisy and injustice; Isabella will be distinguished by frigidity and sex-nausea, Mariana by a lush but spinsterly uxoriousness and Claudio by plain cowardice". The other lays a stress on the Christian coloring which, far from being "no more than intermittent" (Clifford Leech) on the contrary determines "the play's most characteristic effect". Mr. Coghill's interpretation, resting chiefly on the prominence he gives to Lucio's role in the action, is at once subtle and convincing, and I for one am ready to agree with his demonstration that Evil does not always end in Tragedy and that in the fallen world of *Measure for Measure* there is hope for salvation, as in the comedy of Adam.

For Kenneth Muir, whose lecture on *Troilus and Cressida* (delivered at Stratford in 1953) is here reproduced, the reason why *Troilus and Cressida* has been understood in so many different ways lies in the continual "shifting of emphasis which makes the play so difficult to grasp as a unity". Kenneth Muir rises against the current "pessimistic" interpretation of the play which is above all, he says, a play "concerned with the nature of Value", as the imagery clearly shows. But if it is meant to emphasize the false glamour of sex and war in a strongly satiric way sometimes, it also shows that "the violation of order and the betrayal of values . . . do not mean that the Order does not exist, or that all the values are illusions".

As You Like It, by Harold Jenkins (the text of another lecture delivered at Stratford in 1953) is an interesting study of Shakespeare's method in comedy. To Professor Jenkins what makes *As You Like It* different from the other comedies is the defectiveness of its action, "its dearth not only of big theatrical rules but of events linked together by the logical intricacies of cause and effect". In *As You Like It* action is not essential; the comic arises from the juxtaposition or interaction of the contrasting elements in human nature. Indeed everything is set in opposition in the very theme of the play: court and country, reality and conventional pastoral. Shakespeare "builds up his ideal world and lets his idealists scorn the real one. But into their midst he introduces people who mock their ideals and others who mock them", to such an extent that the burlesque as well as the convention seem to be criticized and appear equally untrue. Professor Jenkins very skilfully studies Shakespeare's art of juxtaposition and concludes that in *As You Like It*, in spite of the fact that ideals are always on the point of dissolving, they are "for ever recreating themselves". Therefore the ultimate effect is not negative.

There is much to be learned from Ludwig Borinski's rich essay on "Shakespeare's Comic Prose", also based on a lecture given at Stratford in 1953, which provides us with a method that could be used in studies of the same kind with other Elizabethan dramatists. Mr. Borinski carefully analyzes the quality of Shakespeare's metaphors and jests which, in his opinion, are most often of a visual, highly concrete sort, "picturesque and quaint rather than intellectually revealing", decorative rather than functional. Some of his statements, however, may appear somewhat excessive, as when he says: "the prose scenes are more or less static, devoid of real dramatic action" or "Shakespeare is natural in his verse, but artificial in his prose"; but, on the whole, Mr. Borinski's exposition of the various aspects of Shakespeare's comic prose is very stimulating. He has excellent remarks on Shakespearian euphuism and on the language of Falstaff.

Among the major articles in this volume, Dover Wilson's examination of "Recent Work on the Text of *Romeo and Juliet*" is his second contribution to "The New Way with Shakespeare's Texts". It is difficult to give a detailed review of this masterly piece of textual criticism. The study is centered on Q2 of *Romeo and Juliet*, which, Professor Wilson says, is in some way dependent on Shakespeare's original manuscript but also on Q1, a "bad" quarto, as is generally admitted now.

Much interest is also attached to I. A. Shapiro's discovery of what seems to be the correct date of Mundy's *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, "The Significance of a Date". The plates of enlarged photographs which illustrate Mr. Shapiro's assertion that the play was written in 1590 and perhaps in 1589 (but *not* in 1596) are indeed very convincing. If this be right, the whole problem of *Sir Thomas More* is opened once again. According to Mr. Shapiro, *More* was certainly written by 1593 at latest and possibly earlier (the date of 1591 is suggested) if his explanation of the phrase "John a Cant" in one of the Marprelate tracts is to be accepted. That *John a Kent* may have been contemporary with Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* thus emphasizes the popularity of plays concerned with magic at that time. Marlowe's *Faustus* which set the fashion of such plays could therefore be dated more accurately, perhaps as early as 1588 (but are we sure that *Faustus* set the fashion?) and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which bears some resemblance to *John a Kent* on several points, instead of influencing Mundy's play would be indebted to it for these parallelisms. Enough has been said to show the considerable importance of Mr. Shapiro's

article which, though it does not deal with Shakespeare's comedies essentially, is one of the most interesting subjects in this volume.

Another section of *Shakespeare Survey* deals with the production of the comedies. "Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant", by Richard David reviews Shakespeare productions during the winter of 1953-54, with special reference to *All's Well that Ends Well* at the Old Vic, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at Stratford-upon-Avon, while Tyrone Guthrie gives a brief account of Shakespeare performances (*Richard III*, *All's Well*) at Stratford, Ontario. "A Note on a Production of *Twelfth Night*" in the Antipodes, by Ngaio Marsh, has good remarks on the literary quality of the play in relation to the producer's job. Finally mention should be made of the International Notes and of the full list of Shakespeare production in the United Kingdom in 1953. But the major contribution in this field is undoubtedly "Producing the Comedies" by Sir Barry Jackson, a retrospective survey going back to the early productions of *A Winter's Tale* in 1856 and *The Tempest* in 1857, a time when "The texts of the comedies were larded *ad infinitum* with excrescence, interpolations, musical accompaniments", etc., down to the modern time. Sir Barry regards Gordon Craig's production of *Much Ado about Nothing* in 1903 as a turning-point in that evolution. For the first time it was the text that mattered above all, and that change involved a corresponding simplicity of scenic design that has been the aim of most producers ever since.

The Elizabethan scholar will also be grateful to John Briley for publishing two newly discovered documents: "An Account of Expenses at the Bear Garden (1615-21)" and "Alleyn's Petition to Lord Cranfield", which show that Edward Alleyn was active not only on the theatre's stage but also in the bear-garden's ring, since he is referred to as Master of "His Majesty's Bear-Garden" in one of the documents.

The book ends, as usual, with The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study, in which the Critical Studies are reviewed by Clifford Leech, Shakespeare's Life, Time and Stage by I. A. Shapiro, and the Textual Studies by James G. McManaway—a precious bibliographical source for the scholar.

All the students of Shakespeare will be grateful once more to Professor Allardyce Nicoll for publishing this volume, and they are glad to learn that the ninth volume of *Shakespeare Survey* will have *Hamlet* as its central theme, while the tenth volume will be concerned with "The Roman Plays".

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Shakespeare Survey: An Annual Survey of Shakespearian Study and Production, 9. Ed. ALLARDYCE NICOLL. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. viii + 155; pl. 36. \$3.75.

The *Shakespeare Survey*, rather better than most publications today, reminds us of the old humanistic ideal, "Speak with the many, think with the few." The eight articles on *Hamlet*, the central theme of this issue, vary from so technical a problem as "Hamlet's 'Sullied' or 'Solid' Flesh" to "Hamlet Costumes from Garrick to Gielgud", illustrated with thirty-six plates; yet the first is exceedingly readable, and the second, by linking costume with interpretation, is informative and provocative of thought. There are the usual regular features—"International Notes" and "Shakespeare Productions in the United Kingdom: 1954", as much for the general reader as for the scholar; and for the specialist the indispensable "Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study" and an account of the resources for Shakespeare research in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, which has brought to

Switzerland the most representative as well as "the largest collection of early editions of Shakespeare . . . outside England and America."

There are five remaining items. John P. Cutts, in a scholarly note on "An Unpublished Contemporary Setting of a Shakespeare Song" from *The Winter's Tale*, gives us not only the music, but also a second stanza which does not appear in the text of the play.

There are four excellent longer articles. Dover Wilson, continuing his series on "The New Way with Shakespeare's Texts", brings the lay reader "in sight of Shakespeare's manuscripts". With a lawyer's precision and the zest of a raconteur, he analyzes the evidence that in the famous three pages of *Sir Thomas More* we have Shakespeare's own handwriting; and then shows how its peculiarities are reflected in misprints and even in unusual spellings in the quartos, and how these very defects may prove that the printed version derives from the authentic manuscript of the poet.

In "Garriick's Stratford Jubilee: Reactions in France and Germany", Martha Winburn England writes a vivid chapter in the history of Shakespeare idolatry and of the Romantic Revolt, and shows with deft irony how the Jubilee which provoked satiric laughter in England was hailed abroad by Le Tourner, Herder, and the young Goethe as the spontaneous tribute of a whole people to the poet of nature.

In "Shakespeare and Bohemia" Otakar Vočadlo, apparently with critical insight and scrupulous fairness, writes of the Czech translations of the dramatist and of the central position that Shakespeare occupies in the scholarship, the theatre, and the cultural life of the Czech people. Like the "International Notes" from Czecho-Slovakia, the U.S.S.R., and South Africa (where six plays translated into the Zulu tongue have had an enormous vogue among the natives) Vočadlo's article shows how Shakespeare, if no one else, can surmount the barriers of ideology, nationalism, and race.

In "The Tragic Curve: A Review of two Productions of *Macbeth*", Richard David writes perhaps the most rewarding article in this issue. Having seen neither production, this reviewer does not know how accurately Mr. David describes the performance at the Old Vic as "a melodrama"—almost "a man-hunt"—or how objective is his enthusiastic praise of Olivier's acting at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford. Yet the review wins the reader, for Mr. David's praise and blame are never unqualified, and at every turn he shows a sensitive insight into the play and into the arts of the producer and the actor. Inevitably he leaves some of our questions unanswered. In the scene of Banquo's ghost, did the spectators feel the ghost to be objective or only the figment of Macbeth's fevered imagination? This is no academic question, for if we regard the ghost as imaginary, we must consider Macbeth utterly unstrung and practically insane. If we consider it objective (as Kittredge has shown that the Elizabethans did) we find in Macbeth's calm toast to Banquo ("Would he were here!") a superb courage and self-command. Again, was it entirely "idle of the critics to object that the lesser parts at Stratford were weakly played"? Surely if Banquo was only "a forthright, bustling, unimaginative soldier", it is hard to see how even Olivier could bring out every facet of Macbeth's character. For from their first scene together, Banquo's sober judgment and his religious habit of mind point up Macbeth's excited imagination, confused thinking, and lack of any religious defences against a diabolical temptation. Once more, could Shakespeare, in a play obviously intended to please a Scottish king, have meant to draw a contrast between "savage, bestial, devil-possessed Scotland", and "England, humane, civilized England"?

Whatever weight we give to queries like these, Mr. David's paper remains a model of what a play-review should be. He shows how truly memorable the Stratford production was. Clearly Sir Laurence's *Macbeth* compensates for his unfortunate moving-picture of *Hamlet*, and perhaps even rivals his superb *Henry the Fifth*.

The reviews in "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study" are as usual informative, scrupulously fair, and keenly discriminating. If there are serious omissions in Kenneth Muir's survey of Critical Studies, R. A. Foakes's of Shakespeare's Life, Times and Stage, or James G. McManaway's of Textual Studies, I have not been in a position to discover them. For the busy scholar, especially the college teacher, the service they have rendered is invaluable.

Turning back to the eight articles on *Hamlet*, one confesses to a mild feeling of disappointment. There is no compelling study of a major subject. Each, however, is on a worth-while topic, and each is excellent in its way.

E. A. J. Honigmann and Fredson Bowers throw fresh light on important if minor problems—"the Date of *Hamlet*" and "Hamlet's 'Sullied' or 'Solid' Flesh". Mr. Honigmann cautiously concludes that "the most likely date of composition seems to be late 1599 to early 1600". The argument for 1599 rests heavily on Harvey's undated jottings in his 1598 Chaucer, but the case for 1600 is impressive. Mr. Bowers presents the strongest evidence that has yet been offered for abandoning the Folio reading, "solid". He would substitute the Quarto reading, "sallied", not Wilson's emendation, "sullied", pointing out that "sallied" is a legitimate though rare variant of "sullied", with the same meaning. Those of us who are not experts in these matters will await with lively interest the replies which these articles will provoke from other specialists.

A study of imagery is found in "*Hamlet* and the Court of Elsinore". Here R. A. Foakes corrects the prevailing over-emphasis on images of poison, disease, and corruption. Without accepting his inferences about Hamlet's character, one may heartily endorse his main conclusion: the Danish court is "at the same time a place of nobility, chivalry, dignity, religion, and a prison, a place of treachery, spying and, under this, corruption."

Four papers deal with *Hamlet* as a stage play. E. Martin Browne, in his account of "English Hamlets of the Twentieth Century", combines engaging reminiscences with seasoned criticism, reserving his special praise for Forbes-Robertson and Gielgud. (Incidentally, there is a minor error concerning Forbes-Robertson's farewell in 1913. It was not quite final so far as America was concerned; for I saw him in 1916 in Sanders Theatre at Harvard, where on the tercentenary of the poet's death he was concluding his last American tour.) A pleasing feature of Mr. Browne's paper is the style. Why do the English come so much nearer than we to the Horatian ease and charm, and the art that seems no art at all?

George F. Reynolds ("*Hamlet* at the Globe") shares the growing doubts of "the very existence of a permanent inner stage at the Globe at the time when *Hamlet* was produced", and argues for a removable curtain well in front of the tiring-house wall. He concludes with a tentative schedule suggesting which of the scenes were played on the full stage and which on the "front stage", that is, in front of the curtain. In "*Hamlet* Costumes from Garrick to Gielgud", D. A. Russell's text and his thirty-six plates illumine two centuries of *Hamlet* stage history. Paul Benichet, in "*Hamlet* at the Comédie Française: 1769-1896", shows how the French, at once attracted and repelled by Shakespeare's play, have never yet had the authentic text presented on the public stage of Paris.

Perhaps the most important and surely the most provocative article is Clif-

ford Leech's "Studies in Hamlet, 1901-1955". The fairness, the honest facing of hard facts (like "Hamlet's bawdy and brutal talk"), the distrust of easy simplifications, and the awareness of the tragic dilemma, which have won respect in Mr. Leech's other writings, are here in abundance. Many of his judgments will command general agreement, in spite of his partiality for the Bradleians and the Freudians. Certainly no "account of the play has been so inclusive as" Bradley's, and "the play has become smaller in the hands of some of Bradley's successors". Yet the reaction against Bradley, at least in America, is better grounded and far more significant than Mr. Leech has assumed. His most surprising omission is the failure even to mention Professor George Lyman Kittredge, who for the first four decades of this century was widely regarded as the most eminent living American Shakespearian, and whose interpretation of *Hamlet* challenges the whole critical tradition from Coleridge to Bradley and his disciples.

In contrast to Bradley's Hegelian approach, Kittredge's was as inductive as Bacon's or Darwin's. Recognizing the "vast array of preconceived ideas—good and bad" of which "we are the unconscious inheritors", Kittredge sought the meaning of Shakespeare in his idiom, in the ideas of his age, and in the dramatic method which the Elizabethan playwrights and their audiences assumed as a matter of course. An invariable principle of their dramatic exposition, he found, was "to make every significant point as clear as daylight, and to omit nothing that the writer regarded as of importance." Hence "a momentous corollary": "Nothing that is omitted is of any significance." There are complexities, subtleties, and profundities in Shakespeare's best plays which a gifted student may analyze and a gifted spectator may sense, but they cannot contradict the broad effects which will be obvious to the simplest groundling. Hence Kittredge never doubted Hamlet's love for Ophelia, because we learn of it from her own lips and from both his speeches and his letters. He saw Hamlet as always sane, for the prince himself tells us he will put on madness as a disguise, he talks madly only to people he must deceive, he always talks sanely in soliloquy and to Horatio, and Horatio (his one confidant) always regards him as sane. The same inductive method led Kittredge to see the play as the tragedy not merely of the prince but of a whole group. Horatio, Gertrude, Polonius, Ophelia gain in stature, and Claudius emerges as one of Shakespeare's most powerful creations.

A lifelong student of demonology, Professor Kittredge pointed out to his Harvard students the utter unreliability of a ghost, a generation before Dover Wilson made the same discovery. No sane man could act on the uncorroborated evidence of a spectre who might easily be a demon, sent to beguile him into committing an atrocious crime. Hamlet believes the ghost's story, but cannot act without proof—which is almost impossible to get since the criminal had neither accomplice nor witness. By the play within the play, Hamlet achieves the remarkable feat of forcing the criminal to testify against himself. Then unexpectedly comes his only opportunity to avenge his father before the end, but by a supreme dramatic irony it is the one moment when his adversary is kneeling in prayer, and when to strike is a moral impossibility. As a result, the king can lay his counterplots. The play, in short, is a duel to the death between two "mighty opposites".

Thus Kittredge repudiates the entire tradition of the procrastinating prince. Yet his Hamlet is no simple extravert. He is as complex as Bradley's, though in very different ways. A courtier, scholar, soldier, he is yet fallible enough to be at one time or another unnerved temporarily by his interview with a ghost, depressed by enforced idleness, unreasonably angry at others or himself, or eager for vengeance yet too civilized to relish bloodshed; he is, in short, a man of

genius and of daring action, who "was likely, had he been put on, To have proved most royally."

It is a major loss to scholarship that Kittredge never put his views on Shakespeare's plays into such a volume as his masterly *Chaucer and his Poetry*. Perhaps that is why his interpretation of *Hamlet* has had less notice in England than in this country. It is accessible, however, in his remarkable tercentenary address, *Shakspere* (1916), and in his edition of the play (1939), which seem likely to remain in print for many decades.

No doubt he made mistakes, as I think he did in his comments on the nun-nery scene and on Hamlet's words when sparing the king at prayer. He left some things undone: he never formulated a theory of tragedy, and he had little to say of the philosophical or religious implications in the play; for with his Johnsonian common sense and respect for fact, he was perhaps unduly cautious of generalization. But anyone who challenges his conclusions or seeks to supply his omissions must meet him on his own ground, and begin by seeing the dramatic character as it is revealed in the dramatic method of the poets who had to make all the essentials clear to the simplest spectator. In that context there is ample room for psychological subtleties and for theories of tragedy, but those offered by the Bradleians or the Freudians will sometimes look a bit wide of the mark.

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Romeo and Juliet (New Cambridge Shakespeare). Edited by JOHN DOVER WILSON, assisted by GEORGE IAN DUTHIE. Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. [liv] + 249. \$3.00.

In this, the twenty-ninth volume of the New Cambridge Shakespeare, Professor Dover Wilson has been joined by Professor Duthie as co-editor. The result of their collaboration is an edition which will be found stimulating by students and scholars alike. Professor Duthie contributes an enthusiastic Introduction; a valuable Stage History is supplied, as usual, by Mr. C. B. Young; and as in earlier volumes the Notes contain an abundance of useful information. So, likewise, does the Glossary, especially in the often neglected area of bawdy innuendo. A thoughtfully chosen frontispiece reproduces Isaac Oliver's miniature of a young Elizabethan gentleman in a meditative attitude, doubtfully supposed to be Sir Philip Sidney and delightfully suggestive of Romeo. It is perhaps only a detail, but one is grateful for the editors' courtesy to the reader in printing full-length speech-headings, an original and happily continuing feature of the New Cambridge Shakespeare which might be more widely imitated in modernized texts than it is. Another feature of earlier volumes is conspicuous through absence: triple dots, those sometime will-o'-the-wisps of the New Cambridge swamps, do not once occur in the punctuation of *Romeo and Juliet*. In further contrast to earlier volumes, there is practically no trace here of "disintegration" or "continuous copy": excepting a note by Professor Dover Wilson on p. 209, there is nothing in this edition to contradict the view that *Romeo and Juliet*, despite its differing levels of style (discussed by Professor Duthie in the Introduction, pp. xiv-xvi), is completely the work of Shakespeare and that it was written by him at a single stage of his development as a poet and dramatist. Rejecting the Nurse's allusion to the earthquake of 1580, Professor Duthie follows Chambers in putting the composition in 1595.

Like all previous editions of *Romeo and Juliet*, this one is deficient in two important bibliographical areas: its editors have not collated extant exemplars of

Q2 (the copy-text) in order to establish the text of that edition with respect to press-variant readings; nor have they determined whether Q2 was set up in type by one or two (or more) compositors. (On p. 116 they opine that Q2 is the work of a single compositor, but no evidence is forthcoming in support of this statement.) Precise knowledge on these points would enable an editor to deal far more authoritatively than hitherto with numerous textual cruxes.¹

Nevertheless, the New Cambridge text includes many felicities. (Here the reader must remember that Q2 derives mainly from Shakespeare's "foul papers", and that Q1 is a memorial reconstruction deriving ultimately from the prompt-book version of Shakespeare's company.) One is Professor Dover Wilson's brilliant new emendation of Q2's "My Neece" to "My niëss" at II.ii.168 (Globe numbering), a "niesse" or "nyas", like its later variant "eyas" in *Hamlet*, being of course a fledgling hawk removed from the nest. (For "My Neece" Q1 has "Madame", but previous editors have usually emended the Q2 reading either to Q4's "My Deere" or to F2's "My sweete".) Another happy emendation is that of Mercutio's line which appears in Q2 as "An open, or thou a Poprin Peare" (II.i.38). We are, of course, familiar with the variant reading of Q1, since this has been adopted by practically all editors since the early eighteenth century: "An open *Et cætera*, thou a poprin Peare". In accordance with sound editorial theory, Professor Dover Wilson emends Q2 independently of Q1, arriving at what seems to the reviewer unquestionably the correct reading: "An open-arse and thou a poperin pear". The demonstration is easily on a level with the best work in the New Cambridge Shakespeare: "Most edd. follow Q1. But Mer. is more precise: (i) he talks of medlars, and 'medlar' is 'open-ers' in Chaucer (*Reeve's Prol.* 17) and still 'open-arse' in dialect (v. O.E.D. and D.D.), while 'ers' or 'ars' might easily be misread 'ore' in Sh.'s hand, and then transcribed or set up 'or'; (ii) he speaks of the fruits as complementary not alternative so that 'and' not 'or' is required. But once the scribe or compositor had accepted 'or' the 'and' would naturally be deleted as superfluous."²

The provision of place-headings and a meticulous division of the text into "scenes" (both continuing requirements, unfortunately, of the New Cambridge Shakespeare) cause a certain amount of familiar trouble in interrupting the continuity of action and destroying the fluidity of scene at I.iv-v and IV.iv-v. In one of his articles on Elizabethan staging, Professor Reynolds has aptly criticized these relics of eighteenth-century editing: "So long as editors continue to introduce into the old plays their own misleading divisions into scenes and their own meaningless location of scenes, so long will the plays seem chaotic and unintelligible. But as soon as they are considered from the point of view of the symbolic stage, there is hardly an extant play which does not become reasonable, coherent, and effective" (*Modern Philology*, 1905, pp. 96-97). On the other hand, the New Cambridge editors must be congratulated on their solution of the problem at II.i-ii. Here, assuming identity of scene in II.i and II.ii (in which Mercutio "conjures" Romeo, and Juliet appears at the window), they dispense with the usual interrupting place-heading for II.ii, so that, in view of the abbreviated form and unobtrusive location of scene-numbers happily customary in the New

¹ A study of the printing of Q2, by Paul L. Cantrell and George W. Williams, will appear in *Studies in Bibliography*, IX (1957).

² Since it is not cited by the O.E.D., a contemporary analogue to this use of the term "open-arse" may be of sufficient interest to warrant recording here. It occurs in Chapman's *Busy D'Ambois* (III.ii, ed. Parrott), where Monsieur, the Guise, and Montsurry are engaged in badinage with Charlotte, Annable, and Pero. Charlotte says, in response to a quip by Montsurry, "We are no windfalls, my lord; ye must gather us with the ladder of matrimony, or we'll hang till we be rotten." To this Monsieur promptly replies, "Indeed, that's the way to make ye right open-arses." Then somewhat later, as the ladies leave the stage, the Guise calls after Charlotte, "Farewell, medlar!"

Cambridge Shakespeare, the text remains as it should be: uninterrupted in accordance with Elizabethan continuity of action. But the general inappropriateness of place-headings in Elizabethan dramatic texts is well illustrated by this edition. For example, a place-heading tells us that the action of I.iii (in which the Mother first notifies Juliet of the proposed match with Paris) takes place "*Within Capulet's house*"; but there is nothing in the dialogue to prevent us from imagining the scene as (say) the orchard, a locality which, indeed, is occasionally represented in realistic productions. Again, a place-heading localizes the scene of II.iii (in which Romeo first meets the Friar) as "*Friar Lawrence's cell*"; but if we like we may imagine the scene as the street before a monastery or church, or even (as Capell did in his edition of 1768) as "*Fields near a Convent*". Again, for III.ii (in which Juliet learns of Romeo's banishment) the New Cambridge editors content themselves with the general place-heading "*Capulet's house*", suggesting in a note that the scene may be Juliet's bedroom; but the dialogue makes no restriction, so that we are again free (if we choose) to imagine the scene as "An Apartment in Capulet's House" after Rowe (1709), as "Capulet's Garden" after Capell, or as "Capulet's orchard" after the Globe editors (1864). The old conclusions seem inescapable that where we are meant to know the scene of an Elizabethan action the dialogue will tell us, and that where the dialogue does not specify we are not meant to inquire. One remembers Granville-Barker's suggestion in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* that the student "will be well advised to erase from his book all the localizations of the editors".

The stage directions of the New Cambridge *Romeo and Juliet* are occasionally as "realistic" as any in earlier volumes of the series: at III. v. 40, for example, Juliet, in accordance with Professor Dover Wilson's direction, "*bolts the door*", and a few moments later at line 68 she "*unlocks*" it to admit the Mother. Pollard's criticism of such stage directions, voiced in his *Library* review of the New Cambridge *Tempest*, is as pertinent today as it was in 1922: "The most daring of the new features is the introduction of new stage-directions, which enable readers to visualize the scenery and the byplay and moods of the characters as the editors with the aid of their united study and imagination see them. To nine readers out of ten these new stage-directions will be really helpful; the tenth, when he first catches sight of them, may complain that they fetter his own imagination and criticize them as footnotes brought up into the text." One may add that nine readers out of ten will probably also, in proportion as they find such stage directions helpful, derive from them totally false impressions of the nature of Elizabethan staging.

On two occasions the stage directions conflate exclusively modern with exclusively Elizabethan methods of production. At the beginning of I. v Professor Dover Wilson provides the following direction: "*Enter the masquers, march round the hall, and stand aside.*" But this creates an anomaly, for the exit of the maskers at the end of I. iv and their immediate re-entrance at the beginning of I. v are appropriate only to curtained-stage production in a proscenium-arch theatre, whereas the marching about the stage (signifying to an Elizabethan audience, as the editors note, a change of locality without the players leaving the stage) is appropriate only to production upon the "open" stage of an Elizabethan public theatre. (This useful term is borrowed from Richard Southern's illuminating study, *The Open Stage and the Modern Theatre in Research and Practice*, London, 1953.) Surely no production has ever utilized both the exit and re-entrance and the marching. Again, following up a suggestion by Professor Adams in *The Globe Playhouse* (p. 274), the New Cambridge editors provide a direction for disposing of the rope ladder at III. v. 65 (Globe numbering): Juliet "*pulls up and conceals the ladder.*" Certainly the ladder poses a production

problem in an Elizabethan public theatre: since a curtain cannot be dropped on it, the ladder must presumably be removed from the audience's view by a player. Juliet may pull it up, although the player would probably find it more convenient to do so somewhat before line 65; or, more conveniently still, she may drop it to Romeo, who carries it offstage at line 59 when he leaves the orchard. In any case, disposing of the ladder is a feature of Elizabethan open-stage production, where the gallery and stage represent the exterior of Juliet's window and the orchard below. It is not, however, a feature of curtained-stage production, for the proscenium-arch stage director, in representing the interior of Juliet's bedroom from the beginning of III. v, usually dispenses altogether with a ladder since the audience does not witness Romeo's descent but only his exit through a window at the back of the set; or if a ladder *is* used (as a "hand" property), it is automatically disposed of by Romeo's hanging it out the window, where the audience cannot see it. Thus the result of directing Juliet to pull up and hide the ladder is another anomaly. One feels that the New Cambridge editors are having the best of two theatrical worlds.

The editors' Note on the Copy, together with a supplementary article by Professor Dover Wilson in Volume 8 of *Shakespeare Survey* (1955), proposes an hypothesis of the copy for Q₂ which, since it fails fully to explain the facts of the text in that edition, will be received by bibliographers and textual critics with some diffidence. (In fact, the inadequacy of the hypothesis is demonstrated by the editors' frequent failure to edit their text in accordance with its clear implications.) The problem is a complex one, to which I shall propose a rather different solution in Volume IX of *Studies in Bibliography* (1957). Here I can only briefly indicate some *a priori* objections to the position held by the New Cambridge editors.⁸

An editor of *Romeo and Juliet* must concern himself with three general questions regarding the nature and relationship of the two authoritative editions, Q₁ (1597) and Q₂ (1599). The first is the nature of the text printed in Q₁. This question is happily no longer an issue, for it is now generally agreed that the Q₁ text represents a memorial reconstruction deriving ultimately from the prompt-book version of Shakespeare's company. The second is the nature of the manuscript authority behind Q₂. This question is also not much of an issue, for it has long been generally agreed that Q₂ derives mainly from Shakespeare's foul papers, from which the promptbook had in turn been ultimately derived. The third is the nature and extent of Q₁'s influence upon the text of Q₂ during the printing of that edition. In considering this "contamination" one must further distinguish between two problems. Critics have long agreed that a section of Q₂ on sigs. B3-4 was printed directly from Q₁ with almost no substantive alteration. The end of the passage is usually given as I. iii. 35 in the Globe numbering, whereas its beginning has been variously given as I. ii. 46, 54, and 58. (On the basis of the bibliographical evidence, the reviewer believes that the beginning of the reprinted passage is at I. ii. 52.) In any case, no one disputes the general proposition that a Q₂ passage of some ninety lines was printed directly from Q₁. The second (and major) problem is posed by a number of scattered "bibliographical links" between Q₁ and Q₂ beyond the reprinted passage in I. ii and I. iii. This sporadic contamination is granted by almost all critics, but on the question of how it occurred there has been considerable disagreement during the last thirty years. Broadly speaking, two general hypotheses have been advanced. The first postulates intermittent consultation of an exemplar of Q₁ by the Q₂

⁸ It should be pointed out that on p. 83 of his *Shakespeare Survey* article Professor Wilson has inadvertently listed more evidence than actually exists: the speech-headings common to Q₁ and Q₂ at I. ii. 46-58 do not run *Ben. Romeo. Ben. Romeo. Ben. Romeo. Ben. Rom.*, but *Ben. Romeo. Ben. Romeo. Ben. Rom.*

compositor in the process of setting up Q2 from Shakespeare's foul papers. The second postulates an editor's annotation of an exemplar of Q1 by reference to the foul papers so as (with the addition of occasional transcribed insert slips) to bring the text of the quarto into substantive agreement with that of the manuscript; and the use of such an annotated quarto as copy for Q2. It is this latter hypothesis which has been adopted in the New Cambridge edition of *Romeo and Juliet*.

According to this hypothesis, the Q2 editor acted in the service of Thomas Creede, the printer of Q2, but since the foul papers were not fully available the work of annotation and transcription had to be done at the theatre (*Shakespeare Survey*, pp. 90, 96). Thus the hypothesis of annotated quarto copy is based on a series of improbabilities. (1) Shakespeare's company (the Lord Chamberlain's Men) sold their text of *Romeo and Juliet* but refused to provide the publisher (Cuthbert Burby) with a manuscript for use as printer's copy, even though the withheld manuscript was Shakespeare's foul papers and therefore of no theatrical value to the company. Furthermore (2), Burby was willing to buy this text from a seller who would not provide a manuscript for use as copy. (This transaction must be distinguished from the entirely separate one of Burby's presumptive establishment of copyright in *Romeo and Juliet*.) Then (3) Creede was willing to print the text from what, if we may judge by the frequent and considerable discrepancies between Q1 and Q2, must occasionally have been exceedingly foul annotated quarto copy, even though Burby (who in buying the text without a manuscript had obviously incurred the expense of preparing printer's copy) would presumably have allowed the slightly greater expense of preparing a full transcript for use as copy. And finally (4), when the Q2 editor arrived at the theatre to prepare the quarto copy, the Chamberlain's Men forced him to work from the foul papers when the promptbook should have been readily available to simplify his task.

In addition to these general improbabilities required by the hypothesis of annotated quarto copy, there are a number of further improbabilities connected with the specific manner in which the quarto copy was supposedly prepared. Here the New Cambridge editors' own testimony is relevant, for they write that the Q2 editor "was on the one hand so careless in his collation of the MS that [1] he overlooked a number of errors in Q1 which he ought to have corrected, and on the other hand so unintelligently meticulous in his transcription [of insert slips, which in many cases must have become full manuscript pages] that [2] he reproduced Shakespeare's first and second shots together, [3] replaced obviously correct literary stage-directions in Q1 by such purely theatrical ones as 'Enter Will Kemp', and, when he found one of Shakespeare's words difficult to read, as he often did, [4] spelt it out *literatim* with little or no regard for the sense of the passage" (edition, p. 115; compare *Shakespeare Survey*, p. 96). One can only agree with Professor Dover Wilson that the Q2 editor must have been a very stupid fellow indeed (*Survey*, p. 93).

One howler has crept into the Note on the Copy at p. 112: the First Folio text of *Romeo and Juliet* was not printed from Q2 but from Q3, itself printed from Q2 in 1609. An important omission is the editors' failure to record the Q1 direction for Juliet's descent from the gallery to the lower stage, "*She goeth downe from the window*" (III. v. 64a). Another is their failure to use or record the Q1 direction "*Enter musitions*" at IV. v. 95. (Here the editors adopt Q4's unauthoritative entrance of the Musicians at IV. v. 32.) Other errors and omissions which might be corrected in a second impression are listed below (line-numbering of the New Cambridge edition). I. i. 196-197 (p. 128): Q1 reads not "left" but "lost" (as in Q2). The emendation to "left" was first made by P. A.

Daniel (1875). I. i. 220: The full stop after "wisely too fair" is evidently a misprint; Q2 has a comma. I. ii. 15 (p. 131): The reading "She is" occurs not in Q1 (which omits the line in question) but in Q4 and F2. I. ii. 26 (p. 131): Q1 reads not "young men" but "youngmen". I. ii. 58-I. iii. 36 (p. 133): This passage is not "Identical" in Q1 and Q2; in addition to a great many "accidental" variants, there are five "substantive" ones, two of which are noted by the editors (I. ii. 71, 80). I. iii. 12: Here, where Q1 sig. B4 undeniably served as copy for Q2 and therefore presumably also as copy-text for the present edition, the New Cambridge emendation of Q1's "*a houre*" to "an hour" is not recorded. (Q2 reads "*an houre*".) Similarly, at I. iii. 33 and 36, where the first two and a half lines of Q1 sig. B4v undeniably served as copy for Q2 and therefore presumably also as copy-text for the present edition, the New Cambridge emendations of Q1 "*Dugge*" to "the dug" and of Q1 "*yeare*" to "years" are not recorded. (Q2 reads "*the Dugge*" and "*yeares*".) I. iv. 72: The emendation of Q2 "Cursies" to "curtsies" is not recorded, although the same emendation is noted at II. iv. 54 (p. 169). II. ii. 84: The emendation of Q2 "marchandise" to "merchandise" is not recorded. II. ii. 159 (p. 158): The form "*tassel-gentel*" is evidently a misprint for "*tassel-gentle*". II. iv. 33 (p. 167): Q1 reads not "pardon mees" but "pardonmees". II. iv. 149 (p. 171): The editors fail to suggest a reading for which Q1-2 "skaines mates" may be a common error. III. i. 56: The reading "wears" is evidently a misprint for "wear"; Q2 has "weare". III. i. 121 (p. 180): Q1 reads not "Aliue" but "A liue". III. iii. 26 (p. 187): Q1 reads not "rusht" but "rushd". III. iii. 78: The question mark after "I come, I come" is evidently a misprint; Q2 has a full stop. III. iii. 81 SD: The shift of the Nurse's entrance from its Q2 location at line 79 is not recorded. III. iii. 140: The reading "too", for which there is no authority in Q2 or Q1, is silently added to the end of this line. (The reading "too" does occur at line 138 in Q1.) III. v. 31 (p. 193): The conjecture referred to is not "changed" but "changd". IV. i. 49-96 (p. 200): The form "yealow" (line 83) is not a common spelling; although it occurs in Q2, Q1 here reads "yeolow". IV. v. 95 SD: The Q1 stage direction for casting rosemary on Juliet (here incorporated in the New Cambridge text) reads not "*upon*" but "*on*". V. i. 15 (p. 212): Q1's authority for the emendation of Q2 "doth" to "fares" is not cited. V. i. 57a: The Q1 stage direction here incorporated in the New Cambridge text ("*Enter Apothecarie*") should be printed within inverted commas. The Q1 direction "*They fight*" at V. iii. 70 should also be enclosed in inverted commas. V. iii. 139: No exit is provided for Balthasar, who must leave the stage at this point in order to re-enter at line 181. V. iii. 232 (p. 220): Q2 reads not "thats *Romeo*" but "thats *Romeos*".

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RICHARD HOSLEY

The Tempest (The Arden Shakespeare). Edited by FRANK KERMODE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. lxxxviii + 167. \$3.50.

The Arden edition has long been accounted one of the most useful editions of Shakespeare for the educated but non-specialist reader. In the "new" Arden, Mr. Kermode carries on this valuable tradition. The textual notes are frequent, full, and illuminating. The Introduction, which traverses very little covered by Morton Luce's "old" Arden edition and for the most part breaks new ground, contains 78 pages as compared with Luce's 62. A comparison of the section-headings of the two Introductions reveals a good deal about the different courses Shakespearean scholarship was charting for itself at the beginning of the twentieth century (first edition 1902) and at the middle of the century. Luce's headings read:

Part I. Sources of *The Tempest*. Part II. Evidence as to Date. Part III. Characteristics of the Play. (a) As a Work of Art (b) As a Criticism of Life (c) As an Autobiography.

Kermode's Introduction is sub-divided into:

1. Text—Date—Integrity. (I) The First Folio (II) Theories of Earlier Versions. 2. Themes of the Play. 3. The New World. (I) The Bermuda Pamphlets (II) News from the New World. 4. Nature. (I) Natural Men (II) A Salvage and Deformed Slave. 5. Art. (I) Buds of Nobler Race (II) Prospero's Art. 6. Art and Nature. (I) The Vigour of Vice (II) The Magic of Nobility. 7. Pastoral Tragicomedy. 8. Analogous Literature. 9. Structure—Masque Elements. 10. Verse—Imagery. 11. "Tempest" Criticism.

Apart from Luce's work on the sources of the play wherein he did a pioneer job whose worth Kermode handsomely acknowledges, and apart from evidence for the date of composition, a matter which must be treated by an editor anyway, Luce's edition has an "inward" orientation. Consideration of the play "As a Work of Art", for example, brings out its structure, its general tone, and a character-analysis, particularly of Caliban. Taking up the play "As a Criticism of Life", the editor reveals the inwardness of his approach by the key sentence: "This we shall do best by taking the poet into our confidence, or by watching him as he sets about his new drama, *The Tempest*." The sub-heading "As an Autobiography" speaks for itself. Underlying all this is the assumption—with certain qualifications which Luce does make—that it lies within us to put ourselves imaginatively beside Shakespeare, sometimes inside him, and observe how he worked, how he must have been thinking, even feeling, while he composed the play.

The orientation of Kermode's Introduction is "outward". His section on "Nature" does not contemplate Shakespeare as a natural, spontaneous artist, but rather considers the attitude toward primitivism and the savage man revealed in writings of Shakespeare's time. His section on "Art" takes us into Renaissance theories on nobility and the education of princes. This awareness of what was going on *outside* of Shakespeare pervades these and most of the other portions of Kermode's Introduction.

One is tempted to speculate whether a "third" Arden edition of a half-century hence will be "inward" once more. Our "outward" investigations of recent decades into such areas as the physical conditions of the playhouses, critical theories, rhetorical principles, and psychological theories have added strength and weight to our speculations about the plays and saved us from the temptation which at the turn of the century, as Kermode says, "led even scholars into the wilderness of undisciplined allegory." Nevertheless, there is a certain aridity in present-day investigations. Many of us who are teachers of college undergraduate Shakespeare courses find ourselves going back to Bradley when we need to prime our pedagogical pump. And I am sure the lay reader of Shakespeare comes away from Bradley or even Dowden refreshed and satisfied as he cannot be after reading more recent books which it would be invidious to name. Dithyrambic Bradley, Dowden, and their followers may be, but never arid. "Shall these bones live?" we may ask ourselves. Yes, but only if the coming generations of scholars can open some Bradleyan springs.

These remarks are not intended to cast a shadow on Kermode's work as an editor. He presents the material of recent scholarship spiritedly and gracefully. Your reviewer does not see how it could be done better and concedes that he couldn't do it half so well himself. The aridity is not Kermode's; it is a product of the present scholarly climate.

Since *Fi*, the one substantive text of *The Tempest*, provides a very clean, and, on the whole, clear version, Kermode's editing is justifiably conservative. He retains the speech-prefix *Mir.* at I.ii.353 for a speech which many editors have given to Prospero. He keeps *scamels* instead of sea-mells (sea-mews) at II.ii.172 on the ground that it may have a meaning now lost to us, just as he holds to "Most busy lest" (III.i.15) because it encompasses a meaning less feeble than the emendations that have been offered. Characteristic of his departures from *Fi* is "forth at vast of night" in place of "for that vast of night." No reader need fear that the editor has taken liberties with Shakespeare's text.

To an American writing this review for an American journal, it is gratifying to encounter in a work by an English editor so much awareness of American scholarship. Without having made a census, I have the impression that references to American books and articles somewhat outnumber those to British productions. As one who has rejoiced at and benefited from the spirit of free-masonry that an American scholar finds in English scholarly circles, I do not think that there is any plot or prejudice against American work. But I would put it as a fact that an English scholar is less likely to take trans-Atlantic output into account than is an American, perhaps because English university libraries do not have such well-stocked periodical departments as their American counterparts. Whatever the causes, Kermode has overcome the limitations triumphantly. His edition is a model—one might almost say a monument—of Anglo-American intellectual cross-fertilization.

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HARRY R. HOPPE

Tragicomedy, Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England. By MARVIN T. HERRICK. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1955. Pp. 323. \$5.00 cloth, \$4.00 paper.

Using "tragicomedy" in various of the senses given it by classical or Renaissance writers, one can compile an amazingly wide list of tragicomedies: Connelly's *Green Pastures* ("decorum" violated by the introduction of a deity into comedy); Euripides' *Electra* (a happy ending for Electra); Fry's *The Lady's Not for Burning* (matter and mirth interfused); *Hamlet* (actually identified as a tragicomedy by one eighteenth-century critic because of the comic scenes along with the tragic); and *Oklahoma* (a tragic issue, threatened by Jud, gives way to a happy ending). In view of all this, it is not hard to see why "tragicomedy", referring to too much, came to mean too little and is no longer in use as a serious critical term, though surviving as a historical label for the type of romantic play brought to its highest development by Beaumont and Fletcher and their imitators. The standard work on this seventeenth-century tragicomedy has long been F. H. Ristine's *English Tragicomedy: Its Origin and History*. It is not superseded by the book now under review.

Professor Herrick starts well. After effectively reviewing the classical background of tragicomedy—the term was, of course, first coined by Plautus—he gives us a first-rate chapter on "The Christian Terence", the interesting process by which sixteenth-century humanists sought to produce a didactic religious drama which would impose "the formal structure of classical comedy upon the loosely-made medieval drama", while retaining the old medieval freedom to insert comic scenes into a serious argument. This field has never been properly explored, and Professor Herrick's readers will be grateful for his illuminating comments. Since the plays concerned are mostly neo-Latin and not readily available, Professor Herrick wins our gratitude by synthesizing for us some twenty-three of them. Later in his book he says something about the influence of the

"Christian Terence" on the drama written for the Elizabethan playhouses. This is a subject one would like to see explored more fully. As it is, one is doubtful about the assertion that Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts* is "a descendant of the prodigal-son plays" of the humanist scholars.

Following an unexceptional discussion of Giraldo Cinthio's contribution to tragicomedy, we have a chapter on "Post-Cinthian Tragedy with a Happy Ending". This latter adds little to our knowledge of tragicomedy. What it gives us is an extended study of those few Italians who followed Cinthio in his preference for tragedies, such as some of those of Euripides, which end happily for the good characters. While conceding, in a notable understatement, that these *tragedie miste* are "hardly typical specimens of tragicomedy" and though admitting that they indeed contributed "seemingly little" to tragicomedy, Professor Herrick gives us synopses of tragedies on the theme of Merope by Cavalierino, Liviera, and Torelli. These synopses—they are not critiques, but the baldest statements of *minutiae* of plot—extend for fourteen pages of rather small print.

Pastoral tragicomedy is examined next. Professor Herrick records his agreement on various points with Greg and Marsan, and gives us synopses in remarkable detail of twenty-one pastoral plays. The critical connective tissue between the synopses becomes rather tenuous, and there is little concern with anything beyond the rather obvious externalities. We are given two pages of rather perfunctory comment on so important a play as Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* (including the surprising statement that in the outcome "nothing is definitely decided"—after all the Sullen Shepherd and his kind are banished, while Amarillis is "brought again to virgin state"), before being launched on a three and one-half page synopsis of Randolph's *Amyntas*.

Coming to "French Tragicomedy from Garnier to Corneille", Professor Herrick at once points out that since Lancaster's work has removed the need for any systematic historical survey, he need look only at the most significant French tragicomedies. Accordingly, while keeping us aware of the "steady though far from unbroken transition from *drame libre* to tragedy with a happy ending", Professor Herrick gives us a six-page synopsis of Garnier's *Les Juifs*, and somewhat less extended accounts of what happens in plays by Mairet, Schelandre, Pichou, Mareschal, Du Ryer, Rotrou and Scudéry.

The study of English tragicomedy begins with a chapter on the development before Beaumont and Fletcher. When it comes right down to cases, Professor Herrick has little that is new to tell us and half the chapter consists of synopses of plays ranging from Gager's *Ulysses Redux* (Herrick observes that even the neo-Latin drama in England reflects "the Englishman's preference for free form"), to Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*. One finds oneself at a loss to know why we must be given the plot of *Antonio's Revenge*, a dire Elizabethan tragedy of blood. However, since the earlier *Antonio and Mellida* ended happily, the sequel apparently must be synopsized too. Some slips occur in this chapter: in *Measure for Measure* Claudio was not arrested for "violating" Juliet—it was "most mutual entertainment"; 1631 is much too late for Dekker's *Match Me in London*, for Herbert mentioned it as an old play in his office book in 1623.

At the outset of his chapter on "English Tragicomedy from Fletcher Through Davenant", Professor Herrick makes obvious his feeling that too much emphasis has been given to Beaumont and Fletcher:

While they may have perfected the type and established it as the most popular dramatic form in England during the first half of the seventeenth century, they did not introduce it.

This pronouncement would be more noteworthy if Ristine had not pointed out years ago that *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado* and, even more significantly, Greene's *James IV*, "... prepare the way for the perfected form of tragicomedy that was to emerge later with the revival of romantic drama in the work of Beaumont and Fletcher." Actually we have little criticism, even as derivative as this, in this penultimate chapter—two-thirds of the pages being given over to the blankest synopsizing of no less than fifty-three Fletcherian tragicomedies. On and on one plods from potted plot to potted plot, each of the most excruciating complexity. The mind reels amid all these maidens disguised as pages, abandoned royal babes cared for by shepherds, chastity tests, mistaken identities, cryptic oracles, pretended deaths, and incredible rescues. The mind reels, but at last the fifty-three plots are safely navigated.

There remains the final chapter. It is only nine pages long, but these are the best nine pages in the book. Firmly and succinctly we are given the pattern of the development of tragicomedy in Italy, France, and England over two centuries. In no important respect, however, does the pattern as given here differ from that found in earlier standard works on the subject.

Oddly enough, the index to this book does not list the titles of most of the plays taken up in it.

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G. P. V. AKRIGG

The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century. By PATRICK CRUTTWELL. Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. [viii] + [264]. \$3.75.

Mr. Cruttwell's book was published in Great Britain in 1954 and in the following spring republished in the United States. It has already received a deserved measure of attention. The title aptly expresses the author's awareness of the happy and unique, though brief "oneness" peculiar to the culminating period of English poetry. It further reveals a view focusing on the work of art in its relation to a given auspicious time. Where to fix the beginnings of that "moment", how to characterize its uniqueness and how to account for its origins as well as its transitoriness would seem to be the chief questions underlying such a title. Mr. Cruttwell, in fact, answers all of them. The answers are given in such a wide framework, literary, social, political, intellectual, and spiritual, that the book really presents a view of English seventeenth-century poetry, or, as Mr. Cruttwell puts it himself, "it suggests a theory of its course". As briefly as necessary and as closely to his own words as possible the following points aim to render his most significant conclusions.

1. "In the opening years of the [17th] century, there occurred a moment of convergence. . . . What is claimed for this moment is . . . unusual oneness in a society."
2. "... The poetic drama . . . reached greatness by being a centre for converging elements; it was both vulgar and intellectual, traditional and modernist, religious in essence but secular in form."
3. "In this lies the justification for calling the great moment the Shakespearean moment; for its centre was the drama, and of it he was not merely the supreme exponent, he was also as typical as supreme greatness can ever be typical."
4. From Donne and Spenser, "but especially the former, the dramatic attitude spreads through two generations of English poets and into the domains of love-lyric", "devotional verse" and "into the sermon".

5. "... The society it [the dramatic attitude] worked in" had to satisfy "certain conditions. The society itself had to be 'dramatic' if the dramatic attitude was to spread through all its expressions. It had to be hierarchical, sensuous, magnificent, and imbued with a tragic philosophy of life—and that meant, then, an orthodox Christian philosophy, since that alone, for that age, could yield the tragic sense."
6. The Puritan, the rationalist and the classicist "stood for a way of life which was tidier, more categorical and dividing, more progressive perhaps—certainly more successful in influencing the future: but as far as dramatic and especially tragic poetry was concerned, impoverished."
7. "... From the Restoration onward ... the mind which nourished the Shakespearean moment, and which created the kind of society in which such a moment was possible" ... "goes swiftly towards extinction".

The method used to implement this view is mainly comparative and typological. The poetry of "the Shakespearean moment" is continually set off against that of the Elizabethans prior to the 1590's and that of the Restoration. Individual persons are looked upon as representatives of "types of mind", usually the best representatives sufficing to characterize the types of mind. Mr. Cruttwell's approach further recalls a particular method of intellectual history, thinking in terms of "forces", "the real soul" or "the true spirit of the age" or "the real movement of the age". Finally, his method is that of genetic or environmental history, considering artists and their works as "produced" or "nourished" by "mental climates". Characteristic of this approach are sentences like "And this was the mind which nourished the Shakespearean moment, and which created the kind of society in which such a moment was possible" or "Both language and poetry, of course, went these ways because the society they existed in and for was taking them thither." It is helpful to keep this kind of view, method and terminology in mind and critically weigh its value and adequacy when reading Mr. Cruttwell's book.

It is well organized and often wittily and succinctly written. There will be few who will not agree with most features of his basic view. However, the way he almost equates "a tragic philosophy of life" with "an orthodox Christian philosophy" will certainly not be accepted by those following Clifford Leech. Others might ask why the asserted spreading of "the dramatic attitude" is pursued only into lyrical poetry and the sermons, but not into epic poetry. Some would be happy if Mr. Cruttwell could bring a few passages more closely in tune with one another in a second edition. One pair of them deals with the effect of Puritanism on the drama (pp. 138, 160-161), another pair outlines the significance of Rationalism in this way:

- p. 161: "But there was also another type of mind ... which begins to make itself felt as a real force in these early years of the seventeenth century, though it did not come into power and full self-awareness till after the Restoration...."
- p. 253: "... (The rationalist has been excluded as a rare bird before 1660....)"

A little more consistency would be particularly desirable as to the length of "the Shakespearean moment". It varies from "the opening years of the seventeenth century, in which were written all the supreme Shakespearean dramas" (p. 1) and "the early decades of the seventeenth century" (p. 71) to "the first few decades" (p. 73) and "the age of the first two Stuarts" (p. 114).

More decided disagreement than with Mr. Cruttwell's basic view might be anticipated with some features of his method. The comparative approach seems

occasionally to lend itself to an underrating of the two periods, the one preceding, the other following "the Shakespearean moment"—the early Elizabethan and the Restoration. It is all to the good to see Shakespeare and Donne as sons of the same age, and Mr. Cruttwell is to be thanked for breaking down a conventional literary anthology kind of division such as "An Elizabethan Garland" including Shakespeare, and "The Seventeenth Century" including Donne. The new perspective, however, should not be established at the expense of Spenser, and, partly, of the Shakespeare of the "early sonnets". The concept "from simple to complex" is used to characterize the evolution of Elizabethan poetry into the poetry of "the Shakespearean moment", Shakespeare's Sonnets serving as an example of this change. "The early sonnets . . . show the simple sensibility of the early Renaissance", while with the 151st sonnet "we have come, in fact, from Spenser to Donne". It is regrettable that Mr. Cruttwell should not have dealt with W. B. C. Watkins' thoughtful study in *Shakespeare and Spenser* (1950) and its arguments in favor of affinities between the two, but should have repainted the conventional picture of the "simple" Spenser. Mr. Cruttwell is certainly right in pointing to "the dramatic" as the quality shared by Shakespeare and Donne. But in saying "Shakespeare, from the end of the sixteenth century, has nothing in common with Spenser", he is overlooking the dramatic in Spenser convincingly demonstrated by Watkins. The idea of the "simple" Spenser, recurring in a phrase like "the simple exhilaration of Spenser", blinds Mr. Cruttwell against an exact analogue to Donne's first *Anniversarie* to be found in Spenser. The statement "he [Donne] uses the discoveries of the new astronomy, not, as one would expect, and as the more settled minds of Bacon and Spenser would have used them, to prove that he is living in a brave new world and a wondrous age, but to prove the opposite, that all is decay and confusion" is contradicted by the proemium to Book V of the *Faerie Queene*. Moreover, anyone "would expect" this after the research data published by R. F. Jones's *Ancients and Moderns* (1936) and F. R. Johnson's *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (1937). A generalization such as "A sense of humour and irony, all-pervading in the new manner, totally absent in the old, is one of these differences. . . . The conventional hyperbole is there, it may be unqualified in itself, but there is always the chance that irony may question and qualify it" stands in need of some modification. Spenser's hyperbolic characterization of Belphebe by no means lacks "playful overtones"¹, and Mr. Watkins' judgment that "he [Spenser] is not only one of the greatest but a pioneer among Elizabethan satirists" (pp. 294-295) might profitably be taken into account.

If Mr. Cruttwell's assignment of the whole of *The Faerie Queene* to "the early Renaissance" will not convince every reader, neither will his equation of Shakespeare's early sonnets with "the simple sensibility of the early Renaissance" meet with general acceptance. This equation seems to rely on one level of the early sonnets only. Admittedly, many of the later ones—"earlier" and "later" meaning their places in the traditional sequence—are of a complexity noticeable at once. The complex ambiguity of an earlier one like the eighteenth, with the structural ambiguity of "changing", the potential liturgical connotation of "gives life" and the allusive reversal of the New Testament antithesis of the killing letter and the life-giving spirit, are not so easily detected.

On the whole, however, the comparative method is handled with caution and fairness. It yields many significant results. Particularly well chosen are two passages from *King Lear* and the first *Anniversarie*.

Proceeding from the comparative to the typological method, one finds that

¹ Watkins, p. 300.

it makes for clear contours of the "mind" of "the Shakespearean moment" and the three "types of mind" bringing about its end. Occasionally one feels the danger of simplification. It might be argued whether the selection of the very best representatives of "the mind . . . which created the kind of society in which such a moment [the Shakespearean moment] was possible" might not lead to a certain degree of idealization. One wonders whether the praised "including mentality" of the dominant society of "the Shakespearean moment" really deserves this epithet. Its crucial test would seem to be whether, at least on the imaginative level, it is broad enough to include its opponents. Mr. Cruttwell himself states "the significant fact that virtually the only type of humanity in the whole Elizabethan and Jacobean scene which the Shakespearean *oeuvre* does not comprehend in its vast variety—is the Puritan". Add to this "The rationalist mind is almost as absent from it [the whole of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama] as the Puritan; when it does put in an appearance, as in Edmund, Iago, and the villain of Tourneur's *Atheist Tragedy* it is subjected at once to an uncompromising moral condemnation." So can the mentality of "the Shakespearean moment" whose drama does not include the Puritan type of mind representing a large minority, nor the rationalist one previously called by Mr. Cruttwell "a real force in these early years of the seventeenth century" be really termed all-inclusive? The fault would seem to lie not in the mentality, but in the excessiveness of the claim made for it.

Aside from idealization, the danger of simplification inherent in the typological method has another manifestation: oneness. Before going on labeling *The Faerie Queene* a "Puritan creation" it would be well to ponder Virgil K. Whitaker's conclusion reached in his study, *The Religious Basis of Spenser's Thought* (1950): "For the Puritans Spenser has little sympathy except in so far as their demand for an honest and educated clergy agrees with his . . . Where Spenser reveals his stand on crucial issues between Anglicanism and Calvinism, he invariably disagrees with Calvin" (p. 69).

Another weakness often met with in the typological method, the abstractness of typological generalization, is, however, entirely absent from Mr. Cruttwell's book. Chapters 4 and 5, in which this method is particularly noticeable, abound in illustrative detail, ranging from the abolition of the maypoles to the setting up in Cheapside of a Diana image in the place of an image of the Resurrection. Mr. Cruttwell has a real mastery of marshaling illustrative facts. His bracketed remark "We may wonder if Shakespeare ever regretted it—if he ever looked with longing and irritation at the magnificent dramatic material which the Bible would have given him and which he could never use" may stand for many others showing how stimulatingly his mind works.

This suggestive, at places provocatively suggestive, quality of his book, and the clarity with which his basic view is presented more than counterbalance the weaknesses inherent in his method. The student of Shakespeare and everyone working in the field of English seventeenth-century poetry and drama will be grateful to Mr. Cruttwell for this challenging study.

University of Mainz

HANS GALINSKY

Shakespeare Without Tears. By MARGARET WEBSTER. Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co., 1955. Pp. [319]. \$4.50.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of an admirable book. It would not be a bad idea at all for every member of The Shakespeare Association of America

to present it, upon a suitable occasion for present-giving, to the likeliest prospect in the family circle—it will make converts.

The 19th-century conflict between the exponents of Shakespeare in the study and Shakespeare on the stage has now been resolved, in the main in favor of the latter, and, though she has no lack of scholarly appreciation of the interrelation of Quartos and Folios, Miss Webster is a disciple of Granville Barker and Shakespeare the actor-dramatist. She may be commiserated with on being just too young to have witnessed Mr. Barker's three productions at the Savoy Theatre, London, in 1912 and 1913, *The Winter's Tale*, *Twelfth Night*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; they came as levin-flashes to young folk now middle-aged who had been nurtured on Beerbohm Tree's spectacular Shakespeare, admirable of its kind but with the usual textual cuts to accommodate the spectacle.

But the first thing that should have been said of this book, and it is vastly important, is that Miss Webster writes quite excellently, with a steely skill that reinforces every word.

Perhaps the fairest method of review is to set forth in her own words Miss Webster's declared intention in her authorship of this book.

The whole convention of our theatre has changed. The tacit covenant between actor, author, and audience is on a wholly different basis. How can we preserve Shakespeare's intention in our modern terms? We may, we must, try honestly and devotedly to divine his meaning. We must know, for that purpose, the instruments of staging that he used, for they shaped his craftsmanship, and without a knowledge of them we shall often divine his intention wrongly. But it is not, I think, enough to study the exact way in which he swung his action from inner stage to outer stage and back again; to assess the extent to which the use of boy players influenced his characterization of women's parts; to scan the Quarto texts for signs of his theatre thinking expressed in cuts, additions to, and revisions of his script; least of all to follow the scholars in their passionate disintegration of the texts into "early Shakespeare", "another hand," "a late addition", "a playhouse omission", and so on. Our business is not disintegration but integrity. For the scholar's "true texts" we are grateful indeed, but it is still our business to transmute them into terms of the living theatre to-day.

Basing upon this admirable director's credo, Miss Webster attains her object by managing to compress an infinite deal of valuable matter into 305 pages. There are more than adequate sketches of the Stratford background, of the Elizabethan theatre viewed from the prompt-corner of the Globe, and of the textual considerations. Then follows a brief and highly discerning conspectus of each individual play, mainly from the point of view of the director.

The foundation of this viewpoint may well be much the same as Granville Barker's rather testy remark in a lecture in 1922 that "an overwhelming proportion of critical literature upon drama is written by people who, you might suppose, could never have been inside a theatre in their lives", an opinion that led him later to the writing of his five masterly volumes of *Prefaces to Shakespeare*.

But though Miss Webster shares with Granville Barker a common starting point and a lifetime of study and experience in the theatre, the authoress is nothing if not original. To take but a single instance this is proved by her unorthodox opinion that "Lear's own self-pity negates our own", and there are quite a few other such shrewd judgments. Of particular value to scholars and actors alike are the passages of comparison of Q2 and F1 of *Hamlet* judged by the criterion of their speakable nature on the stage. On the imaginative and dramatic uses of lighting, Miss Webster is also most constructive, and the reviewer

remembers in confirmation an *Anthony and Cleopatra* in Brussels in 1945 where the warm amber lighting for Egypt was contrasted throughout with a cold white for the Roman scenes.

Generally sound on her theatre history, Miss Webster has accepted the error that the substitution of a black wig for a red one in the dressing of Shylock, turning him in effect from a comic to a tragic character, was the innovation of Edmund Kean rather than of Garrick's predecessor Charles Macklin.

The only other legitimate criticism is that the lady is rather apt to take her corners on two wheels, assuming blandly as commonplaces some highly controversial points. Three of these are that *As You Like It* was written after *Hamlet* (p. 43); that the young Shakespeare in 1587 "went off to London with Lord Leicester's men" (p. 32), a very bold begging of the entire question of the 'lost years'; and the assumption that Shakespeare did not know of the existence of America (p. 30), which is surely improbable in view of the financial participation of his friend Henry, Earl of Southampton, in the Virginia plantations by Captain Gosnold in 1602 and 1606.

A British reviewer is not able to evaluate the force of Miss Webster's lament that America has no place for professional experiment in the production of any but the most popular of Shakespeare's plays. But sympathy may readily be extended, for we have cognate problems in our country though more of training than experiment. The Old Vic in London, its kid brother the Bristol Old Vic and the Memorial Theatre at Stratford on Avon, so largely reconstructed after the fire of 1926 by American generosity, stage a good proportion of the more difficult plays, but there is a sad lack of the training ground constituted formerly by the three or four Shakespearian companies which of old toured round the provincial cities and towns continuously. The result of the disappearance of these is that many of the Salarios and Salarinos are learning their business in public at the expense of major rather than minor audiences.

London

ST. VINCENT TROUBRIDGE

The Murder of the Man who was Shakespeare. By CALVIN HOFFMAN. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1955. Pp. xx + 232. \$3.95.

This extraordinary book, based, according to the author, on more than nineteen years of research into "the problem of Shakespeare authorship", claims for Marlowe not only his own plays and all of Shakespeare's, but Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and several anonymous works such as *Edward III* and *Lochrine*. This startling conclusion was slowly reached. Mr. Hoffman began, he tells us, with the simple intuition that the plays printed in the First Folio could not have been written by Shakespeare. After thirteen years of research he became convinced that Marlowe did not die in a fight in 1593, but that while some unlucky substitute was stabbed in his place, he slipped quietly over to the continent under the protection of his lover, Sir Thomas Walsingham. There "he continued writing, and sent the finished manuscripts by courier to his friend and patron, Walsingham"; the latter eventually introduced the plays of a now dead Marlowe to the world under the name of an obscure actor in the Folio of 1623. It is not clear what Walsingham had been doing with these manuscripts of plays, most of which, Mr. Hoffman believes, had "never been produced in the London theaters" before 1623. Nor has research yet discovered when or where Marlowe died for a second time in circumstances even more mysterious and secret than those of 1593. On these points we may still speculate: did Walsingham, in his care for

posterity, preserve the documents in some hidden stronghold, deep in the forests of Kent? Did Marlowe really die?

A strange array of "evidence" lends its uncertain support to the main thesis. Thirty pages of parallel passages (many of them, to use the author's happy phrase, "deadly parallelisms") between the plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare might lead the unconvinced reader to suppose that the latter was influenced by Marlowe, and even quoted him occasionally; if, that is, Shakespeare had written plays. Many years of research evidently went into the reading of the numerous representatives of "orthodox scholarship" who are cited as believing Marlowe to have had a hand in various plays by Shakespeare: among these are Swinburne, Malone, Sir Sidney Lee, Dyce, Fleay, E. H. C. Oliphant and J. M. Robertson, on whom, it seems, we are to place a special reliance as a former Member of Parliament. The only begetter of the *Sonnets* is at last identified as Mr. Walsingham. The prefatory material in the First Folio is revealed as "riddled with fraud and misstatement"; Ben Jonson was hired to write commendatory verses in order to maintain the masquerade, while the dedication was really written by Marlowe's friend Edward Blount. Mr. Hoffman puts this point in his usual forceful, not to say truculent manner,

if William Shakespeare could sign his name to plays that were not his, certainly two actors could lend their names to a dedication.

The most hesitant of readers may concede so much.

The foundation of the whole argument is the belief that Shakespeare was an ignorant rustic, illiterate and incapable of writing poetry; a man of whom we know practically nothing until his name appears in print with the publication of *Venus and Adonis*. Shakespeare "could not have acquired the education necessary to construct a complex sentence" in an age when "only the affluent and few could read at all". (These few, one supposes, spent most of their lives reading and acquired vast libraries, for if not, who did buy and read the hundreds of books printed each year?) In any case, asks Mr. Hoffman, how could a man married at eighteen and father of three children at twenty-one, find time for self-education?; the reply is that he could not. There was no such difficulty, it seems, for Marlowe, who had a university education, and hence found it easy to combine the careers of spy and playwright. It is with a note of triumph that Mr. Hoffman cites the authority of Sir E. K. Chambers in support of his statement that nothing is known of Shakespeare's "education and literary reputation up to his thirtieth year"—the allusions by Greene, Chettle and Nashe do not count: as Chambers said,

the last word for a self-respecting scholarship can only be that of nescience.

Mr. Hoffman takes the trouble to explain the word "nescience" for his readers, as "the state of not knowing; ignorance, due either to the nature of the human mind or of external things". (Incidentally, Mr. Hoffman's book has the value of being, in its way, a comment on the nature of the human mind.) On a casual perusal of Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage*, it is noticeable that we are in the same state of nescience about the early years of some other authors—John Fletcher, for instance, born 1579 and not heard of again until 1607; John Webster, whose personal history remains largely a blank, not even the date of his birth being known; and Ben Jonson, who, we know, was prevented from receiving a university education and began life as a bricklayer: might not one almost say of these what Mr. Hoffman says apropos of Shakespeare?—

Surely there is a blind spot here—for how can one square a life which admits neither of preparation nor of education with the creation of most complex and beautiful verse dramas ever written?

If Mr. Hoffman has time to pursue his researches for some more years, he may well discover that the prolific Marlowe also wrote the plays held to have been composed by these, and perhaps other dramatists.

Finally, here is an example of the author's trenchant style, taken from one of the final chapters; its subject is *Pericles*:

If *Pericles* was written by the author of the First Folio, why, in that case, was it omitted from the Works? There is only one conclusion: *Pericles* was not written by the Folio author: but scholarship maintains that it was written by the author of the First Folio!

Again we meet the strange sophistry of the Shakespearean scholar.
Pericles is certainly the Achilles' heel of literary orthodoxy.

Passages as terrible and as well-reasoned as this may be found on almost every page; what one of Shakespeare's characters says of an equally fearsome ultimatum might be applied to it, and to Mr. Hoffman's book as a whole: "Here's the challenge; read it. I warrant you there's vinegar and pepper in't".

University of Durham

R. A. FOAKES

Queries and Notes

THE HEART'S METEORS, A MICROCOSM: MACROCOSM ANALOGY

S. K. HENINGER, JR.

To Shakespeare's audience there was no poetic truth more cogent than the explicit analogy between the macrocosm of the world and the microcosm of man. His vital heat corresponded to subterranean fires, his veins to rivers, and his breath to the *anima mundi*. Richard II epitomized the tradition by describing man's body as a "small model of the barren earth / Which serves as paste and cover to our bones" (III. ii. 153-154). Recent scholars have rehabilitated many of Shakespeare's lines based on this belief, but one such correspondence has escaped notice because the scientific principles that made it meaningful to an Elizabethan have since been explained in totally different terms. This correspondence is the analogy between facial expressions and meteors.

In Shakespeare's day the term "meteor" included all weather-phenomena—that is, all natural processes occurring in the region of Air between the earth and the sphere of Fire.¹ These meteors were thought to develop from two sorts of evaporation drawn up² from the earth's surface by the sun: a hot and dry "exhalation" potentially like Fire, and a warm and moist "vapour" potentially like Water. From the exhalation came thunder and lightning, the winds, comets, and other fiery impressions; from the vapor came clouds, rain, snow, hail, mist, dew, and frost. This in briefest outline was the basis for Elizabethan meteorology.³

In *The Comedy of Errors* Adriana asks Luciana to report an interview with Antipholus, Adriana's husband:

Look'd he or red or pale, or sad or merrily?
What observation madest thou in this case
Of his heart's meteors tilting in his face?
(IV. ii. 4-6)

The wording of the last line was probably suggested by Tamburlaine's most flaunting boast:

I will persist a terrour to the world,
Making the Meteors, that like armed men

¹ See *NED*, "meteor," sense 1.

² "Exhaled" was the usual Elizabethan term (*NED*, sense 4); cf.:

... breath a vapour is:
Then thou, fair sun, which on my earth dost shine,
Exalest this vapour-vow.

(*L.L.L.*, IV. iii. 68-70)

All line references are made to *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright (Globe ed.; London, 1881).

³ All this information, including precise definition of the technical terminology, may be found in William Fulke, *A goodly Gallery . . . to beholde the naturall causes of all kind of Meteors* (2nd ed.; London, 1571), fol. 2-2^v.

Are seene to march vpon the towers of heauen,
Run tilting round about the firmament.

(2 *Tamburlaine*, 3875-3878)

But the meaning clearly derives from the analogy between microcosm and macrocosm: facial expressions are drawn up from the heart and displayed in the face just as meteors are drawn up from the earth and displayed in the heavens.

Shakespeare repeated the identical image in *Much Ado about Nothing* when Friar Francis proclaims the perjured innocence of Hero:

I have mark'd
A thousand blushing apparitions
To start into her face, a thousand innocent shames
In angel whiteness beat away those blushes.

(IV. i. 160-163)

"Apparitions" was a semi-technical term used to describe a multitude of fiery impressions first listed by Aristotle.⁴ Like Antipholus, Hero has exhibited her heart's meteors tilting in her face, looking now red, now pale.

These two examples of the correspondence between meteors and demeanor are simple and clear-cut, and therefore they help us to understand a more obscure passage in *Othello*. When Iago promises to give Othello visible evidence of Cassio's perfidy, he proposes to talk to Cassio about Desdemona while Othello watches from a hiding-place. Iago plots with the jealous husband:

... mark the fleers, the gibes, and notable scorns,
That dwell in every region of his face.

(IV. i. 83-84)

The last line refers to the Renaissance theory which stratified the Air into three layers. Saluste du Bartas comments: "Our elder Sages / Haue fitly parted it into three Stages."⁵ To George Chapman, it was "aires triple Region" (*Eugenia*, 66). Cassio's face, then, should analogously have three regions, and each will contain meteors manifesting his derision. In this instance the comparison between meteors and expressions is not overtly made, but certainly it is implicit.

Yet again in *Henry IV* Shakespeare compared the human face to the heavens, so that Bardolph's complexion can be foretold just as weather can be predicted. Bardolph has an excessively red face—Falstaff calls his nose "an *ignis fatuus* or a ball of wildfire" (III. iii. 44)⁶—and so he has this playful colloquy with Prince Hal:

Bard. My lord, do you see these meteors? do you behold these exhalations?

Prince. I do.

Bard. What think you they portend?

Prince. Hot livers and cold purses.

Bard. Choler, my lord, if rightly taken.

(II. iv. 351-356)

⁴ *Meteorologica*, 341^b. Cf. Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales*, I. i; Pliny, *Historia naturales*, II. xxv; Bartholomaeus, *Batman vppon Bartholome, His Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1581), fol. 157; and Fulke, *Goodly Gallery*, fol. 6^v-11. See NED, "apparition", sense 8.

⁵ *Bartas his Devine weekes & Workes*, trans. J. Sylvester (London, 1605), p. 45.

⁶ Cf. *Henry V*, III. vi. 107-109.

In this case Bardolph's heart is revealed in his countenance through the meteors visible there. Shakespeare used this motif elsewhere:

Beaufort's red sparkling eyes⁷ blab his heart's malice,
And Suffolk's cloudy brow his stormy hate.

(2 *Henry VI*, III. i. 154-155)

No cloudy show of stormy blustering weather
Doth yet in his [Tarquin's] fair welkin once appear.

(*Lucrece*, 115-116)

Good morrow, Benedick. Why, what's the matter,
That you have such a February face,
So full of frost, of storm and cloudiness?

(*Much Ado*, V. iv. 40-42)

We should note one final example of Shakespeare's comparison of facial expressions to meteors, an example which is the most ingenious and complex of all. While still under the spell of Rosaline, Romeo utters this dictum on love:

Love is a smoke raised with the fume of sighs;
Being purged, a fire sparkling in lovers' eyes.⁸ (I. i. 196-197)

Romeo obviously is talking about the vapors and exhalations which the sun draws up, making the common Renaissance equation between sun and mistress. Love, he says, is a hot and dry exhalation, "a smoke". Raised with the exhalations are warm and moist vapors, a "fume of sighs". The Sun exhales these two sorts of evaporations simultaneously, just as the mistress inevitably evokes from the heart both Fiery love and Watery sighs. When the sun-mistress disperses "the fume of sighs" by the proximity of her favor, however, then the bright love, purged of cloudy discontent, can sparkle clearly in the suitor's eyes. Shakespeare's artfulness is here so subtle that we can fully appreciate the conceit only by relating it to his other passages which utilize imagery based on the "heart's meteors".

Duke University

THESE FEW PRECEPTS

JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT

I am sorry to see that my colleague and friend, Professor Claire McGlinchey has entirely missed the point I was trying to make in my discussion of "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes",¹ because her misunderstanding indicates that I did not make my main point clearly enough. My point is that Shake-

⁷ "Sparkles of fire" was another of the miscellaneous fiery impressions first reported by Aristotle (see n. 4). Cf. Spenser's description of the dragon ravaging the land of Una's parents:

... his blazing eyes, like two bright burning shields,
Did burne with wrath, and sparkled liuing fyre.

(*Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 14. 1-2).

"Burning shields" was another sort of these phenomena.

⁸ For a listing of strange emendations and analogues, see *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. H. H. Furness (New Variorum ed.; Philadelphia, 1878), pp. 23-24.

¹ *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (1953), 3-9. See her "Still Harping . . .", *ibid.*, VI (1955), 362-364.

speare, in the speech in question, is establishing the character of Polonius as he wishes the audience to understand it, and that he deliberately put into Polonius' mouth a series of precepts which were familiar to every Elizabethan schoolboy, since they are aptly translated, or paraphrased, from the *Ad Demonicum* of Isocrates, which every schoolboy had to analyse and parse, and usually to translate and learn by heart.

I did not intend to reflect on the wisdom of the precepts, but merely to point out that in Polonius' mouth they were unoriginal and trite. Professor McGlinchey concludes, "Professor Bennett makes much of what she calls Polonius' 'schoolboy precepts'. She is, I feel, a bit hard on Polonius. Whatever his faults, he is here giving to his son the good, practical advice that any interested, conscientious, affectionate father would give to a son who was going to a foreign land." Now that is the very core of the problem. Is Polonius being presented on his first major appearance as an "interested, conscientious, affectionate father" and nothing more? Is he, in this scene, where he also advises Ophelia to her destruction, presented in a sympathetic way? and does he later degenerate into a garrulous dotard whose chief stratagem is eavesdropping from behind an arras? My argument was that his character was consistent throughout the play; that his speech to Laertes would affect the audience for which it was written in much the way that an audience today would react if they saw on the stage an elderly man taking leave of his son by reciting to him a string of precepts out of *Poor Richard's Almanac*, or some equally familiar work. The advice is still good, but a modern audience would laugh at the father and sympathize with the son for having to listen politely.

It is this dramatic situation which I was trying to point out. Laertes and Ophelia have been having a serious talk during which each gives the other immediate personal advice. Then in comes Polonius and gets off a string of old precepts—very good advice, as far as it goes, but as familiar to everyone in an Elizabethan audience as "Polonius' advice to Laertes" would be to a modern audience. Imagine a modern father's getting that off as a farewell to his son! Surely the audience would laugh, and they would understand that the father in question was a pompous, tiresome, and foolish old windbag—and that is exactly the effect Shakespeare wanted.

Such an interpretation of the speech brings it into harmony with Polonius' speeches and actions in the rest of the play, and so gives his character a consistency which it does not have if we see the lines in question as "the good, practical advice that any interested, conscientious, affectionate father would give to a son who was going to a foreign land." That is just what Polonius' speech should not be, if, as I believe, Shakespeare was a competent dramatist who knew how to create a consistent minor character.

Hunter College

SHAKESPEARE'S PUCK AND FROISSART'S ORTHON

HALDEEN BRADY

The medley of literary and folklore echoes in Shakespeare's dramas is nowhere more pronounced than in the fairy elements of *Midsummer Night's*

Dream. The play, especially the supernatural machinery, is usually regarded as an almost entirely original production without any known literary model. No written source need be sought for such figures as Titania's attendant elves, Moth, Cobweb, and the others, who are obviously of folk origin.¹

On the other hand, a literary precedent existed for the name of the important King of Fairyland, Oberon, which comes ultimately² from the Old French romance *Huon of Bordeaux*, translated about 1534 by John Bouchier, Lord Berners.³ A related problem is the derivation of the character Puck, or Robin Goodfellow, the messenger extraordinary of King Oberon. It is thought that Puck, who is the principal servant of Oberon's royal household, is an independent creation by Shakespeare straight from English folklore, where fairies appear as good familiar spirits ready to aid in domestic tasks or to perform harmless acts of fun and frolic. Raw materials of this kind are obviously of too general a character to exclude the possibility that Puck's portrait was drawn partly from folklore, where the word has long been used as a common noun, and partly also from literature. Inasmuch as the ultimate source for the name Oberon is the *Huon* of Lord Berners, perhaps one of his other works may likewise cast light on Shakespeare's delineation of Puck.

In this connection, one of the more famous English translations known in Elizabethan times was Lord Berners' version (1524-1525) of the medieval *Chronicles* of Sir Jean Froissart. The English translation⁴ contains an arresting story about a nobleman, the Lord of Corasse, who once had as a household servant a helpful familiar spirit named Orthon. Now, in *Midsummer Night's Dream* Puck presents himself as a night-wanderer, depicting himself as "that merry wanderer of the night" (II. i. 43).⁵ He also has the ability to annoy people while remaining invisible to them, so that Demetrius exclaims:

Thou runn'st before me, shifting every place,
And dar'st not stand, nor look me in the face.
Where art thou now? (II. ii. 122-124).

In Froissart's *Chronicles* Orthon similarly introduces himself as a mischievous nocturnal sprite. Moreover, he too appears as an invisible spirit from the fairy world.

... as the knight lay on a night abed in his castle of Corasse with the lady his wife, there came to him messengers invisible and made a marvelous tempest and noise in the castle. ...

The next night there was as great noise and greater, and such strokes given at his chamber door and windows as all should have been broken to pieces. The knight started up out of his bed. ... Quoth the knight, "What is thy name, that art so good a messenger?" Quoth he, "I am called Orthon" (II, XXXVII, 353f.).

¹ Karl Holzkecht, *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1950), p. 238.

² Oberon appears as the King of Fairies in Robert Greene's *James IV* (1598).

³ Holzkecht, p. 238.

⁴ G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The Chronicles of Froissart* (London, 1924), two volumes printed as one.

⁵ T. M. Parrott (ed.), *Shakespeare, Twenty-Three Plays and the Sonnets* (New York, 1938), p. 140.

The main service which Puck performed for his master Oberon was that of a supernormal messenger. The peripatetic Puck ever remained ready to go anywhere in the world and to return home with incredible speed. When Oberon requests assistance in furthering a difficult plan, he answers promptly: "I'll put a girdle round about the earth / In forty minutes" (II. i. 175-176). Orthon likewise owned the same gift of quickly executing a noble command anywhere in the world. When the Knight once asked him what news he had brought home, Orthon replied:

"I come out of England, or out of Hungary or some other place, and yesterday I came thence, and such things are fallen, or such other." So thus the lord of Corasse knew by Orthon everything that was done in any part of the world . . . (p. 354).

The knight was so proud of his messenger that he praised him to the Earl of Foix, who agreed that Orthon performed an exceptional service. The Earl said:

"Sir of Corasse, keep him well in your love: I would I had such a messenger; he costeth you nothing and ye know by him everything that is done in the world" (*ibid.*).

The special gift possessed by Puck was his power to recite an incantation that made people wake up after his departure. He cast such a spell on the sleeping pairs of lovers that when they awoke they fell in love, not with their original partners, but with the first being that met their sight. While Lysander and Hermia sleep, he finds them and recites his magic words:

Churl, upon thy eyes I throw
All the power this charm doth owe.
When thou wak'st, let love forbid
Sleep his seat on thy eyelid;
So awake when I am gone,
For I must now to Oberon. (II. ii. 78-83)

Froissart's plot does not feature a romantic episode, so that no parallel exists in Lord Berners' translation for Puck's exhibition of skill in re-directing the affections of Lysander and Hermia. The version by Lord Berners nonetheless may be the embryonic source of Shakespeare's idea, for it is significant that Orthon's only power over people was his ability to awaken them magically. When he first entered the Lord of Corasse's service, that nobleman feared that this mischief-doer would bring harm to some of the members of his menage and therefore requested him to "do no hurt to any person in this house". To this plea Orthon hearkened, explaining to the Knight the nature of his remarkable gift.

"No more will I do", quoth Orthon, "for I have no power to do any other evil but to awake thee or some other" (*ibid.*).

A final connection between Puck and Orthon may be seen in their abilities to transform themselves into animals. In order to mystify the country people, Puck declares that

Sometime a horse I'll be, sometime a hound,
A hog, a headless bear, sometime a fire (III. i. 111-112).

To confuse his master, Orthon twice transforms himself into guises unrecognized by his beholders. The first time he appears as two dancing straws and the second as an enormous sow,⁶ possibly the original counterpart of the "hog" shape assumed by Puck.

... The first thing he saw was a sow, the greatest that ever he saw, and she seemed to be so lean and evil favoured that there was nothing on her but the skin and the bones, with long ears and a long lean snout. The lord of Corasse had marvel of the lean sow ... (*ibid.*, 355).

Shakespeare did not reproduce the full portrait of Orthon but added numerous details, which material originated presumably in either a source now unknown or his own imagination. Thus Puck's involvement in the main plot of the lovers as well as his part in winning back the little changeling boy from Titania has no basis in Froissart's *Chronicles*. Other details in his description of Puck, whose active role in the last four acts occupies much of the stage,⁷ stemmed more or less directly from the folklore current throughout the English farm lands. To such a homely origin one would trace his penchant for frightening country lasses, for interfering with the domestic duties of rustic housewives, and for other like activities mentioned by the Fairy.

Are not you he
That frights the maids of the villagery;
Skim milk, and sometimes labour in the quern,
And bootless make the breathless housewife churn,
And sometime make the drink to bear no barm,
Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
(II. i. 34-39).

Furthermore, Shakespeare suggests nothing abnormal about the relationship between Puck and Oberon, whereas in describing Orthon Froissart explicitly states that "he was in amours with the knight" (p. 354).

At all events, the numerous fundamental similarities between Puck and Orthon—their being night-wanderers who become invisible, their supernormal traveling about the world, their magic awakening of sleepers, and their transforming themselves into swine—can hardly be mere happenstance. They seem to be due, instead, to Shakespeare's reading of Lord Berners' translation. This, however, is no matter for surprise. The Orthon episode appears in chapter XXXVII of the second volume of Froissart's *Chronicles*, where chapter CCXL is now everywhere generally accepted as the model for Act IV, Scene i, of *Richard II*. As further evidence that Shakespeare knew Lord Berners' version of Froissart, chapter CCCCVI of the first volume, an account of the French King Charles VI's hawk and *cerf volant*, has been proposed as the historical basis of the Dauphin's references to a hawk and a *cheval volant* in Act III, Scene vii, of *Henry V*.⁸ It has long been known that for the personages Theseus and Hippolyta Shakespeare probably depended upon *The Knight's Tale* by Chaucer,

⁶ Orthon is not recognized in this form by his master, who thereupon loses the services of the sprite after the royal retainers seek to kill him.

⁷ Puck is the unifying character of the play, the link between the mortal and the supernatural personages.

⁸ See my paper, "The Flying Horse in *Henry V*", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, V (1954), 205-207.

Froissart's great friend.⁹ The addition of the fourteenth-century *Chronicles* of Sir Jean Froissart as a literary foundation of Shakespeare's Puck¹⁰ serves to emphasize anew the medieval quality of *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Texas Western College

"COSTLY THY HABIT," &c.

BERTRAND H. BRONSON

The F1 reading for the disputed passage in *Hamlet*, I. iii. 70-74, is as follows, in Victor's parallel-text edition (disregarding long s):

Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy;
But not exprest in fancie; rich, not gawdie:
For the Apparell oft proclaimes the man.
And they in France of the best ranck and station,
Are of a most select and generous cheff in that.

In Q1 the last two lines are given thus:

And they of France of the chiefe rancke and station
Are of a most select and generall chiefe in that:

In Q2, generally speaking our best text, the reading is:

And they in Fraunce of the best ranck and station,
Or of a most select and generous, chiefe in that:

Among the multitudinous conjectural emendations of the last line, the fact has never, I believe, been noted or regarded as relevant that the troublesome word *chiefe* is a possible form of the current Elizabethan intransitive verb *cheve*, *chieve*, *chefe*, of which the first meaning given by the OED (sense 1b) is "to fare well; prosper, thrive, flourish".)

If *chiefe* here can be a verb, the Q2 reading begins to look especially attractive, since it lacks the now undesirable *Are* of the other early copies. If the true reading was not *are* but *or*, we may take it that Polonius is characteristically venting a distinction without much difference, refining on his first phrase.

We are still faced with a hypermetric line. The words, *of a*, may have intruded as an instinctive effort to make an overt parallelism with the preceding phrase, *of the best ranck and station*, since an *either . . . or*, whether intended or not by the speaker, is latent in the correlative particle, *or*. But perhaps the words *of a* may be merely a misreading of a carelessly written (and unstressed) definite article, *y^e*. The point does not appear essential.

Polonius, therefore, will be understood to be saying something like this: "Let your clothing be expensive but not garish; for you may read a man's

⁹ G. L. Kittredge, "Chaucer and Froissart", *Englische Studien*, XXVI (1899), 321-336.

¹⁰ In discussing the sources of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, F. E. Halliday connects both Robin Goodfellow and the ass-head with Scot's work on witchcraft (*A Shakespeare Companion* (New York, 1952), p. 413). Miss Pat Lacy, a graduate student in the University of Texas, has found the references for me in Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* [1584] ed. Montague Summers (London, 1930), pp. 48-49, 54-55, where Robin is described as an *incubus* with none but assumed bodies and, even more differently from Shakespeare, a man is transformed into an ass.

quality in his dress; and those Frenchmen of the most elevated position in life, or such as are most distinguished and free from illiberal concerns, excell in dressing with unostentatious elegance."

University of California, Berkeley

HOISTING THE ENGINEER WITH HIS OWN PETAR

WARREN V. SHEPARD

All readers of *Hamlet* must have observed how the principle of poetic justice is served by Hamlet's killing Laertes with the same weapon that Laertes had used against him. But how many have realized that this is only a striking instance of a device employed throughout the play? It is interesting to note how Hamlet, time and time again, utilizes instruments wrested from his adversaries, directing them back with telling effectiveness. He thus reverses words, dramatic devices, documents, weapons, and poison while pursuing the one clear purpose that lives within the book and volume of his brain, unmixed with baser matter.

His very first words are an example of this device. When Claudius says to him,

But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son,
How is it that the clouds still hang on you?

Hamlet replies,

Not so, my lord; I am too much i' the sun.

Here, as is frequently the case, Hamlet's words have a double meaning: (1) Too much of this "son" business. I don't like it. (2) Too much in the king's presence; i.e., "in the sun".

Characteristically, having made this blunt remark, Hamlet cuts it off with silence. Gertrude, as if to bridge the awkward gap, intervenes with,

Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off,
And let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark.
Do not for ever with thy vailed lids
Seek for thy noble father in the dust.
Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity.

Hamlet. Ay, madam, it is "common".

Queen.

If it be,

Why seems it so particular with thee?

Hamlet. "Seems", madam! Nay, it is; I know not "seems".

Thus, in his first three replies, Hamlet has taken words hot out of the mouths of the King and Queen and has sent them flying back bitter with the venom of rebuke.

This is before the ghost has spoken; while yet the suspicion of Hamlet's "prophetic soul" is without the slightest confirmation. But when the ghost does speak, and demands that Hamlet "revenge his foul and most unnatural murder", there is laid upon Hamlet a complicated obligation and a difficult problem.

Though his first reaction was to believe that "it was an honest ghost", his restless and exacting mind would not let him take the serious, irreparable action of killing his king, his uncle, his mother's husband, without further confirmation of the words of an apparition which, after all, might be a clever deception contrived by the devil.

Hamlet therefore resolved to verify the words of the ghost. This, he realized, would be a difficult matter. Without witnesses or tangible evidence of any sort, he must prove the King a murderer. It was like making bricks without straw. It was the well-nigh hopeless task of taking "arms against a sea of troubles". Only one possibility occurred to him: he would "catch the conscience of the King".

But how?

Hamlet's conclusion appears to have been that conscience-catching calls for a waiting game, with unremitting pressure upon the guilty one until the "limed soul, struggling to be free, [becomes] more engaged". This is the game he set himself to play, and before it was over he had full need of his faith that

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.

It is most interesting to watch him turn the screws upon the King's conscience. From behind the thin disguise of his "antic disposition" he carries on his campaign. The King's breakdown at the play is the culmination of a cumulative process which began with Hamlet's first recorded words:

Not so, my lord; I am too much i' the sun.

And from that opening remark until the death of Claudius, Hamlet proceeds according to a fixed pattern.

That pattern is as follows: He lets his adversary attack first. Then, using the weapon of his adversary, he strikes swiftly home.

This happens not once, nor twice, but time and time again. We have noted above how Hamlet employed this device in his use of the words "son", "common", and "seems". As he uses words, so he uses players; as he uses players, so he uses sailing craft; as he uses sailing craft, so he uses documents; as he uses documents, so he uses fencing foils; as he uses fencing foils, so he uses poison.

After Claudius, arch dissembler, puts on his mask of smiles, Hamlet counters with a mask of madness—he thinks meet "to put an antic disposition on".

When Polonius spies Hamlet reading a book, he says,

I'll board him presently.

But who is "boarded"? Polonius is. Hamlet calls him a fishmonger, warns him against exposing his daughter to the contaminating influence of the King ("Let her not walk in the sun".), and concludes by ridiculing the old man's gray beard, wrinkled face, mattery eyes, meager wit, and weak hams.

Then Polonius and Claudius set a trap to discover the cause of Hamlet's "transformation", baiting the trap with "the fair Ophelia", while they hide behind the arras. But Hamlet is not caught in the trap. Instead, he snaps it in the

faces of the King and his counselor, making of it an opportunity to pay his respects to both of them, well knowing that they are within ear-shot:

Hamlet. I am very proud, revengeful, ambitious, with more offences at my beck than I have thoughts to put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to act them in. . . . Where's your father?

Ophelia. At home, my lord.

Hamlet. Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool nowhere but in's own house. . . . Those that are married already, all but one, shall live; the rest shall keep as they are.

Hamlet then sets a similar trap to "catch the conscience of the King". In keeping with the usual pattern, the first use of the device is by Hamlet's adversaries. It fails. Then Hamlet uses it with marked success.

Note the parallels between this dramatic trap of Hamlet and that of Polonius. In each instance there were two interested spectators watching not the action of the play but the effect of it upon the one for whom the trap was set. Hamlet composed "some dozen or sixteen lines" which were inserted into "The Murther of Gonzago" to form "The Mousetrap"; and one strongly suspects that some of the words of Ophelia were put into her mouth by Polonius. Do not the following lines, for instance, smack of his "art"?

Ophelia. My lord, I have remembrances of yours
That I have longed long to re-deliver. . . .
. for to the noble mind
Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind.

Each stage manager in turn is solicitous about the naturalness and effectiveness of the acting:

Polonius. Ophelia, walk you here. . . .
. Read on this book,
That show of such an exercise may colour
Your loneliness.

Hamlet. Speak the speech, I pray you, as I
pronounc'd it to you . . . etc.

Since Hamlet's craft is keener than the combined crafts of Polonius and the King, he wins the exchange. He accomplishes his purpose. He solves his problem, and will now "take the ghost's word for a thousand pound".

The Queen requests Hamlet to call upon her before he goes to bed. And there Polonius has set another trap for him:

After the play
Let his queen mother all alone entreat him
To show his griefs. Let her be round with him;
And I'll be placed, so please you, in the ear
Of all their conference.

Note here also, in passing, Hamlet's reversal of words in the following passage:

Queen. Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.

Ham. Mother, you have my father much offended.

Queen. Come, come, you answer with an idle tongue.

Ham. Go, go, you question with a wicked tongue.

Once again the device works out according to the pattern. Polonius sets the trap for Hamlet, and loses his own life thereby. The Queen intends to "be round with" Hamlet, but is herself so severely reprimanded that she pleads:

O Hamlet, speak no more!
Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul,
And there I see such black and grained spots
As will not leave their tinct.

Ultimately the Queen, who had been employed as a tool against Hamlet, becomes his tool against the King as she drinks the poisoned cup and dies with a warning on her lips.

The killing of Polonius adds urgent haste to the King's plans for dispatching Hamlet to England. Again the device works out to the letter. The King makes a plan; Hamlet counters in kind. The King thinks his purposes are secret. Hamlet says,

I see a cherub that sees them.

And so apparently he does. He tells his mother:

There's letters sealed; and my two schoolfellows,
Whom I will trust as I will adders fanged,
They bear the mandate. They must sweep my way,
And marshal me to knavery. Let it work;
For 'tis the sport to have the enginer
Hoist with his own petar; and 't shall go hard
But I will delve one yard below their mines
And blow them at the moon. O, 'tis most sweet
When in one line two crafts directly meet.

For Hamlet, "two crafts" may have had a double meaning: (1) the craftiness of Claudius versus the craftiness of Hamlet; (2) two ships—the King's "bark" and the "pirate of very warlike appointment". In any case, Hamlet outcrafts the King. Claudius sends Hamlet, a virtual prisoner, by ship, to his doom. Hamlet returns, a free man, by a better ship, to the King's great discomfiture. Hamlet sends his two schoolfellows, who were to marshal him to knavery, to their own deaths, using for the purpose the very document which they were carrying as warrant for his death.

Thus he hoists the enginer with his own petar.

And now for Laertes. It is pertinent to note that his death was due not alone, if at all, to the actual wound of the rapier—the King's device—but at least in part to the poison with which Laertes had himself anointed it:

Osric. How is't, Laertes?
Laertes. Why, as a woodcock to mine own springe, Osric;
I am justly kill'd with mine own treachery.

Thus, once again, the standard device is operative. Hamlet turns back upon Laertes the device which Laertes had employed against him.

At this tragic moment Laertes and Gertrude, both of whom had been used as the King's agents against Hamlet but had been won over by Hamlet, turn

witnesses against the King, revealing the treachery of the unbated, envenomed rapier and the poisoned wine.

When the dying testimony of both Gertrude and Laertes thus publicly implicate the King in an "act that has no relish of salvation in it", Hamlet acts.

With what weapons does he kill Claudius? With those which Claudius had designed for use against him—the unbated rapier and the poisoned wine. One may well believe that the thrust of the rapier, rather than any poison which could yet remain upon it, must have been the mortal agent.

The King's devices were never successful against Hamlet; but Hamlet used them all successfully against the King. Hamlet's death was not the result of the King's devices. He suspected the wine, and was apparently too clever a fencer to be mortally wounded by the unbated rapier. His death was due to the device suggested by and employed by Laertes—the poison ointment. Perhaps there is poetic justice in this, for Hamlet was in sad arrears to the Polonius family.

Syracuse University

EARLY AMERICAN PLAYBILLS

EDWIN WOLF, 2ND

The account of the collection of playbills recently acquired by the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia which appeared with illustrations in the Autumn, 1955, issue of the *Shakespeare Quarterly* (see *SQ*, VI, 476) can be extended.

About a year ago the Library Company of Philadelphia learned that a book dealer in town, unused to handling antiquarian items, had a large collection of playbills which he was selling at fifty cents apiece. The lot had been offered to another library en bloc, and had been turned down. A telephone call persuaded the dealer to bring in all he had left, which he was more than happy to do. A glance at the lot made it obvious that a serious mistake had been made in breaking them up, and the Library Company immediately purchased everything remaining except for scattered late bills.

Either unrecognized or disregarded was the fact that these were the *playhouse files*. The earliest volume which the Library Company secured was that which follows on immediately after the Virginia set, containing fifty playbills for the season at the New Theatre from December 13, 1802, to April 4, 1803. It is bound in contemporary boards, bears the signature of William B. Wood dated 1803 inside the cover, and has a manuscript index, numbering in a hand identical with that on the Virginia bills, and the same kind of manuscript changes for subsequent performances. It is obvious therefore that the Virginia runs are also Wood's sets.

In addition, the Library Company secured runs from July 2, 1821, to April 23, 1822, for the Walnut Street Theatre, from December 7, 1822, to April 30, 1823 (incomplete), for the New Theatre, from June 12, 1826, to July 11, 1826, for the same, from October 29, 1827 to February 29, 1828, for the Chestnut Street Theatre, from July 3 to July 18, 1828, for the same, for October 2, 1828, to December 27, 1828, for the Arch Street Theatre, for January 5, 1833, to July 27, 1833,

for the Walnut Street Theatre, for March 23, 1833, to June 27, 1833 (incomplete), for the Chestnut Street Theatre, from June 29, 1836, to February 13, 1845 (incomplete), for the Walnut Street Theatre, and from May 3, 1841, to March 21, 1842, for the Chestnut Street Theatre. Most of these are in their original covers, most with manuscript indices and a few with the signature of William B. Wood. It may be assumed that all have a common provenance, the importance of which is that for almost fifty years Wood was one of the most prominent actor-managers of the country, and these represent his playhouse files of playbills.

Recently it was learned that Mr. George R. Loeb, a Philadelphia collector, had heard of these files before they came to the attention of the Library Company and had bought the major portion of them. He sold most of his lot to Harvard, some items to Virginia, and still had in his possession several volumes of Washington, D. C., bills.

The Library Company of Philadelphia

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE

The document reproduced as the Frontispiece records a neighborly deed by John Shakespeare, the father of the playwright, namely, the sale of a narrow strip of land to George Badger, so as to straighten out the dividing line between their parcels of real estate in Henley Street, Stratford-upon-Avon. The deed, which is exhibited in the Birthplace at Stratford, is reproduced with the permission of the Trustees through the friendly cooperation of Mr. Levi Fox, Director.

* * * * *

ILLUSTRATIONS

On pages 210 and 234, which would otherwise be blank, are reproductions of playbills from Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres of January 1754. They illustrate the kind of theatrical bill of fare of the period discussed elsewhere in this number by Professors Avery and Scouten. The Covent Garden bill supplies a wealth of detail about hour of performance, prices, arrangements for reserved seats, sale of libretti, and cut rates for late arrivals. At Drury Lane, the operatic version of *Macbeth* is still on the boards; the pantomime is announced in larger type than is used for the main attraction; and there is reference to visits back stage. Unfortunately, the bill does not tell who it was that particularly desired the performance of *Romeo and Juliet* on Tuesday.

* * * * *

A SURVEY OF SHAKESPEARE SCHOLARSHIP IN 1955

The valuable series of annual essays giving a survey of the preceding year's scholarly publications in the field of Shakespeare Studies is interrupted this year, but not from choice. Very late in 1955, the scholar who had expected to contribute this year's essay was prevented by circumstances beyond his control from completing the assignment, much to his regret—and to the great loss of the members of the Shakespeare Association of America. The series will presumably begin again next year.

* * * * *

ERRATUM

By inadvertence, the list of Contributors on pages 142-143 of the Winter issue of *SQ* omitted the name of Mr. CHARLES S. FELVER, whose note on Robert Armin was printed on pages 135-137. Mr. Felver is Lecturer in English and Supervisor of the Graduate Residence Center of the University of Michigan at Saginaw.

* * * * *

RARE PLAYS AT ANTIOCH SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

This year the Antioch Area Theatre will double its activities by presenting identical seven-play, eleven-week programs in Toledo and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

In Yellow Springs, the plays will be presented outdoors against the backdrop of Antioch Hall. In Toledo, the plays will be given in the amphitheatre of the Zoological Gardens.

Two companies have been engaged. One will present *Hamlet*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*. The other company will give *King Lear*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, and *Measure for Measure*. The two companies will offer their plays in repertory, moving alternately between Yellow Springs and Toledo.

The season will open on 27 June and continue through 9 September. During the final four weeks, audiences at Toledo and Yellow Springs will be able to see a different play each night of the week. Details may be secured from Mr. Norman Bixler, Director of the Antioch College News Bureau, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

* * * * *

SAN DIEGO SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

Using The Old Globe that was designed by the late Thomas Wood Stephens, the San Diego Festival will present this summer three festival plays and possibly a fourth special production. The three festival plays will be chosen from a group of three by Shakespeare (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth*, and *Richard II*) and two by Ben Jonson (*Volpone* and *The Alchemist*).

The regular season will run from 20 July to 2 September. The special production, featuring guest artists from the professional stage, will open on 7 September and continue 17 days. A company of from 40 to 50 will be recruited after tryouts on Monday, 11 June, at The Old Globe. Scholarships valued at \$250 are offered to a limited number of acting applicants; in addition, there are three scholarships for stage managers and three for costumers. Information may be secured from the San Diego Community Theatre, Box 2171, San Diego 12, California.

* * * * *

SECOND SUMMER SHAKESPEARE INSTITUTE OF YALE UNIVERSITY

Encouraged by the gift of \$3000 by a noted financier, Mr. Harold F. Johnson, of New York and Palm Beach, the Second Annual Summer Shakespeare Institute of Yale University will open its three-week session on 9 August. The courses to be offered by Professors Charles T. Prouty and Maynard Mack are intended primarily for high school teachers. Part of the fund donated by Mr. Johnson has been used to set up seventeen Fellowships paying full or part tuition. There will be a workshop on production and direction of selected Shakespeare plays led by Professor Frank Macmullan of the Yale School of Drama. Students will be taken on field trips to Stratford, Connecticut, to watch plays in rehearsal and on stage at the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy, and leads and apprentices of the Stratford troupe will, as last year, participate in Yale seminars and class work. There will be a concert of Elizabethan music, played on authentic instruments of about 1600. The Yale Elizabethan Club, home of one of the great collections of Shakespeare Quartos and Folios, will be used as a gathering place for students.

Contributors

JOHN CRANFORD ADAMS, the author of *The Globe Playhouse*, is President of Hofstra College.

DR. G. V. P. AKRIGG, Professor of English at The University of British Columbia, has in preparation a book on *The Court of King James*.

PROFESSOR EMMETT L. AVERY, of The State College of Washington, is one of the editors of the *History of the London Stage* now in preparation.

R. C. BALD, Professor of English at Chicago, is in residence this year at The Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon.

DR. JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT, member of the English Department of Hunter College, and Executive Secretary of the Renaissance Society of America, is on leave of absence this year for research and travel in Europe.

JOSEPH S. G. BOLTON, Professor of English and Chairman of the English Department of Skidmore College, has contributed articles on *Titus Andronicus* to several learned journals.

HALDEEN BRADY, Professor of English in Texas Western College, is the author of numerous articles on literary subjects and of books on Chaucer, Edgar Allan Poe, and Pancho Villa.

DR. NORMAN A. BRITTIN is Professor of English at Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

PROFESSOR BERTRAND HARRIS BRONSON, of the University of California at Berkeley, is the author of *Joseph Ritson, Scholar-at-Arms, Johnson Agonistes and Other Essays*, and many other books and articles.

JOHN P. CUTTS is a student at The Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon.

DEAN ROBERT DAVRIL, Faculté des Lettres, of the University of Rennes, is a specialist on John Ford.

DR. GILES E. DAWSON, Reference Librarian of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and member of the Editorial Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, is the editor of *July and Julian*, recently published by the Malone Society.

While completing her dissertation on Sir John Harington at Columbia, MRS. ELIZABETH STORY DONNO is teaching in the School of General Studies.

REGINALD FOAKES, of the English staff at Durham University, is a visiting scholar in the United States in 1955-1956, with headquarters at Yale.

PROFESSOR HANS GALINSKY, of the University of Mainz, has just completed a year of study and travel in the United States as a Fullbright Fellow, with headquarters at the University of Minnesota.

ALICE GRIFFIN, of Hunter College, the successor to Mrs. Donald F. Hyde as the author of "Theatre Notes"—see *SQ*, Winter 1955—is primarily interested in the performance of Shakespeare's plays.

DR. S. K. HENINGER, JR., a member of the English Department at Duke University, is completing a study of the interpretation of weather phenomena in Renaissance England.

HARRY R. HOPPE, Professor of English at Michigan State College, at East Lansing, is a specialist in the literary relations of England and the Low Countries.

PROFESSOR RICHARD HOSLEY, of the University of Missouri, is editor of *Romeo and Juliet* for the Yale Shakespeare.

PAUL JORGENSEN, of the English Department of the University of California at Los Angeles, is Bibliographer for *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

PROFESSOR KENNETH O. MYRICK, of Tufts College, is the author of a work on Sir Philip Sidney but in recent years has been collecting materials for a treatise on Shakespeare's Christian humanism.

PROFESSOR MARIO PRAZ, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, at the University of Rome, is the author of many books, including *Studies in Seventeenth-century Imagery*, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*, *La poesia metafisica inglese del seicento*, and *Richard Crashaw*.

ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, is one of the editors of the *History of the London Stage*, now in preparation.

WARREN VINCENT SHEPARD, formerly of Northwestern University, has been professor of English at Syracuse University for many years. His special interests are Chaucer, Shakespeare, and the training of teachers of English.

IRWIN SMITH is the author of a book now at press dealing with Shakespeare's Globe playhouse.

A. F. SPROULE is an undergraduate student at the University of Alberta.

SIR ST. VINCENT TROUBRIDGE, head of an old British naval family, derives his title from a baronetcy conferred on an ancestor who was one of Nelson's Captains. He is Examiner of Plays in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, where, under a statute of 1737, all stage plays are censored, as in the office of the Tudor Master of the Revels. Sir St. Vincent's other interests are theatre history and philology, he being about the only Englishman to have contributed for ten years to *American Speech*.

DR. ALICE WALKER is the author of *Textual Problems in the First Folio* and a number of other bibliographical and textual studies of Shakespeare's plays.

DR. EDWIN WOLF, 2ND, is Director of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1955

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University of California, Los Angeles

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THE following bibliography, which includes only works directly relating to Shakespeare, attempts to list all items of interest to the scholar, the actor and producer, and the general reader. A number of books and articles which may be of use to those concerned with Shakespeare have therefore been included, even though they do not represent original contributions to knowledge or criticism. And although no attempt has been made to achieve exhaustive coverage of journalistic reviews of productions or books, there will usually be found a representative body of such selections—particularly those of foreign origin and those dealing with Shakespearian festivals. Similarly with new printings of previously issued editions or studies: these are recorded whenever there has been substantial revision or whenever they come from foreign countries, where re-issues or editions and translations are significant indications of a continuing interest in Shakespeare. All reviews have been grouped under the books they deal with, even if these books have been included in previous bibliographies. In such instances, however, the description of the book has

8. Davies, Robertson, with Tyrone Guthrie, Tanya Moiseiwitsch, and Boyd Neel. *Thrice the Brinded Cat Hath Mew'd*. Toronto: Clarke-Irwin. Pp. xii + 178. [Illus.].
A record of the third Stratford (Ontario) Festival with essays by R. D. on *Caesar*, and *Merch.*, and their production by Michael Langham and Tyrone Guthrie respectively.
9. Davis, Francis D. "An Itinerant Playgoer", *SNL*, V, 37.
Notes on North American *Shak.* festivals.
10. Dorsch, T. S. "Shakespeare Studies", *The Year's Work in English Studies*, 1953. Vol. XXXIV. Ed. by F. S. Boas and Beatrice White. Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. 110-149.
11. Edinborough, Arnold. "Shakespeare Confirmed: at Canadian Stratford", *SQ*, VI, 435-440.
A brief history of the Stratford (Ontario) Festival, followed by a detailed criticism of the 1955 performances (*Caesar* and *Merch.*), and by a look into the future.
12. "English Plays in Paris", *TLS*, May 27, p. xv. Includes *Shak.* productions.
13. Feldman, A. Bronson (ed.). "Fifty Years of the Psychoanalysis of Literature: 1900-1951", *Literature and Psychology*, Aug.
Contains 25 *Shak.* items.
14. Fricker, Robert. "Sammelbericht", *SJ*, XCI, 286-311.
15. Griffin, Alice. "The American Shakespeare Festival", *SQ*, VI, 441-446.
Surveys the season at Stratford, Conn., and offers reasons for the "disappointing" productions of *Caesar* and *Temp.*
16. Griffin, Alice. "Shakespeare Through the Camera's Eye 1953-1954", *SQ*, VI, 63-66.
Lear, R. II, and *Macb.* on TV.
17. Griffin, Alice. "Shakespeare, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, XXXIX (Ap.), 81-85.
American *Shak.* festivals; community and college performances.
18. Gross, Ronald. "Summer Lectures at the Shakespeare Institute", *SNL*, V, 35.
Abstracts of 24 lectures given in 6 series of 4 each.
19. Hastings, William T. "A Survey of Shakespeare Scholarship in 1954", *SQ*, VI, 109-134.
20. Heuer, Hermann. "Sammelbericht über in- und ausländisches Schrifttum", *SJ*, XCI, 312-347.
21. Heuer, Hermann, Wolfgang Clemen, and Rudolf Stamm, (ed.). *SJ*, XC, Heidelberg, 1954.
Rev. by C. J. Sisson in *MLR*, L, 525-526.
22. Heuer, Hermann, Wolfgang Clemen, and Rudolf Stamm (ed.). *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XCI. Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer. Pp. 442.
Rev. by C. J. Sisson in *MLR*, L, 525-526.
23. Hyde, Mrs. Donald F. (ed.). "Current Theater Notes", *SQ*, VI, 67-88.
An annotated list of *Shak.* performances in professional, community, and college theatres. Includes summaries, indication of trends (particularly on the Continent and in college theatres), and special mention of outstanding events. Eight full-page illustrations.
24. "International Notes", *SS* 8, pp. 118-122.
Reports from correspondents upon books and performances.
25. Jacquot, Jean. "Stratford-upon-Avon, 1954", *Etudes Anglaises*, VII, 441-442.
26. Jorgensen, Paul A. (ed.). "Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1954", *SQ*, VI, 201-245.
27. Kindervater, Jos. Wilh. and Erich Thurmann. "Shakespeare-Bibliographie für 1951 und 1952, nebst Index", *SJ*, XCI, 372-435.
28. Knudsen, Hans. "Shakespeare auf Berliner Bühnen 1945-1955", *SJ*, XCI, 251-259.
29. Kunz, Harald. "Wiener Shakespeare-Aufführungen 1952/54", *SJ*, XCI, 268-277.
30. Leech, Clifford. "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study. 1. Critical Studies", *SS* 8, pp. 139-146.
31. Marder, Louis (ed.). *The Shakespeare Newsletter*, Vol. V, nos. 1-6.
Contains news items; notices and reviews of productions and conferences; digests of articles, scholarly papers, and dissertations; book reviews; and occasional brief signed articles.
32. McManaway, James G. "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study. 3. Textual Studies", *SS* 8, pp. 153-159.

33. Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *Shakespeare Survey* 6. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953.
Rev. by H. Lüdeke in *ES*, XXXVI, 170-171.
34. Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *Shakespeare Survey* 7. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954.
Rev. by Robert G. Shedd in *MLN*, LXX, 138-141; by Madeleine Doran in *SQ*, 90-96; by J. M. Nosworthy in *RES*, n.s., VI, 196-197; in *CE*, XVI, 200.
35. Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *Shakespeare Survey* 8. An Annual Survey of Shakespearian Study and Production. Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. viii + 171.
Contains, in addition to numerous articles (for which see separate listings), a section of "International Notes" on *Shak.* studies and productions in various countries, and a listing of "Shakespeare Productions in the United Kingdom: 1953". This year's volume concentrates on *Shak.* comedy.
Noticed in *CE*, XVII, 63; by Robertson Davies in *Saturday Night*, Jun. 11; in *N&Q*, n.s., II, 320; rev. in *TLS*, May 27, p. 286; by E. C. Pettet in *English*, X, 189; by Albert Gilman in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 318-319.
36. Ranney, Omar. "Antioch Shakespeare Festival", *SQ*, VI, 453-454.
A brief account of the background, the organization, and the past season of the Festival.
37. Robinson, Horace W. "Shakespeare, Ashland, Oregon", *SQ*, VI, 447-451.
Surveys, on its twentieth anniversary, the history of the Oregon *Shak.* Festival, and briefly reviews its past season (including the *Dream*, *Macb.*, *Timon*, and *All's W.*).
38. Scott-Moncrieff, George. "At the Edinburgh Festival", *Tablet*, CCVI, Sep. 3, p. 227.
Review of productions of *Caesar*, *Romeo*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.
39. Schrt, Ernst Theodor, Karen Kramp, and Wolfgang Stroedel. "Einzelbesprechungen", *SJ*, XCI, 348-355.
40. *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter*. Spring, 1955-Autumn, 1955.
41. Shakespeare Memorial Library. "Shakespeare Productions in the United Kingdom: 1953", *SS* 8, pp. 123-126.
A list compiled from the records in the Shakespeare Memorial Library, Birmingham.
42. Shapiro, I. A. "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study. 2. Shakespeare's Life, Times and Stage", *SS* 8, pp. 146-153.
43. Sprague, Arthur Colby. "Shakespeare on the New York Stage 1954-1955", *SQ*, VI, 423-427.
44. Stamm, Rudolf. "Dramenforschung", *SJ*, XCI, 121-135.
Surveys the nature, purpose, and methods of the science called drama-research, especially in *Shak.* scholarship.
45. Stroedel, Wolfgang. "Bühnenbericht 1954", *SJ*, XCI, 217-224.
46. Stroedel, Wolfgang. "Die Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft 1954", *SJ*, XCI, 370-371.
47. Vowles, Richard B. "Dramatic Theory: A Bibliography", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LIX (Aug.), 412-428, (to be cont.).
48. Walcutt, Charles C. et al. "A Check List of Explication", *The Explicator*, XIII, Index.
31 *Shak.* items listed.
49. Wells, William and Peter G. Phialas (ed.). "Literature of the Renaissance in 1954-English", *SP*, LII, 228-284.
Shak. bibliography on pp. 248-265.
50. Wood, Roger and Mary Clarke. *Shakespeare at the Old Vic, 1954-55*. London: A. & C. Black.
Includes 100 photographs.
Rev. by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 322-323.

COLLECTIONS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS

51. Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. A facsimile edition prepared by Helge Kökeritz. With an Introduction by Charles Tyler Prouty. Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
Rev. by Fredson Bowers in *MP*, LIII, 50-57 (review article: "The Yale Folio Facsimile and Scholarship"); by Louis Marder in *American Scholar*, XXIV, 241-242; by Karl

- J. Holzknicht in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLIX, 190-195; by George Freedley in *Library Journal*, LXXX, 83; by J. I. M. Stewart in *New Statesman and Nation*, XLIX, 622; in *TLS*, Oct. 14, p. 612 (comments by R. C. Marsh and C. L. Quinton, Oct. 21, p. 621; by W. W. Greg and R. C. Bald, Oct. 28, p. 639); by Nils Molin in *Göteborgs handels- o. sjöfartstidning*, Feb. 22.
52. *Complete Works*, ed. by Charles J. Sisson. London, 1954.
Rev. by G. Blakemore Evans in *JEGP*, LIV, 127-128; by M. A. Shaaber in *SQ*, VI, 340-341; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 328-330.
53. *Shakespeare's Works* (English and German), ed. by L. L. Schücking, 6 volumes. Berlin and Darmstadt.
54. *Oeuvres complètes*, published under the direction of Pierre Leyris and Henri Evans. Includes *H. VI* tr. by Georges Garampon, Henri Thomas, and Armand Guilbert; *R. III* tr. by Pierre Leyris; *Errors*, tr. by Francis Ledoux. 1954.
55. *Shakespeare neu übersetzt*, von Richard Flatter. Wien/München, 1951-1954, Vols. I and II. (See 1954 Bibl., nos. 31, 32.)
Rev. by Wolfgang Stroedel in *SJ*, XCI, 353-355.
56. *Shakespeare neu übersetzt*, von Richard Flatter. Wien/München, 1954. Vol. III. (See 1954 Bibl., no. 32.)
Rev. (*Hamlet*) by Rudolf Stamm in *ES*, XXVI, 228-238, 289-299.
57. *Shakespeare neu übersetzt*, von Richard Flatter. Wien/München: Walter Krieg. Vol. VI: *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *All's Well That Ends Well*.
For Vol. I see 1952 Bibl., no. 26; for Vols. II-V, 1954 Bibl., no. 32.
58. *Obras Completas de William Shakespeare. I Macbeth, Trabajos de Amor Perdidos, Mucho Ruido Para Nada*, ed. by Luis Astrana Marín. Edición Bilingüe Ilustrada. Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- 58a. [*Complete Works*.] Tr. into Portuguese by Carlos Alberto Nunes, São Paulo, Brazil: Companhia Melhoramentos. 11 vols.
59. *Chaucer to Shakespeare*, ed. by D. K. Roberts. London: Penguin Books. Pp. 223.
Rev. in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIII, 721-722.
60. *Commedie scelte: La Tempesta, Il Mercante di Venezia, Molto strepito per nulla, La bisbetica domata, Le Allegre donne di Windsor*, tr. into Italian by Carlo Rusconi. Introduction and Notes by Ferdinando Carlesi. Roma: Editrice Cremonese. I classici Azzurri, no. 11.
61. *Complete Historical Plays*, ed. by Peter Alexander. (Collins New Classics). London: Collins. Pp. 704.
Preface to each play and a glossary.
62. Dodd, E. F. *Six Tales from Shakespeare*. London, 1954.
Rev. in *The Hindu* (Madras), weekly edition, Jan. 10, 1954, p. 11.
63. *Four Plays*, ed. by G. B. Harrison. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954. Pp. 172.
64. Garçon, Maurice (ed.). *Plaidoyers Chimériques*.
Selections from *Shak*'s famous declaimers or legal defendants, as the "romantique Antony" and "le More de Venise". Attempts to place the defendant before his literary jury with all the facts of the case, the passions and motivations analyzed.
Rev. by Armand Rio in *Biblio*, XXIII (Ap.), 16.
65. Lamb, Charles. *Tales from Shakespeare: The Tempest; Macbeth*. Notes by P. Ferand and H. Sascuteanu; preface by J. Assénat. Paris: Sascot, 1954.
Noticed by H. Kerst in *Les Langues Modernes*, XLIX, no. 1, 91-92.
66. Lamb, Charles and Mary. *Tales from Shakespeare, from the Collection by Charles and Mary Lamb, with Illustrations by Geoffrey Whittam*. (Stories Old and New.) London: Blackie. Pp. [2] + 157.
67. Lang, Jennie. *Stories from Shakespeare* [told to children]. Illustrated by N. M. Price and others. Pp. 126.
68. Martin, Constance M. (ed.). *Stories from Shakespeare*. (Riverside Readers.) London: Philip and Tacey. Pp. 48.
69. Specking, Inez (ed.). *Shakespeare for Children*. Vantage. Pp. 95.
Presents thirteen plays.
70. *All's Well that Ends Well*, ed. by G. B.

- Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). London: Penguin Books. Pp. 139.
- Follows folio text, keeping original arrangement and punctuation, but modernizing spelling. Dates the play after 1608.
71. *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by Peter Phialas (Yale Shakespeare). New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. Pp. ix + 179.
- Noticed in *Essential Books*, Dec., p. 26.
72. *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by M. R. Ridley (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1954.
- Noticed in *CE*, XVI, 258; by Patrick Cruttwell in *EC*, V, 382; rev. by T. M. Parrott in *JEGP*, LIV, 128-129; by J. R. Brown in *MLR*, L, 197-199; by E. J. West in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 186-187; in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIII, 518-519; by Elkin C. Wilson in *SQ*, VI, 337-339; by Alice Walker in *RES*, n.s., VI, 415-417; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 333-336.
73. *As You Like It*, ed. by S. C. Burchell (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
- Noticed in *CE*, XVI, 258; rev. by C. J. Sisson in *MLR*, L, 196-197; by Helen Andrews Kaufman in *SQ*, VI, 349-350; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 342-343.
74. *As You Like It*, ed. by S. C. Sen Gupta. Calcutta: A. Mukherjee and Co., Ltd., n.d.
75. *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. by G. B. Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). London: Penguin Books. Pp. 96.
76. *A Comédia dos Equívocos*, ed. by Henrique Pongetti and Willy Keller. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa Nacional.
- 76a. *A Comédia dos equívocos*. Traduzida directamente do original inglês por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão. Pp. 182.
77. *Coriolanus*, ed. by B. H. Kemball-Cook (New Clarendon Shakespeare Series). Oxford, 1954. Pp. 254.
- Noticed by Robert H. Goldsmith in *SQ*, VI, 471; rev. in *SNL*, V, 22.
78. *Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy (Arden Shakespeare). London: Methuen. Pp. lxxxiv + 224.
- Starts "from editorial and critical first principles". Discussion of sources, including a reprinting of prose tale, *Frederyke of Jennen*.
- Noticed in *TLS*, Mar. 4, p. 139; in *Dublin Magazine*, n.s., XXXI, no. 2, p. 45; by Christopher Devlin in *Month*, n.s., CC, 110-111; in *English*, X, 157; rev. by Patrick Cruttwell in *EC*, V 383-385; by Winifred M. T. Nowotny in *MLR*, L, 327-330; in *The Statesman* (Delhi and Calcutta), May 8, p. 15; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 337-340.
- 78a. *Cymbeline*. Traduzido da edição Collins por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão. Pp. 239.
79. *Hamlet*, commentary by Richard Burton, illustrations by Roger Furse. N. Y.: Philip C. Dushnes, 1954. Pp. 140.
- See 1954 Bibl., no. 49.
80. *Hamlet*, övers. Sven Rosén. Stockholm, 1951.
- Rev. by H. Gillqvist in *Moderna språk*, XLVIII (1954), 341-348.
81. *Hamlet*, ed. by Stanislaw Helsztynski and tr. by Władysław Tanawski (Biblioteka Narodowa, no. 20, series II). Breslau: Ossolinski. Pp. c + [260].
82. *Amleto*, tr. into Italian by Raffaello Piccoli (Collezione Sansoniana Straniera, no. 63). Firenze: Sansoni. Pp. xxxii + 316.
- Bilingual edition, revised text, with introduction and notes. A reprint.
83. *Hamlet*, translated by Isao Mikami (Kawade Library). Tokyo.
- Edition of 4500 copies; formerly issued by same publishers in Citizens' Library in ed. of 5500 copies.
84. *Hamlet*, tr. into Kannada by Y. N. Shanmukiah. Publisher unknown.
- Rev. by V. S. in the *Deccan Herald*, Supplement (Bangalore), Feb. 6.
- 84a. *Hamlet*, *Danski Kraljević*, tr. by Živojin Simić and Sima Pandurović. Cetinje: Narodna knjiga. Pp. 270 + 1.
85. *La Storia di Re Enrico IV*, tr. into Italian by Gabriele Baldini. Milano: Edizioni Rizzoli & Co., 1954, nos. 750-752. Pp. 233.
86. *King Henry V*, ed. by R. J. Dorius (Yale Shakespeare). New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 150 (app.).
87. *Henry V*, ed. by J. H. Walter (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1954.
- Noticed by Patrick Cruttwell in

- EC, V, 388-389; in CE, XVI, 258; by C. G. Thayer in *Books Abroad*, XXIX, 99; rev. by T. M. Parrott in JEGP, LIV, 131-135; by Clifford Leech in MLN, LXX, 209-211; by E. J. Honigmann in MLR, L, 197; by E. J. West in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 186-187; by Alice Walker in RES, n.s., VI, 308-310; by Hermann Heuer in SJ, XCI, 330-333, by Hereward T. Price in SQ, VI, 457-461.
88. *La Cronica di Re Enrico V*, tr. into Italian by Gabriele Baldini. Milano: Edizioni Rizzoli & Co., nos. 843-844.
- 88a. *O Rei Henrique V*. Tradução directa do inglês por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão. Pp. 210 + 1.
- 88b. *O Rei Henrique VI* [Parts I-III]. Traduzida directamente da edição de Collins por Henrique Braga. 3 vols. Porto: Lello & Irmão.
89. *Le Roi Henri VI*. Text and Translation of *Henry VI, Part I*, ed. by F. Sauvage and A. Koszul (Collection Shakespeare). Paris: La Societe d'Edition Les Belles Lettres.
- 89a. *O Rei Henrique VIII*. Tradução da edição Cassell por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão. Pp. 185 + 1.
90. *Julius Caesar*, ed. by T. S. Dorsch (Arden Shakespeare). London: Methuen. Pp. lxxiv + 166.
Introduction by Dorsch gathers together commentators' opinions on text and sources, characterization, imagery, and language. Footnotes are mainly new, with occasional retentions from original Arden ed. by Michael Macmillan. Includes relevant selections from North's *Plutarch*.
Noticed in TLS, Dec. 2, p. 731.
91. *Julius Caesar*, ed. by Tyrone Guthrie and G. B. Harrison (New Stratford Shakespeare). London, 1954.
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92. *Julius Caesar* [and] *Elizabeth the Queen*, [by] Maxwell Anderson, ed. by Helen E. Harding (Noble's Comparative Classics). Noble, 1954. Pp. 338.
93. *La tragedia di Giulio Cesare*, tr. into Italian by Alfredo Obertello (Biblioteca moderna Mondadori), 1953.
Noticed in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 184.
94. *Giulio Cesare*, tr. into Italian by Aldo Ricci (Collezione Sansoniana Straniera, no. 1). Firenze: Sansoni. Pp. xlvii + 216.
Bilingual edition, revised text, with introduction and notes. A reprint.
95. *King John*, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1954.
Noticed in *English*, X, 157; in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIII, 151-152; in TLS, Feb. 4, p. 78; rev. in *Dublin Magazine*, XXXI, no. 1, 66-67; by Irving Ribner in SNL, V, 14; by Christopher Devlin in *Month*, XIV (Aug.), 110; by Franklin B. Williams, Jr., in SQ, VI, 339-340; by Hermann Heuer in SJ, XCI, 330-333.
- 95a. *El-rei Joao*. Traduzida directamente da edição de Collins por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão. Pp. 196.
96. *King Lear*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1952.
Rev. by R. W. Zandvoort in ES, XXXVI, 83-85; by Patrick Cruttwell in EC, V, 386-388.
97. *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by Richard David (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1952.
Noticed by Patrick Cruttwell in EC, V, 382.
98. *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Arden Shakespeare). A re-issue in 1955. London: Methuen. Pp. lxxiv + 200.
Noticed by Patrick Cruttwell in EC, V, 383-387.
99. *Macbeth*, ed. by Eugene M. Waith (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
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100. *Macbeth*, ed. by Stephan Hartman (Englische Bücherei Series). Wien: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag; Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1954.
Slightly abridged and with comments.
- 100a. *Macbeth*, tr. by Eugenio Péricles da Silva Ramos. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca José Olympio. Pp. 280.
101. *Macbeth* [adaptation for Radio Production], ed. by L. Olsson, *Plays*, Ap., 87-95.
102. *Measure for Measure*, ed. by David Harding (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
Rev. by F. E. Bowman in *South*

- Atlantic Quarterly*, LIV, 431-33; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 342-343.
103. *Measure for Measure*, ed. by G. B. Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). London, 1954.
Rev. by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 344-345.
104. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by J. R. Brown (Arden Shakespeare). London: Methuen. Pp. lviii + 174.
Text is based on Q 1 (1600). Appendix includes a new translation of the story of Gianetta from *Il Pecorone*, as well as full or abridged versions of other possible sources.
Noticed in *TLS*, Jul. 15, p. 402; in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXV, 151; in *Dublin Magazine*, XXX (Oct.-Dec.), 46-47; in *English Journal*, XLIV, 549.
105. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Tyrone Guthrie and G. B. Harrison (New Stratford Shakespeare). London, 1954.
Rev. by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 343-344.
106. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by K. P. Karunakara Menon. Madras: Viswanathan, n.d.
107. *The Merchant of Venice*. A Comedy, ed. with notes and glossary by Fr. Lange. Berlin: Velhagen & Klasing.
108. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press. A re-issue.
- 108a. *Vesele Windsorke. The Merry Wives of Windsor*, tr. by Herbert Grün. Maribor: Založba "Obzorja". Pp. 141.
- 108b. *A Midsummer Night's Dream. En Sommernattsdrøm* (Excerpts), tr. by André Bjerke. *Ordet* (Oslo), VI, no. 4, 181-188.
Extracts from the play as produced at Den nationale Scene, Bergen, in March.
109. "Beatrice and Benedick", an adaptation of *Much*, as edited by M. Mantle, *Plays*, XIV (May), 13-18.
- 109a. *Othello*, tr. into Macedonian from Russian by Blaže Koneski. Skopje: "Kočo Racin", 1953. Pp. 256.
110. *Othello*. London: Folio Society. Pp. 128.
Contains color plates by Tanya Moiseiwitsch and an introduction, by Orson Welles, dealing with the problems of this play from the point of view of actor and producer.
111. *Othello*, ed. by S. C. Sen Gupta. Calcutta: A. Mukerjee and Co., Ltd., n.d.
112. *Othello*, tr. into Malayalam by M. R. Nair. Kozhikode, Travancore-Cochin State: Matrubbhumi Printing and Publishing Co., no. 14, 1952.
113. *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, The Life and Death of King Richard II*, ed. by Matthew W. Black. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. Pp. [xxxii] + 655.
114. *King Richard II*, ed. by S. C. Sen Gupta. Calcutta: A. Mukherjee and Co., Ltd., n.d.
115. *King Richard II*, ed. by K. P. Karunakara Menon. Madras: Viswanathan, n.d.
116. *Richard II [and] Elizabeth the Queen* [by] Maxwell Anderson, ed. by Frank A. Ferguson (Canadian Classics). Clarke, Irwin, 1954. Pp. xxxii + 301.
117. *Richard III*, ed. by J. Dover Wilson (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954.
Noticed in *SNL*, V, 42; rev. by I. B. Cauthen, Jr., in *SQ*, VI, 174-176.
- 117a. *Rihard III*, tr. by Matej Bor. Ljubljana: Založba Slovenska Matica. Pp. 242.
118. *Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Richard Hosley (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
Noticed in *CE*, XVI, 258; rev. by Sidney Thomas in *SQ*, VI, 345-348; by F. E. Bowman in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIV, 431-433.
119. *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by John Dover Wilson and George Ian Duthie (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. liii + 249.
Textual working hypothesis is that Q 2 was printed from a copy of Q 1 which had been corrected and annotated by a scribe collating it with manuscript. Introduction (by Duthie) holds that the story of the star-crossed lovers is subordinate to the feud of the families and the differences of style do not imply more than one date of composition.
Noticed by R. A. Foakes in *English*, X, 227; in *Mercure de France*, CCCXV (Sep.), 147; rev. in *TLS*, Aug. 19, p. 475.
120. *Romeo e Giulietta*, tr. into Italian by

- Cino Chiarini (Collezione Sansoni-ana Straniera, no. 4). Firenze: Sansoni, 1954. Pp. xxxviii + 243.
Bilingual edition, revised text, with introduction and notes. A reprint.
121. *William Shakespeare: Sonnetti; Introduzione, Traduzione e Note di* Alberto Rossi. Torino, 1952.
Rev. by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 326-327.
122. *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. by Thomas G. Bergin (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
Noticed in *CE*, XVI, 258; rev. by C. J. Sisson in *MLR*, L, 196-197; by Helen Andrews Kaufman in *SQ*, VI, 349-350; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 342-343.
- 122a. *Amsia de uma fúria*. Tradução directa da edição de Collins por Henrique Braga. Porto: Lello & Irmão. Pp. 224.
123. *The Tempest*, ed. David H. Horne (Yale Shakespeare). New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 113.
124. *The Tempest*, ed. by Frank Kermode (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1954.
Noticed by Patrick Cruttwell in *EC*, V, 384-385; in *CE*, XVI, 258; rev. by Winifred M. T. Nowotny in *MLR*, L, 327-330; in *Quarterly Review*, no. 603, pp. 131-132; in *Month*, XIII, 125; in *The Statesman* (Delhi and Calcutta), Aug. 22, p. 4; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 336-337.
125. *The Tempest*, ed. by V. H. Kilkarni. Booksellers Pub. Pp. 278.
126. *The Tempest*, ed. by S. C. Sen Gupta. Calcutta: A. Mukherjee and Co., Ltd., n.d.
127. *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by J. C. Maxwell (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1953.
Rev. by Alice Walker in *RES*, n.s., VI, 80-82; by Patrick Cruttwell in *EC*, V, 386-388.
128. *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by H. N. Hillebrand and T. W. Baldwin (New Variorum Edition). Philadelphia, 1953.
Rev. by John Russell Brown in *MLN*, LXX, 131-134; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 340-341.
129. *Twelfth Night*, ed. by William P. Holden (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
Noticed in *CE*, XVI, 258; rev. by C. J. Sisson in *MLR*, L, 196-197; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 342-343.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES RELATING TO SHAKESPEARE

130. Aden, John M. "Shakespeare in Dryden's First Published Poem?" *N&Q*, n.s., II, 22-23.
Echoes of *Ham*. in Dryden's "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings".
131. Ahlberg, Alf. "Stackars William Shakespeare". *Dala-Demokraten*, IV, 8; *Smålands Folkblad*, VI, 8; *Norrlandska Socialdemokraten*, XII, 8.
132. "Alas, Poor William! Philadelphia Ban", *Reporter*, Sep. 8, p. 4.
133. Aldus, Paul J. "Analogical Probability in Shakespeare's Plays", *SQ*, VI, 397-414.
Analyzes scenes—from *Caesar*, *H. IV*, and *Antony*—which "serve the function of establishing probability for later important actions or sequences of actions, or of producing significant retrospects".
134. Alexander, Peter. *Hamlet: Father and Son*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1953.
Noticed in *New Statesman and Nation*, XLIX, 300-301; in *SNL*, V, 42; rev. in *TLS*, Mar. 11, p. 147; by E. C. Pettet in *English*, X, 189-190.
135. Allen, E. G. "Cruxes in 'Love's Labour's Lost'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 287.
Suggests a new emendation of IV.iii.177: "With men of like inconstancy".
136. Allen, Glen O. "The Dram of Eale' Again", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 292-293.
A new reading of Hamlet's words in the light of their context: I. iv. 36-38.
137. Allen, N. B. "Who Stole the Handkerchief?" *N&Q*, n.s., II, 292.
Cites Mrs. Anna Jameson's *Characteristics of Women* . . . as the source for the mistaken notion that Desdemona's handkerchief was stolen by the ensign's child. Kittredge and the earlier edition of Craig's inherit the mistake. Cinthio shows the ensign was the thief.
138. Alpert, Hollis. "Movies Are Better than the Stage", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 23, pp. 5-6, 31.
Though interpretation of *Shak*.

- movies will always be subject to dispute, the over-all contribution of movie-versions to the popular appreciation of *Shak.* is considerable.
- 138a. Alvarez, A. "How to Read a Poem (III). Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and the Turtle*", *Mandrake*, II (Autumn & Winter 1955-56), 395-408.
139. Amphlett, H. *Who Was Shakespeare?* A New Enquiry with an Introduction by Christmas Humphreys. London: Heinemann. Pp. xx + 218. Restates the claims of the seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Noncryptographic.
Noticed in *TLS*, Jul. 1, pp. 370-371; by R. A. Foakes in *English*, X, 228.
140. Andersson, Hans. *Strindberg's Master Olof and Shakespeare*. Uppsala, 1952. Rev. by Arik Gustafson in *Neu-philologische Mitteilungen*, LVI, 74-76.
141. Anikst, Alexander. "Two Hamlets", *News* (Moscow), May 10, 24-26. Two rival sell-out productions of *Ham.* successfully interpret the complex character of Hamlet with more subtlety than in the 1930's and '40's. The theme, however, is Denmark, the prison state, with Hamlet as liberator.
142. Ardura, E. "Shakespeare and Cervantes", *Américas*, VII, (Nov.), 14-18.
143. Arnold, Aerol. "The Recapitulation Dream in *Richard III* and *Macbeth*", *SQ*, VI, 51-62.
These dreams not only, at best, serve the structural purpose of summary, but give insights into the intricacy of *Shak.*'s workmanship.
144. Arthos, John. "The Comedy of Generation", *EC*, V, 97-117.
Interpretation of *All's W.*, tracing the matter of the comedy to "something about confusion at the very roots of love".
145. "As You Like It, The Old Vic Company", *Theatre World*, May, pp. 15-20.
146. Auslander, J. "Shakespeare to Our Time", *New York Times Magazine*, Ap. 24, p. 40. With portrait.
147. Austin, Warren B. "A Supposed Contemporary Allusion to Shakespeare as a Plagiarist", *SQ*, VI, 373-380.
The supposed allusion—from Sonnet IX of R. B.'s *Greene's Funerals*—is an attack on Gabriel Harvey (one of the most ungenerous exploiters of Greene's reputation) and is unrelated to the charge of plagiarism against *Shak.* in the *Groatsworth*.
148. Babler, O. F. "Shakespeare's *Tempest* in Czech", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 15-16.
History of *The Tempest* in Czech literature.
149. Bache, William B. "The Murder of Old Cole: a Possible Source for *Macbeth*", *SQ*, VI, 358-359.
Starting from the suggestion of Llewellyn Powys and Francis Mann that Deloney's story of Old Cole in *Thomas of Reading* may have influenced *Macb.*, Bache tries to show that *Shak.*'s variations from Holinshed are to be found here.
150. Bache, William B. "'Othello' and Conrad's 'Chance'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 478-479.
Shak. echoes seen in the action, characterization, images, and, ironically, in the direction of the theme.
151. Bacon, Wallace A. "A Footnote to Mr. Harbage's 'Hamlet', II. ii. 306-324", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 475-477.
Takes issue with Harbage's "angelic" interpretation of man in the "quintessence of dust" passage, and proposes that, although Hamlet is not here in the *contemptus mundi* tradition, yet he is admitting the metaphysical dilemma of what is and what seems to be.
152. Bailey, Margery. *Ashland Studies in Shakespeare 1954*. Privately published by the Division of Education and the Board of Directors of the Oregon Shakespeare Festival. Ashland, 1954.
A mimeographed collection of essays serving as an adjunct to the Ashland Festival study course.
Rev. in *SNL*, V, 7.
153. Bailey, Margery. "The Shakespeare Stage and American Theatre", *Colorado Quarterly*, I (Spring, 1953), 355-367.
154. Baldwin, T. W. "On Atomizing Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCI, 136-144.
Advocates certain critical instruments, such as the study of Elizabethan rhetoric in relation to contemporary dramatic action, as necessary preliminaries to *Shak.* emendation; *Shak.* must be seen as a whole,

- and as "the most successful pattern-tracer of his time".
155. Barber, C. L. "From Ritual to Comedy: An Examination of *Henry IV*", in *English Stage Comedy. English Institute Essays*, 1954, (see no. 760), pp. 22-51.
Concerned with the relation of comedy to comparable symbolic action in folk rituals—specifically, with analysis between comedy in *H. IV*, and "the customary misuse of traditional saturnalian holidays".
 156. Barnet, Sylvan. "Charles Lamb's Contribution to the Theory of Dramatic Illusion", *PMLA*, LXIX (1954), 1150-1159.
A clarification of Lamb's theory of actor's "distance", particularly in reference to *Oth.*, *Lear*, and *Macb.* (pp. 1154, 1156-1159).
 157. Barnet, Sylvan. "Some Limitations of a Christian Approach to Shakespeare" *ELH*, XXII, 81-92.
Shak's tragic heroes are heroic—not religious—characters, and they undergo death—not redemption or damnation—as their final dramatic action. A rigidly Christian interpretation turns *Othello* into a villain and gives a comic ending to the tragedies by insisting that the good are rewarded and the bad punished.
 158. Barrett, A. "Shakespeare at Stratford, U.S.A.", *America*, XCIII, 512-514.
The experience of the Stratford setting as well as the sense of pilgrimage makes Laurence Langner's project of *Shak*. for American actors and an American public a growing success.
 159. Barry, Michael. "Shakespeare on Television", *BBC Quarterly*, IX, no. 3, 143-149.
 160. Bartley, J. O. *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney*. Cork Univ. Press, 1954.
An historical study of the earliest Irish, Welsh, and Scottish characters in English plays from 1587-1800; more important to students of theatrical history are the items of social convention which these dramatic type-characters inherit.
Noticed by Denis Donaghue in *Studies*, LXIV, 255.
 161. Bates, Ronald. "Shakespeare's 'The Phoenix and Turtle'", *SQ*, VI, 19-30.
Comparison with other *Shak*. birds leads to identification of "bird of loudest lay" with the cock; and theme of constancy suggests relationship of poem with *Ham.* and *Troi.* (See no. 188.)
 162. Bateson, F. W. "Editorial Commentary", *EC*, V, 91-95.
Discusses critical implications of Theobald's emendation, "a babbled of green fields".
 163. Bennett, Paul E. "An Apparent Allusion to 'Titus Andronicus'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 422-424.
The recent editor of *A Knack to Know a Knave* finds that the widely accepted dating of *Titus Andronicus* (see no. 127) as 1592 is unfeasible as the only allusion to *Shak*'s play is contained in the very corrupt quarto of *A Knack*. On basis of further evidence, Bennett suggests that the allusion is to "Titus Vespasianus" and would reinstate Henslowe's own dating of *Titus Andronicus*.
 164. Bennett, Paul E. "The Word 'Goths' in 'A Knack to Know a Knave'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 462-463.
Offers explanation as to how the word "Goths" came into the bad quarto, proposing that *Shak*'s *Titus* was currently being performed by the same company—Strange-Derby's men—as *A Knack* in 1593, establishing an earlier date for *Shak*'s *Titus*.
 165. Bentley, E. "Othello on Film and on the Stage", *New Republic*, Oct. 3, p. 21-22.
 166. Berkeley, David S. "On Oversimplifying Antony", *CE*, XVII, 96-99.
Finds the "worshipful" Antony of *Shak*. criticism at odds with the Antony who was wont to "double-cross" suspected friends, and who deliberately gave Cleopatra ambiguous and dangerous advice in the last scenes of the play.
 167. "Bigger than Life", *Time*, Jun. 27, p. 48.
Review of production of *Macb.*
 168. Bingham, R. "Movies: the Shakespeare Boom [*Othello*]", *Reporter*, XIII (Nov. 17), 34-37.
 169. Biswanger, Raymond A. Jr. "More Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 301-302.
 170. "Blake Water-Colours: Illustrations from the British Museum's Newly-acquired Second Folio", *Illustrated*

- London News*, CCXXV (Dec. 25, 1954), 1163.
171. Boas, Guy. *Shakespeare and the Young Actor; a Guide to Production*. London: Rockliff. Pp. xi + 126.
- An account of what the author—headmaster of Sloane School, Chelsea—has learned in almost 25 years of producing *Shak.* with a schoolboy cast. Special attention to 12 plays.
- Noticed in *RN*, XIII, 126; rev. in *TLS*, Mar. 4, p. 128; by Julian Hall in *English*, X, 190.
172. Boase, T. S. R. "An Extra-Illustrated Second Folio of Shakespeare", *British Museum Quarterly*, XX, no. 1, pp. 4-8.
173. Bogard, Travis. "Shakespeare's Second Richard", *PMLA*, LXX, 192-204.
- The Deposition Scene, by the unforeseen innovation of presenting Richard as the suffering man rather than merely the actor or king, made *R. II* not of one piece as a play; but it helped *Shak.* turn toward comparable studies of character in his later plays.
174. Bonjour, Adrien. "Hamlet and the Phantom Clue", *ES*, XXXV (1954), 253-259.
175. Borchardt, Hans Heinrich. "Schillers Bühnenbearbeitungen Shakespearescher Werke", *SJ*, XCI, 52-64.
- Argues that Schiller's freedom in translation and adaptation is justified by his own concept of human tragedy.
176. Borinski, Ludwig. "Shakespeare's Comic Prose", *SS* 8, pp. 57-68.
- Based on paper read at the *Shak.* Conference, Stratford-upon-Avon, August, 1953. Describes several types of *Shak.*'s prose, such as naturalistic, low comedy, the clown's, the court's, and the town's. *Shak.*'s prose is consciously artistic, but still has the "quaint irregularity" of the late Renaissance and is a great distance from Congreve's control and wit.
177. Borinski, Ludwig. "Soldat und Politiker bei Sh. und seinen Zeitgenossen", *SJ*, XCI, 87-120.
- The character-types of the soldier and politician are considered as opposites in *Shak.* and in other 16th-century writers.
178. Borth, Christy. "Will Shakespeare Comes to Canada", *The Montrealer*, Sep. (Condensed in *The Reader's Digest*, Sep., pp. 137-140.)
- The story of Stratford, Ontario, and its *Shak.* festival.
179. Boughner, Daniel C. *The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy*. Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1954.
- Rev. by Werner P. Friederich in *Comparative Literature*, VII, 88-89; by Leicester Bradner in *MLN*, LXX, 205-206; by Virgil B. Heltzel in *SQ*, VI, 342-343; by Norman B. Spector in *Italica*, XXXII, 193-194.
180. Bowers, Fredson. "Hamlet As Minister and Scourge", *PMLA*, LXX, 740-749.
- Hamlet is torn between serving as "scourge" (usually a wicked agent of private revenge) and serving as "minister" (a God-appointed agent of public justice). In killing Polonius, he succumbs to the impatient and personal impulse, and threatens to be merely "scourge"; but after the sea voyage he patiently realizes that God is slowly using him as "minister".
181. Bowers, Fredson. "McKerrow's Editorial Principles for Shakespeare Reconsidered", *SQ*, VI, 309-324.
- Reconsiders, with a view to their serviceability today, the theories of *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare*, and finds them—though recoiling from "Wilsonian" extravagance—unresponsive to scientific textual scholarship.
182. Bowers, Fredson. *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists*. Philadelphia: Published for the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation by the University of Pennsylvania Library. Pp. 200.
- Noticed in *VQR*, XXXI, civ.
183. Bowers, Fredson. "The Printing of *Hamlet*, Q 2", *SB*, VII, 41-50.
- Completes evidence, begun earlier, that two presses were used in printing *Ham.* Q 2, and from the evidence constructs a hypothesis about the order of the sheets through the press.
184. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, VI, Charlottesville, 1953.
- Rev. by Philip Edwards in *SQ*, VI, 100-101.
185. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliography-*

- cal Society of Virginia*, VII. Charlottesville. Pp. 240.
- Rev. in *SNL*, XIII, 13; in *TLS*, Jun. 3, p. 308; by Karl J. Holzknecht in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLIX, 190-195.
186. Boyle, Robert R., S.J. "The Imagery of *Macbeth*, I, vii, 21-28", *MLQ*, XVI, 130-136.
- Cherubs usually seen by *Shak.* as winged infants, are naturally related to pity and the new-born babe; but when striding the blast, they are purposely unnatural, like much of play's imagery. "Intent" and "spur" (in later image) refer to *Macbeth's* duties as a loyal subject—not, as usually thought, to his crime.
187. Bradbrook, M. C. *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy*. London: Chatto and Windus. Pp. ix + 246.
- An attempt "to trace the chronological development of Elizabethan comedy while distinguishing its characteristic forms". Includes: "Artificial Comedy and Popular Comedy: Shakespeare's Inheritance"; "Character as Plot. I: Protean Shapes: Shakespearean Form in Comedy"; and "Jonson's Masques and Shakespeare's Last Plays".
- Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 9, p. 744; in *Mercury de France*, CCCXXV (Dec), 721; in *The Listener*, Nov. 10, p. 809.
188. Bradbrook, M. C. "The Phoenix and the Turtle", *SQ*, VI, 356-358.
- Denies the two conclusions reached by Ronald Bates (see no. 161), and postulates "bird" in the generic sense, while opposing the sexual implications drawn by Bates.
189. Braun, Hanns. "Shakespeare auf süd-deutschen Bühnen nach dem Kriege", *SJ*, XCI, 260-267.
- Deplores a lack of continuity of famous *Shak.* actors. The decadence of fine German actors is blamed partially on the movie industry.
190. Brewer, D. S. "Measure for Measure, I, i, 3-9", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 425.
- Explains the difficult syntax in the Duke's opening speech, and denies the need for any revision or emendation here.
191. Briley, John. "Of Stake and Stage", *SS* 8, pp. 106-108.
- Prints and comments upon two documents attesting Edward Alleyn's services in his royally sponsored office in charge of bear-baiting at the Bear Garden, where this sport alternated with stage plays.
192. Brook, Peter. "The Influence of Gordon Craig in Theory and Practice", *Drama*, Summer, pp. 32-36.
193. Brown, Beatrice M. "Stratford Ontario Shakespeare Festival", *Players Magazine*, Oct., pp. 4-5.
194. Brown, John Russell. "The Compositors of *Hamlet* Q 2 and *The Merchant of Venice*", *SB*, VII, 17-40.
- Begins re-examination of problem concerning nature of copy for Q 2 *Ham*. Proposes that two compositors were responsible for *Ham*—the two who did *Merch.* printed by James Roberts for Thomas Hayes in 1600.
195. Browning, D. C. (ed.). *Everyman's Dictionary of Shakespeare Quotations*. London, 1954.
- Rev. in *The Indian Review* (Madras), LVI, 30.
196. Browning, I. R. "Coriolanus: Boy of Tears", *EC*, V, 18-31.
- Interpretation stressing Martius as "mother's boy", whose rebellion against Rome serves to discharge the anger aroused in him by Volumnia's dominance.
197. Bryant, J. A., Jr. "Shakespeare's Allegory: *The Winter's Tale*", *Seawanee Review*, LXIII, 202-222.
- Allegory in *W.T.* based on St. Paul's prophetic discourse *Epistle to the Romans*.
198. Budd, L. J. "Baconians: Madness through Method", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIV, 359-368.
199. Bullett, Gerald. *The Alderman's Son*. London, 1954.
- Rev. by Karen Kramp in *SJ*, XCI, 352-353.
200. Burgess, Mary Ellen. "A Growing Theatre", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 81.
- The Stratford (Ontario) Festival's popularity.
- 200a. Bush, Douglas. "Seventeenth-Century Poets and the Twentieth Century", *Annual Bulletin of the Modern Humanities Research Association*, pp. 16-28.
- The 1955 presidential address.
201. Byrne, M. St. Clare. "Twelfth Night

- "In the Round", *Theatre Notebook*, IX, 46-52.
Discusses Hotson's conclusion that plays at Court were presented "in the round".
202. Cairncross, Andrew S. "An Inconsistency in '3 Henry VI'", *MLR*, L, 492-494.
Completes the explanation, begun by Tucker Brooke, of the puzzling role of Montague.
203. Cairncross, Andrew S. "The Quartos and the Folio Text of *King Lear*", *RES*, n.s., VI, 252-258.
Both Q1 and Q2, corrected from an authoritative MS, were used as copy for F1. "And this practice points rather to the printing-house than to the theatre, and to the bad rather than the 'doubtful' status of the quarto text."
204. Calendoli, Giovanni. "Le ambizioni sbagliate della Dodicesima Notte", *La Fiera Letteraria*, no. 12 (Mar. 20), p. 7.
205. Campbell, Lily B. *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*. A Reprint. New York: Barnes & Noble. Pp. xii + 296.
Noticed by James G. McManaway in *SQ*, VI, 474.
206. Carrington, Norman Thomas. *Shakespeare: "King Henry IV, Part 2"*. London: Brodie. Pp. 72.
Notes on chosen English texts series, ed. by Carrington. See 1954 Bibl., no. 166.
207. Chambers, E. K. *Shakespeare: A Survey*. Fifth reprinting. New York: Macmillan. Pp. x + 325.
Noticed by James G. McManaway in *SQ*, VI, 473.
208. Chapman, Raymond. "The Fair-Haired Man: An Elizabethan Superstition", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 332.
The dramatic convention of fair-haired heroes symbolizing cowardice in many Elizabethan and Jacobean plays; notes esp. Sir Andrew Aguecheek in *Twel*. Reply by W. H. W. Sabine, II, 547.
209. Charlton, H. B. and R. D. Waller (ed.). *Edward II*. New York: Methuen. 2nd ed.
"Reviser's Note" (pp. 212-225) discusses interrelations of this and *Shak*'s early history plays.
210. Charney, Maurice M. "Shakespeare's Roman Plays: a Study of the Function of Imagery in the Drama", *DA*, XIV, 118-119.
211. Cheney, David R. "Animals in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'", *DA*, XV, no. 11, 2188.
The sources, uses, and audience-understanding of animal references in a sixteenth-century setting.
212. Chute, Marchette. *Ben Jonson of Westminster*. New York, 1953.
Rev. by J. C. Trewin in *Books of the Month*, Jan., pp. 22, 28; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 317-318.
213. Chute, Marchette. *Shakespeare and His Stage*. Univ. of London Press, 1953.
Noticed by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 322; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 260.
214. Chute, Marchette. "Shakespeare of London", *Horn Book Magazine*, XXXI, 28-35.
Informal comments on research and writing methods for her book.
215. Clair, John A. "Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, III, i, 92", *The Explicator*, Oct., no. 5.
Sees *Hamlet*'s "well, well, well" as indicating his discovery of interlopers, and compares the words with the Doctor's in *Macb*. (V.i.63).
216. Clark, A. [Shakespeare Gardens, New Rochelle], *Wilson Library Bulletin*, XXX, 272.
217. Clark, William Smith. "The Siddons' in Dublin", *Theatre Notebook*, IX, Jul-Sep., pp. 103-111.
218. Clarke, Sylvester F. "Shakespeareana", *Players Magazine*, Oct., pp. 6-7.
On the arena staging of *Ham*. at A. & T. College, Greensboro, N. C.
219. Clemen, Wolfgang. "Clarences Traum und Ermordung" (*Richard III* I. iv), in *Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*. München. Pp. 46.
220. Clemen, Wolfgang. *Die Tragödie vor Shakespeare*. (Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, V.) Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer. Pp. 270.
221. Clissold, Stephen. "In Quest of *Hamlet*", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 74.
On seeing *Ham*. performed at festivals in Denmark and Yugoslavia.
222. Clurman, H. "Theater", *Nation*, Aug. 6, pp. 122-124.
Reviews the Denis Carey production of *Caesar*.

- Reply by L. Kirstern, Aug. 20, p. 164; rejoinder, Aug. 27, pp. 182-183.
223. Coghill, Nevill. "Comic Form in *Measure for Measure*", *SS* 8, pp. 14-26.
Part of a lecture delivered at Stratford-upon-Avon *Shak.* Conference, 1953. Tries to fix the form of *Meas.* into the cynical world of *Point Counter Point*, and finds the result un-Shakespearian. Decides that only a medieval, Christian concept of comedy can explain the play.
- 223a. Cohen, Hennig. "Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, I, v, 128-130", *Explicator*, Nov.
224. Coleman, H. *Shakespeare and the Bible*. A Reprint. New York: Vantage.
225. "Controversial Noguchi Sets for *Lear*", *Art News*, LIV (Dec.), 42-43. (See also no. 744.)
226. Copley, J. "'They Say the Owle Was a Baker's Daughter' (*Hamlet*, IV. v. 40)," *N&Q*, n.s., II, 512-513.
The symbolic and "proverbial" associations *Shak.*'s audience might have made.
227. Costa, Bruno. *La tragedia di Giulio Cesare di William Shakespeare*. Roma: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Quaderni didattici. Cineteca scolastica italiana, 1955.
The winning essay in a competition.
228. Craig, Hardin. *The Written Word and Other Essays*. Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953.
Rev. in *SNL*, V, 7.
229. Crane, Milton. "*Twelfth Night* and Shakespearian Comedy", *SQ*, VI, 1-8.
Twel. studied for its comic pattern—"a combination of consistent and ingenious variations on a favorite theme of classical comedy"—and studied for its position in the context of *Shak.* comedy.
230. Crommelynck, Fernand (ed.). *Le Chevalier à la lune, ou Sir John Falstaff*. Bruxelles: Editions des Artistes, 1954. Pp. 245.
An edition of a comedy in five acts restored to its original form and preceded by commentary establishing a connection with *Shak.*
231. Crosse, Gordon. *Shakespearean Playgoing 1890-1952*. London, 1953.
Rev. by Rudolf Stamm in *SJ*, XCI, 356-365.
232. Crow, John. "Editing and Emending", in *Essays and Studies*, 1955, ed. for the English Association by D. M. Low, n.s., VIII, 1-20.
Amusing, informal reflections, by a "sternly ultra-conservative" editor, on various problems and techniques of textual editing—principally *Shak.*
233. Cruttwell, Patrick. "Another Part of the Wood", *EC*, V, 382-390.
A synoptic glance at the new Arden editions which point up the shift in historical viewpoint; we now see *Shak.* as "more theological, more difficult, more serious, more worried and more medieval, than our forebears" saw him.
234. Cruttwell, Patrick. *The Shakespearean Moment*. Columbia Univ. Press.
Rev. by Alfred Harbage in *MLN*, LXX, 529-530; by Bruce Dearing in *CE*, XVII 60-61; by Kathleen Nott in *Partisan Review*, XXII, 556-560; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Angloises*, VIII, 67-68; by Roy Walker in *The Aryan Path*, XXV (1954), 178-179; by William Blackburn in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LIV, 562-564; by John Thompson in *Hudson Review*, VIII, 466-468; by Maynard Mack in *Yale Review*, XIV, 267-273; in *VQR*, XXXI, cii-civ.
- 234a. Čulić, Čiro. "Shakespeareova 'Mjera za Mjeru' u izvedbi splitskog Narodnog kazališta", *Mogućnosti* (Split), VII (July), 555-558.
About *Meas.* and its translation into Croatian.
235. Culliford, S. G. "'Romeo and Juliet', II. i. 38", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 475.
Explains the line variant in Q 2 as an error by the compositor in the reading of the ampersand.
236. Cunningham, Dolora G. "The Characterization of Shakespeare's Cleopatra", *SQ*, VI, 9-17.
Cleopatra's final change for the better is not an inconsistency in character but represents an attempt—thoroughly understandable to Elizabethans—to prepare for death by means of Christian repentance.
237. Curry, John V. *Deception in Elizabethan Comedy*. Chicago: Loyola Univ. Press.
Rev. in *N&Q*, n.s., II, 504.
238. Cutts, J. P. "Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment", *Music and Letters*, XXXVI, 110-125.
239. Dahl, Torsten. *Linguistic Studies in*

- Some Elizabethan Writings*. Aarhus and Copenhagen, 1951.
Rev. by Fernand Mossé in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 67.
240. Danks, K. B. "King Richard II," The 'Deposition' Scene in Q 4", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 473-474.
Disputes the "piratical" nature of the Deposition Scene; its textual disturbances can be accounted for by political censorship.
241. Danks, K. B. "Shakespeare and 'Equivocator'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 289-92.
Endeavors to dispel the idea that "equivocator" as used by the Porter in *Macb.* alludes specifically to Jesuits, e.g., Southwell or Garnett, and suggests that *Shak.*'s allusion is a general one.
242. Danks, K. B. "Shakespeare's Second Best Bed", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 227.
Corroborates Roland M. Frye's opinion that *Shak.*'s bequest was consistent with one or more "Elizabethan commonplaces now lost to us."
243. Danks, K. B. "'A Shrew' & 'The Shrew'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 331-332.
Rejects Sir Edmund Chambers' view that *A Shrew* was the source-play upon which *Shak.*'s *The Shrew* was based, and suggests with Howard Parsons that the two plays have same fundamental authorship—*Shak.* *The Shrew* constitutes merely a telescoping of the fuller title—*The Taming of the Shrew*.
244. Danks, K. B. "What Heminges and Condell Really Meant", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 16-19.
Calls for a re-examination of the "origin and ethical status" of *Shak.* quartos. Reinterprets the significance, particularly in the light of Stationers' Register, of "diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies".
245. Dean, Leonard F. "Voice and Deed in Coriolanus", *Univ. of Kansas City Review*, XXI, 177-184.
Discusses "the play's important yet neglected patterns of language and mimetic action".
246. Dean-Smith, Margaret. "The First Night of 'Twelfth Night'", *TLS*, Feb. 11, p. 89.
Agrees with Sir Walter Greg's objections to Hotson's dating of play. Cites additional evidence that no "play so named could have had its first presentation at any time of year than within the 'Christmas holidays'".
247. DeMarco, Norman. "Dance in the Basic Arts Program", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 7.
Univ. of Arizona's academic experiments: dance sequences for *Wives, Romeo*.
248. Desai, Chintamani N. *Shakespearean Comedy*. Agra, 1952.
Rev. by Aerol Arnold in *SQ*, VI, 101-102.
249. Devlin, Christopher. "Grace and Nature in Shakespeare", *The Month*, n.s., XIV, 372-374.
Treatment of this theme by 3 current critics: Robert Speaight, M. D. H. Parker and G. Wilson Knight.
250. Dickson, Sarah Augusta. *Panacea or Precious Bane. Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature* (Arents Tobacco Collection Publication No. 5). New York: The New York Public Library, 1954. Pp. xiv + [230].
Rev. by James G. McManaway in *SQ*, VI, 350-351; by Lawrence C. Wroth in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLIX, 281-284.
251. Diekmann, Ernst. "Shakespeares 'Hamlet', Grundzüge einer Deutung", *Die Neueren Sprachen*, X, 456-468.
252. Dobbek, Wilhelm. "Herder und Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCI, 25-51.
Discussion of the German *Shak.* renaissance in the 18th century through Herder, whose achievements had been prepared by the work of Lessing and Wieland.
253. Donaghue, D. "Macklin's Shylock and Macbeth", *Studies*, XLIII (1954), 421-430.
254. Donnelly, John. "Incest, Ingratitude, and Insanity", *Psychoanalytic Review*, XL, 149-155.
Lear needed complete or incestuous love from his daughters, evidence being cited chiefly from his "incestuous fantasies" once he has become "insane".
255. Doran, Madeleine. *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama*. Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1953.
Rev. by H. D. Gray in *RN*, VIII, 116-117; by M. C. Bradbrook in *MLR*,

- L, 68-70; by E. T. Sehr in *MLN*, LXX, 524-527; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 152-153; in *CE*, XVI, 466; by Levin L. Schücking in *Anglia*, LXXIII, 219-221.
256. Dörnemann, Kurt. "Shakespeare an Ruhr und Rhein", *SJ*, XCI, 238-250.
257. Dorsch, T. S. "This Poor Trash of Venice", *SQ*, VI, 359-360.
Would suggest the retention of "trace" instead of the Folio text's "trash" and follows *OED* meaning of "trace" as "hound".
258. Downer, Alan S. "A Comparison of Two Stagings: Stratford-upon-Avon and London", *SQ*, VI, 429-433.
259. Downer, Alan S. (ed.). *English Institute Essays—1952*. New York, 1953.
Rev. by John H. Long in *SQ*, VI, 189-190.
260. Draper, John W. "Ethiopian in Shakespeare", *Anglia*, LXXIII, no. 1, 65-70.
Shak. shows no indication that he is familiar with current voyagers to Ethiopia, such as Alvarez, and uses "Ethiopian" only "in its vaguest and least definite sense of black".
261. Draper, John W. "Indian and Indies in Shakespeare", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LVI, 103-112.
Locates Shakespeare's 24 "Indian" references, noting that the majority refer to the Asiatic world, and 6, from his later plays, seem to refer to the American Indies—thus reflecting the growing contemporary interest in new continents.
262. Draper, John W. "Shakespeare and Muscovy", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXIII, no. 80, pp. 217-221.
263. Drews, Wolfgang. *Die Grossen Zauberer*. Wien/München, 1953. Pp. 362.
Portrayals of great *Shak.* actors and actresses.
Rev. by Wolfgang Stroedel in *SJ*, XCI, 366-367.
264. Duckles, Vincent. "New Light on 'O Mistress Mine'", *RN*, VII, 98-100.
265. Dufour, Emile H. "World Information: Chile", *World Theatre*, IV, no. 3, 62-64.
Leon Felipe's adaptation of *Shak.*'s *Twel.* cuts the historical allusions and develops the poetic and universal elements.
266. Dwyer, J. J. "Did Shakespeare Read Dante?" *Tablet*, CCVI (July 9), 33-34.
Following the suggestion of Maurice Baring, Dwyer examines especially *Meas.*, *Ham.*, and *Romeo* for some interesting parallel lines and situations from Dante's *Divine Comedy* and *Vita Nuova*.
267. Eagle, R. L. "Bacon and Shakespeare on Companionship in Misfortune", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 472-473.
The idea is traced briefly in the work of both authors, with Bacon drawing his examples chiefly from those already dead.
268. Eckhoff, Lorentz. *Shakespeare: Spokesman of the Third Estate*. Oslo, 1954.
Rev. by Pierre Legouis in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 259-260.
269. Eissler, K. R. "On Hamlet", *Samiksa*, VII, 85-132.
The ambiguity between the historical record of real events and the dream-world is the source of the play's power. Hamlet himself represents not an adult neurotic, but the soul of a child with the intellect and body of an adult.
270. Eliot, T. S. "Gordon Craig's Socratic Dialogues", *Drama*, Spring, pp. 16-21.
271. Elliott, G. R. *Flaming Minister: A Study of Othello*. Durham, N. C., 1953.
Rev. by G. K. Hunter in *RES*, n.s., VI, 82-83.
272. Elzna, Hebe. *The Sweet Lost Years: A Novel*. London: Hale. Pp. 192.
Based upon the early life of Ellen Terry.
273. Empson, William. "The Elizabethan Stage", *Literary Guide*, LXX, no. 3, 12-14.
Comments on the shape of the stage. (See no. 399.)
274. Emslie, Macdonald. "Pepys' Shakespeare Song", *SQ*, VI, 159-170.
Prints Cesare Morelli's musical setting—from Pepys' library—for "To be, or not to be". Shows Pepys' interest in dramatic recitative and the age's use of blank verse for recitative, and offers a possible clue to Betterton's delivery.
275. Engel, Lehman. *Music for Classical Tragedy*. New York, 1953.
Noticed by Russell Graves in *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 269-270.

276. Evans, Bertrand. "The Poem of Pericles", in *The Image of the Work, Essays in Criticism* by B. H. Lehman and Others. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press. Pp. 35-56.
- First Gower choruses show poetic rather than dramatic qualities in a way unique for *Shak*. Hence, instead of the commonly hypothesized source play, there may have been an intermediate narrative poem which *Shak*. imperfectly and belatedly dramatized.
277. Evans, G. Blakemore. "The 'Dering MS' of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and Sir Edward Dering", *JEGP*, LIV, 498-503.
- Discusses the implications—mainly the date of the MS and its relation to the public stage—of the author's conclusion that "the first page not only bears revisions in the hand of Sir Edward Dering, but is copied as a whole by Sir Edward Dering".
278. Everitt, E. B. *The Young Shakespeare: Studies in Documentary Evidence. Anglistica*, Vol. II. Copenhagen, 1954.
- Rev. by M. M. Reese in *RES*, n.s., VI, 310-313; by Clifford Leech in *MLN*, LXX, 206-208; in *CE*, XVI, 199; by C. J. Sisson in *SQ*, VI, 455-457; by Levin L. Schücking in *Anglia*, LXXIII, 221-224.
279. Faltus, Hermann. *Vorhang Auf. Theater in Bremen*. Bremen: Verlag B. C. Heye, 1954. Pp. 119.
- Rev. by Wolfgang Stroedel in *SJ*, XCI, 367.
280. Fayard, Jean. "L'affaire Roméo", *Revue de Paris*, Jan., pp. 165-166.
- Rev. of Renato Castellani's film.
281. Feldman, A. Bronson. "The Confessions of William Shakespeare", *American Imago*, X, 113-116.
- Psychoanalytic study of *Shak*'s sonnets supports Looney's belief that their author, as well as the author of the plays, was the seventeenth Earl of Oxford.
282. Feldman, A. Bronson. "Othello in Reality", *American Imago*, XI (1954), 147-179.
- On the basis of evidence previously presented, it is assumed that the author of *Oth.* was Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. Facts from life of de Vere are offered to give some insight into the unconscious that generated the play. Conclusion: the play was de Vere's apology for having failed as a statesman and soldier.
283. Feldman, A. Bronson. "Shakespeare Worship", *Psychoanalysis*, II (1), 57-72.
- The cult of the Bard believed to have derived its basic 300-year-old enthusiasm from the id, the wishing-well of the unconscious.
284. Feldman, Harold. "Unconscious Envy in Brutus", *American Imago*, IX, 307-335.
- Brutus was motivated by an unconscious envy of Caesar; his later psychic need for punishment thwarted the conspirators' chance of winning the war. *Shak*'s ambivalent literary portrayal of Brutus is closer to the historical Brutus than was intended.
285. Feuillerat, Albert. *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays: Authorship, Chronology*. Yale Univ. Press, 1953.
- Rev. by J. Vallette in *Les Langues Modernes*, XLIX, no. 1, 90-91; by H. W. Donner, in *Moderna språk*, XLIX, 112-116; by A. José Axelrad in *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XXVIII, 344-345.
286. French, Yvonne. *Mrs. Siddons, Tragic Actress*. London, 1954.
- Rev. by J. C. Trewin in *Books of the Month*, Jan., p. 28.
287. Fiehler, Rudolph. "How Oldcastle Became Falstaff", *MLQ*, XVI, 16-28.
- Discusses not only how Oldcastle came by his role of highwayman and clown in *Shak*., but also how Pope and other 18th-century editors tried to discredit Theobald's proof that Falstaff had once been Oldcastle.
288. "Filming of *Richard III*", *Illustrated London News*, CCXXV, Dec. 4, 1954, p. 1019.
- Contains scenes from Olivier's latest *Shak*. production.
289. Findlater, Richard. "Acting the Works", *Twentieth Century*, Aug., pp. 130-139.
290. Findlater, Richard. "Shakespearean Atrocities", *Twentieth Century*, Oct., pp. 364-372.
291. Finkenstaedt, Thomas. *Die Verskunst des jungen Shakespeare, R III, R II, King John*. Ms. diss. München.
292. Finn, Sister Dorothy Mercedes. "Love and Marriage in Renaissance Litera-

- ture", *DA*, XV, no. 11, 2188-2189.
- Considers Renaissance writers as inheriting two antithetical traditions—the classical and the medieval—and their attempts to harmonize them.
293. Fischer, Walther. "Shakespeares späte Romanzen", in *SJ*, XCI, 7-24.
- Discussion of *Shak*'s change from the cynicism of his bitter plays to the merciful understanding of human frailty of his late romances.
294. Ford, Boris (ed.). *The Age of Shakespeare*, (A Guide to English Literature, Vol. II). Aylesbury and London: Pelican Books. Pp. 479.
- For sections dealing with *Shak*, see nos. 452, 514, 536, 714, 716.
- Noticed by Gordon R. Smith in *CE*, XVII, 124; in *English Journal*, XLIV, 436; rev. in *TLS*, May 13, p. 248; by E. C. Petter in *English*, X, 189; in *The Statesman* (Delhi and Calcutta), May 8, p. 15.
- 294a. Ford, George D. *These Were Actors. A Story of the Chapmans and the Drakes*. New York: Library Publishers.
- Entertaining history of two gifted families that acted *Shak*, all over America.
295. Förg, Josef. *Typische Redeformen und Motive im vorshakespeareschen Drama und ihre Vorbilder bei Seneca*. Ms. diss. München.
- Shak*, passim.
296. Fox, Levi. *The Shakespearean Gardens*, (Magna Colour Books). Norwich, England: Jarrolds, 1954. Pp. [28].
297. Frankis, P. J. "Shakespeare's 'King John' and a Patriotic Slogan", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 424-425.
- Notes the famous patriotic ending of *Shak*'s *John* has its parallel in Andrew Borde's *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* published in 1548. Though editor Honigmann (1954) has cited other later parallels, certain aspects are common only to Borde and Shakespeare.
- 297a. Fredén, Gustaf. "En strand där timjan blommar vild. En studie i Shakespeare-dramats bakgrund", in *Orestes och försoningen*, Lund, pp. 85-108.
- What *Shak*'s native country and the medieval tradition meant to his world picture.
298. Freund, John Richard. "Dualism in Richard II: A Study in Thematic Structure". Pp. 249. *DA*, XV, 1397-1398. Abstract of Indiana Univ. diss.
- Richard's character, as well as the tragedy itself, is examined on the basis of three types of dualism: the heretical dualism of the Cathars, the dualism of Orthodox Christianity, and a dimensional dualism resulting from gap between human reason and Providential logic.
299. Freund, Philip. *Prince Hamlet*. New York: Bookman Associates, 1953. Pp. 70.
- Noticed by Milton Crane in *SQ*, VI, 352; rev. by Karen Kramp in *SJ*, XCI, 350-352.
300. Frye, Roland Mushat. "The Accepted Ethics and Theology of Shakespeare's Audience as Utilized by the Dramatist in Certain Representative Tragedies, with Particular Attention to Love and Marriage". A dissertation (Princeton Univ., 1952).
- Rev. by Nellie Shoemaker in *SNL*, V, 29.
301. Frye, Roland Mushat. "Macbeth's Usurping Wife", *RN*, VIII, 102-105.
- The "secondary" vice of Lady Macbeth, in terms of Elizabethan religious doctrine, is that of wifely usurpation of domestic authority. The wife, moreover, should be not only obedient rather than driving; she should also help her husband resist evil.
- 301a. Frye, Roland Mushat. "Maurice Evans and *Richard II*", *SNL*, IV (Nov. 1954), 40.
- Notes Evans' gratuitous insertion of lines from Marlowe's *Edward II* that explicitly portray Bolingbroke as planning, ordering, and paying for the murder of Richard II.
302. Frye, Roland Mushat. "'Out, Out, Brief Candle', and the Jacobean Understanding", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 143-145.
- Presents pertinent homiletic evidence from contemporary Renaissance preachers like Donne, Taylor, and Grindal, as well as from the Bible, that this phrase, often suspected of echoing "mortalism", would actually be understood by a Jacobean audience as signifying that "trust in this life . . . is ultimately but trust in a candle and in a shadow".
303. Fusillo, Robert James. "Tents on Bosworth Field", *SQ*, VI, 193-194.

- Mentions several problems arising from a literal way of staging the opposing tents in *R. III*, V. iii; suggests as a solution the use of multiple staging, as descended from mystery plays.
304. Fyton, F. "Shakespeare Recitations Saved the Bank", *Times of India* (Bombay), Jan. 23, p. 7.
305. Gandon, Yves. "Les Festivals d'Art Dramatique", *Biblio*, XXIII (Aout-Sep.), 27.
Notices the performances at Nîmes of *Caesar* and *Cor.*
306. Gandon, Yves. "*Macbeth*" [a production review], *Biblio*, XXIII (Mar.), 31.
A "flawless" performance at Theatre National Populaire with Jean Vilar as *Macbeth*.
307. Garrett, John (ed.). *Talking of Shakespeare*. London, 1954.
Noticed by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 323-324; in *English Journal*, XLIV, 549; rev. in *The Statesman* (Delhi and Calcutta), Oct. 17, 1954, p. 4; in *Times of India* (Bombay), Nov. 21, 1954, p. 6; by Robertson Davies in *Saturday Night*, Jun. 11.
308. Gassner, John. "Broadway in Review", *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 219-220.
Review of the Stratford, Conn., *Shak.* Festival performance of *Temp.*
309. Gerstner-Hirzel, Arthur. "Stagecraft and Poetry", *SJ*, XCI, 196-211.
An abridgement of a study of *Shak.*'s dramatic use of gestures, commenting on their relation to certain *leitmotifs*, to rhythm, and to stagecraft in general.
310. "Gielgud's Fourth *King Lear*; the Stratford Company in London", *Illustrated London News*, Jul. 30, p. 201.
Includes photographs.
311. Gierow, K. R. "Macbeth's son", *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), Mar. 7.
The political background in *Macb.*
312. Gierow, K. R. "När skrevs *Macbeth*?" (When was *Macbeth* written?), *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), Mar. 2.
Discusses the eventuality of *Shak.* visiting Scotland about 1590.
313. Gierow, K. R. "På spår i en mordaffär" (Tracking a murder case), *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), Mar. 18.
Finds in *Macb.* intimate knowledge of Scotland and Scottish history.
314. Gilbert, Allan H., ed. *Renaissance Papers: A Selection of Papers presented at the Renaissance Meeting of the Southeastern States*, Duke University, Apr. 23-24, 1954.
Rev. in *N&Q*, n.s., II, 90-91; by Edward P. Vandiver, Jr. in *SQ*, VI, 180-181.
315. Gillie, Christopher. "The Tempest", *The Use of English*, VII, 37-41.
316. Gilman, Albert. "Textual and Critical Problems in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*", *DA*, XIV, 673-674.
317. Goddard, Harold C. "Hamlet to Ophelia", *CE*, XVI, 403-415.
Treats the artificialities of Hamlet's letter to Ophelia, proposing that it was forged by deceitful Polonius to bolster the Court's impression of him as a man of wisdom; the argument is supported by the observation of repetition and affected diction.
318. Gogoleva, Elena. "My Conception of Lady Macbeth", [Moscow] *News*, no. 19 (Oct. 1), p. 29.
A woman who, living in a grim era, lonely and strong-willed, fastens all her fierce love upon her husband *Macbeth*—it is she who seeks for power, power for her husband only.
319. Goldsmith, Robert H. *Wise Fools in Shakespeare*. Michigan State Univ. Press. Pp. xi + 123.
320. Goldstein, R. M. "Othello", *High Points*, XXXVII (Oct.), 46-50.
321. Goodman, Paul. *The Structure of Literature*. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954.
Rev. by A. E. Rodway in *EC*, V, 55-63.
322. Goolden, P. "Antiochus's Riddle in Gower and Shakespeare", *RES*, n.s., VI, 245-251.
Traces the simplification of the riddle from the Latin original through Gower to *Per.*
323. Gorell, Lord. "W. S. to Stratford, Conn.", *Quarterly Review*, no. 606 (Oct.), p. 547.
324. Gowda, H. H. Anniah. "Shakespeare on the Screen", *The Literary Criterion* (India), II (1953).
325. Gowda, H. H. Anniah. "The Twentieth Century Critics of Shakespeare", *The Literary Criterion* (India), I (1952).
- 325a. Gradišnik, Fedor. "William Shake-

- speare: Hamlet", *Gledališni List* (Celje), III (1954/55), 1-8.
326. Greer, C. A. "Falstaff A Coward?" *N&Q*, n.s., II, 176-177.
Opposes Morgann's thesis that Falstaff is "brave in reality but cowardly in appearance".
327. Greer, C. A. "Shakespeare a Researcher", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 479-480.
Opposes Matthew Black's theory with the reminder that *Shak.* normally worked from a play as source, and only after this did he have probable recourse to Holinshed, Plutarch, etc. Further, *Shak.*'s alleged vagueness and factual inconsistencies are equally well accounted for by the "play as source" theory.
328. Greg, W. W. "'Ad Imprimendum Solum'", *The Library*, IX, 242-247.
329. Greg, W. W. *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare. A Survey of the Foundations of the Text. The Clark Lectures*, Trinity College, Cambridge, Lent Term, 1939. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. iv + 210.
Third edition, containing a few corrections by Greg.
Noticed in *TLS*, Mar. 4, p. 139.
330. Greg, W. W. *The Shakespeare First Folio. Its Bibliographical and Textual History*. Oxford Univ. Press.
Rev. in *Quarterly Review*, no. 605 (Jul.), p. 424; in *N&Q*, n.s., II, 412-413; in *TLS*, Oct. 14, p. 612 (comment by Greg, Oct. 21, p. 621); by R. A. Foakes in *English*, X, 227.
331. Grice, F. "Roger Kemble's Company at Worcester", *Theatre Notebook*, IX, no. 3, pp. 73-75.
332. Griffin, Alice. "Shakespeare and Sophocles at Stratford, Ontario", *Theatre Arts*, XXXIX (Sep.), 30-31.
333. Griffin, Alice. "Summer Shakespeare", *Theatre Arts*, XXXIX (Jul.), 27-29.
Notes the rise of summer *Shak.* Festivals, with special reference to the new *Shak.* playhouse at Stratford, Conn.
334. Groothoff, Otto. "Minnenas Trettondagsaftnar" (*Twelfth Nights* remembered), *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (Malmö), Jan. 9.
335. Gründgens, Gustaf. *Wirklichkeit des Theaters*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp-Verlag, 1954. Pp. 213.
Rev. by Wolfgang Stroedel in *SJ*, XCI, 367.
336. Gruner, Helene. *Studien zum Dialog im vorshakespeareschen Drama*. Ms. diss. München.
Shak. passim.
337. Grute, H. *Shakespeare with Bacon*. Montgomeryshire: Montgomeryshire Printing & Stationery Co., Ltd.
338. Guerrieri, Gerardo. "Saper, Sachespar, Shakespeare ovvero l'interpretazione di Shakespeare in Italia dal Settecento al Novecento", in *Cinquant'anni di Teatro in Italia*. Roma: Marzorati, 1954, pp. 69-86.
339. Gui, Weston A. "Bottom's Dream", *American Imago*, IX, 251-305.
The regressive oral dreaming of Bottom is thought to be essential to the analysis of the psychic material with which the play deals, as well as to an explanation of *Shak.*'s own "neurotic problem".
340. Guidi, Augusto. "Il Cymbeline di Shakespeare", *Idea*, no. 22 (May 22), p. 1.
341. Guthrie, Tyrone. "Shakespeare at Stratford, Ontario", *SS* 8, pp. 127-131.
Account of the first *Shak.* festival.
342. Guthrie, Tyrone, Robertson Davies, and Grant Macdonald. *Renown at Stratford*, Toronto, 1953.
Rev. in *SNL*, V, 14.
343. Guthrie, Tyrone, Robertson Davies, and Grant Macdonald. *Twice Have the Trumpets Sounded. A Record of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Canada*, 1954. Toronto, 1954.
Rev. in *SNL*, V, 14; by R. S. Knox in *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIV, 305-306.
344. Gyller, H. "Dimmor kring Shakespeare" (Mists around *Shak.*), *Bonniers litterära magasin* (Stockholm), XXIII (1954), 378-382.
The Bacon and Derby theories critically considered.
345. Haas, Willy. "Shakespeare und Shakespeare-Verfilmung", *SJ*, XCI, 278-286.
Despite the excellence of certain *Shak.* films, generally too much of *Shak.*'s language is sacrificed for the sake of battle scenes and ceremonies. The film is not a proper medium for the interpretation of *Shak.*
346. Hagberg, Knut. "Förälskad Macbeth" (Macbeth in love), *Samtid och framtid* (Stockholm), p. 230.
On the performance of *Macb.* at Dramatiska teatern in Stockholm.

347. Halliday, F. E. *The Enjoyment of Shakespeare*. London: Duckworth & Co., 1952. Pp. 114.
Noticed by Roy W. Battenhouse in *SQ*, VI, 469-470.
348. Halliday, F. E. *The Poetry of Shakespeare's Plays*. London, 1954.
Rev. by Alice Griffin in *Theatre Arts*, XXXIX, 7-8; by A. C. Partridge, in *SQ*, VI, 343-345.
349. *Hamlet* [film in Hindustani language, produced by K. Sahu].
Rev. in *The Statesman* (Delhi and Calcutta), Jan. 15, p. 3; in *Times of India* (Bombay), Jan. 2, p. 3.
350. "Hamlet in Moscow", *Time*, Dec. 12, 67.
Russians respond enthusiastically to *Ham.*, as played by Paul Scofield in English.
351. Hammerle, Karl. "Shakespeares platonische wende", in *Anglo-Americana, Festschrift für Leo Hübner-Lehmannssport, Wiener Beiträge z. engl. Philologie*, LXII, 62-71.
Finds in *Dream*, V.i.7-17, influence of Platonic ideas on the poet's attitude (*Phaidros* 244 ff. and 246 ff.).
352. Hammond, Muriel E. "The Great Shakespeare Mystery", *Chambers' Journal*, Oct., pp. 597-599.
The Ireland forgeries.
353. Hankins, John Erskine. *Shakespeare's Derived Imagery*. Univ. of Kansas Press, 1953.
Noticed by E. D. Pendry in *MLR*, L, 105-106; rev. by M. C. Bradbrook in *RES*, n.s., VI, 313-314; by Madeleine Doran in *MLN*, LXX, 134-138; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, VII, 415; by Alan S. Downer in *SQ*, VI, 466-468.
354. Hanser, Richard. "Shakespeare, Sex... and Dr. Bowdler", *Saturday Review*, Ap. 23, pp. 7-8, 50.
Discusses two antipodal approaches to sexuality in *Shak.*: Thomas Bowdler's obscurantism and Eric Partridge's scholarly clarification.
355. Harbage, Alfred. "The Role of the Shakespearean Producer", *SJ*, XCI, 161-173.
Approving the *Shak.* producer's right to "interpret" the plays, Harbage would yet request of him both a thorough literary acquaintance, and a more specialized technical knowledge of *Shak.*'s stage-craft, that he may achieve a wider understanding of Elizabethan effects and may avoid "a single-minded devotion to some rumored aspect".
356. Harbage, Alfred. *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions*. New York, 1952.
Rev. by Clifford Leech in *MLN*, LXX, 292-295.
357. Hardman, David. *Shakespeare* (original title: *What about Shakespeare?*), tr. into Italian (Collezione Saper Tutto, nos. 58-59). Milano: Garzanti. Pp. 183.
358. Hart, Dominic. "'Hamlet' I. 4. 31-38", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 500.
Alternate reading briefly noted.
359. Hartlaub, Gustav. "Hamlet und das Jenseits", *Euphorion, Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* (Heidelberg), XLVIII (1954), 435-447.
360. Hayes, Richard. "The Bostonians", *Commonweal*, Oct. 14, p. 40.
Reviews the Brattle productions of *Oth.* and *H. IV*, Part I.
361. Hayes, Richard. "Denis Carey's Production [of *Julius Caesar*]", *Commonweal*, Aug. 26, pp. 516-518.
Reluctantly notes the failure of both the *Caesar* and *Temp.* productions in the *Shak.* Festival at Stratford, Conn., to exploit their intellectual and spiritual ambience.
362. Hayes, Richard. "Merchant of Venice", *Commonweal*, May 13, 149-150.
Regards the current performance as more in line with Mark Van Doren's intellectual reconstituting of that play; Thos. Barbour's Shylock and Chas. Aidman's Bassanio are of first quality.
363. Haywood, Charles. "The Songs & Masque in the *New Tempest*: An Incident in the Battle of the Two Theaters, 1674", *HLQ*, XIX, 39-56.
Reports the discovery, in the Huntington Library, of this second English libretto, supporting the hypothesis of James G. McManaway. (See *Bibl.* 1954, no. 391). Further light is shed on the ensuing conflict between the Duke's and the King's players.
364. Hebbe, Agneta. "'Snacks' med Shakespeare", *Gaudeamus* (Stockholm), p. 8.
Shak.'s pronunciation as recorded by Kökeritz.
365. Heilbroner, Robert. "The Shakespeare

- Murder Mystery", Illustrated by Gustav Rehberger. *Coronet*, Jul., pp. 83-102.
- A longer version of this article about the Calvin Hoffman-Christopher Marlowe theory appeared in *Esquire* (1954 Bibl., no. 290).
366. Henderson, Archibald, Jr. "Family of Mercutio", *DA*, XIV, 1395-1396.
367. Herbert, T. Walker. "Shakespeare's Sonnet CXLII", *The Explicator*, XIII, 38.
- "Scarlet" carried lofty rather than base denotation in *Shak.*'s day; and "scarlet ornaments" (line 6), instead of the usually ascribed meaning of sealing wax, conveyed the magisterial image of one in scarlet robes.
368. Herrick, Marvin T. *Tragicomedy*. Urbana: The Univ. of Illinois Press. Pp. 331.
- Besides discussing *Shak.*, deals with classical and Renaissance backgrounds.
- Rev. by Albert E. Johnson in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 427-428.
369. Herzberg, Max J. "Sources and Stage History of *Romeo and Juliet*", *Audio-Visual Guide*, XXI (Dec.), 21-27.
- Sketches the literary background of the tale itself from Ephesus to Arthur Brooke, and indicates the changes made by *Shak.*, as well as by later dramatic imitators of *Shak.*
370. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Astrangency in Ontario", *Saturday Review*, Jun. 4, p. 26.
- An assessment of Tyrone Guthrie's procedure in the Stratford Festival in Ontario, and a prospectus of the forthcoming (1955) season.
371. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: The Bard in Canada", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 23, pp. 21-22.
- Reviews *Caesar and Merch.*
372. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Mr. Carey's Summer Chickens", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 9, p. 22.
- An account of the dramatic creed of Denis Carey, director of *Caesar and Temp.* at Stratford, Connecticut.
373. Hewes, Henry. "Shakespeare via the N. Y., N. H. & H.", *Saturday Review*, Aug. 13, p. 20.
- Criticism of *Caesar and Temp.* at Stratford, Connecticut.
374. Hewes, Henry. "This Other Stratford", *Saturday Review*, Sep. 24, pp. 24-26.
- Reviews primarily the Peter Brook production (starring Olivier) of *Titus*.
375. Hight, Gilbert. "Madness of Hamlet", in *The Clerk of Oxenford*. London: Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. 142-148.
376. Hill, R. H. "Shakespeare's Will", *TLS*, Jul. 15, p. 397.
- Letter, prompted by Marion Hope Parker's book (see 1954 Bibl., no. 438), pointing out that the religious exordium of *Shak.*'s will is copied from a specimen will in William West's *Symbolography*, a collection of models for various legal instruments. The date on this specimen will may account for the correction in date on *Shak.*'s will. See also *TLS*, Jul. 22, p. 413.
377. Hinman, Charlton. "Cast-off Copy for the First Folio of Shakespeare", *SQ*, VI, 259-273.
- Argues, using illustrations of type reproduced from F1, that the Folio was set by formes (not *seriatim*), and that numerous irregularities—some innocent, some serious—resulted from inaccurate estimates of page length and the consequent attempt of compositors to fill out or abbreviate a page.
378. Hinman, Charlton. "Mechanized Collation at the Houghton Library", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, IX, 132-134.
379. Hiscock, W. G. "Twelfth Day Fare, 1600-01", *TLS*, July 29, p. 429.
- Reports discovery of bill of fare for the Twelfth Day dinner given by Queen Elizabeth to Don Virginio Orsino. No mention of *Twel.*
380. Hodges, C. Walter. *The Globe Restored*. London, 1953.
- Rev. by Alfred Harbage in *Yale Review*, XLIV, 443-446; by George F. Reynolds in *SQ*, VI, 96-97; in *SNL*, V, 7; in *CE*, XVI, 199-200; by Rudolf Stamm in *SJ*, XCI, 356-365.
381. Hodges, C. Walter. "New Light on the Old Playhouses: Notes on Some Researches by Richard Southern and Leslie Hotson", *The Shakespeare Stage*, Jun., 1954, pp. 41-44.
382. Hodges, C. Walter. *Will Shakespeare and the Globe Theater*. New York: Random House. Pp. 182.
383. Hoeniger, David. "The Function of Structure and Imagery in Shake-

- speare's Last Plays", *SNL*, V, 42.
A summary of a 386 page Univ. of London dissertation, completed in 1954.
384. Hoepfner, Theodore C. "Iago's Nationality", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 14-15.
Shak.'s "change of Iago's nationality from foreign to Venetian, while keeping Othello a Moor", helps Iago deceive Othello while the latter retains our sympathy.
385. Hoffman, Calvin. *The Murder of the Man Who Was "Shakespeare"*. New York: Julian Messner. Pp. 232.
Marlowe did not die on May 30, 1953, but—thanks to his homosexual friend Walsingham—another corpse was passed off as his, and he himself was spirited abroad, living to write the Shakespeare plays. Hoffman includes a thirty-page appendix of alleged parallelisms between the two poets' work.
Rev. by G. B. Harrison in *Saturday Review*, Jul. 9, p. 16; by Alfred Harbage in *The New York Times Book Review*, Jun. 12, pp. 1, 10-11; in *Time*, Jun. 13, p. 108 ff.; in *Kirkus*, XXIII, 296; by F. E. Flaverty in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, Jun. 26, p. 3; by E. F. Walbridge in *Library Journal*, LXXX, 1211; by Joseph Henry Jackson in *San Francisco Chronicle*, Jun. 3, p. 17; by Ray Irwin in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 316-318; by Gunnar Sjogren in *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), Aug. 17; in *CE*, XVII, 64.
386. Holloway, John. "Dramatic Irony in Shakespeare", *Northern Miscellany of Literary Criticism*, Autumn, 1953, pp. 3-16.
387. Holmes, Lawrence Richard. "Joyce's 'Ecce Puer'", *Explicator*, XIII, no. 12.
Echoes of *Lear* and *Temp.* cited.
388. Honigsmann, E. A. J. "Secondary Sources of *The Winter's Tale*", *PQ*, XXXIV, 27-28.
Elaborates upon three sources inconclusively proposed by others: Francis Sabie's *The Fisherman's Tale* (1595); *Amadis de Gaule* romances; and the Proserpine legend.
389. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Berlin Festival", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 1284.
Much and *Lear* were both success at the West Berlin *Shak.* Festival.
390. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "The Edinburgh Spirit", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 1131.
Faint praise of the Old Vic's *Caesar*.
391. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "In the Basket", *The Listener*, Oct. 6, p. 569.
Informal commentary on B.B.C.'s TV performance of the remarkably entertaining *Wives*, followed up by a broadcast of *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*.
See Hope-Wallace's similar notice in *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 968.
392. Hope-Wallace, Philip. [Merry Wives of Windsor: review of the London production], *Time and Tide*, XXXVI, 968.
393. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "*Otello*", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 1371.
Covent Garden turns to Verdi's *Otello* and likes it.
394. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Shakespeare Galore", *Time and Tide*, XXXVI, 592; 594.
Reviews two current *Shak.* productions in London, *All's W.* and *H. IV*, Pt. I and II, by the Old Vic Company.
395. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Stratford-On-Avon", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 133.
Stratford today.
396. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Stratford on Avon, *Titus Andronicus*", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 1074.
Peter Brook's murky production of *Titus* with Olivier at his very best is judged as Stratford's "crown of the season".
397. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "*The Winter's Tale*", *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 1464.
Old Vic's performance, with artistic sets by Peter Rice, lacked the necessary rhythm to keep it moving.
398. Hoskins, Frank Lawrence, Jr. "Master-Servant Relations in Tudor and Early Stuart Literature: with Special Reference to the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries". Pp. 294. *DA*, XV, 1387. Abstract of Columbia Univ. Diss.
The social changes of the period reflected in *Shak.*'s treatment of both the old and the new master-servant relationship.
399. Hotson, Leslie. "The Elizabethan Stage", *TLS*, Jan. 7, p. 9.
See also no. 273.

400. Hotson, Leslie. *The First Night of "Twelfth Night"*. London, 1954.
Noticed in *CE*, XVI, 258; rev. in *VQR*, XXXI, xlii; by Alfred Harbage in *Yale Review*, XLIV, 443-446; by M. St. Clare Byrne in *English*, X, 145-146; by Richard Moody in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 318; by Aerol Arnold in *The Personalist*, XXXVI, 419-421; by George R. Kernodle in *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 262-263; by Rudolf Stamm in *SJ*, XCI, 356-361; by M. St. Clare Byrne in *Theatre Notebook*, IX, no. 2, 46-52; by Gunnar Sjögren in *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), Aug. 17; by Thomas Barbour in *Hudson Review*, VIII, 468-472.
401. Hotson, Leslie. "The First Night of 'Twelfth Night'", *TLS*, Jan. 21, p. 41.
A reply to W. W. Greg's letter querying Hotson's dating of leap-year. (See 1954 Bibl., no. 266). Answered by Greg in *TLS*, Jan. 28, p. 57. Further comment by J. W. Lever on the Hotson-Greg dispute in *TLS*, Feb. 18, p. 105.
402. Hotson, Leslie. *Shakespeare's Motley*. London, 1952.
Rev. by M. St. Clare Byrne in *Theatre Notebook*, IX, 83-84.
403. Hotson, Leslie. "Twelfth Night", *TLS*, Mar. 18, p. 165.
Letter answering Merion's suggestion that Queen Elizabeth sat through two plays on Twelfth Night 1600-01. (See no. 526.)
- 403a. Howarth, R. G. *Literature of the Theatre: Marlowe to Shirley*. Sydney, N. S. W., 1953. Pp. 14.
- 403b. Howarth, R. G. *Tragedy of Othello, The*. [Sydney, N. S. W.], 1953. Pp. 16.
404. Howse, Ernest Marshall. *Spiritual Values in Shakespeare*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press. Pp. 158.
Noticed in *English Journal*, XLIV, 366; by Robertson Davies in *Saturday Night*, Jun. 11; rev. by Roy W. Battenhouse in *SQ*, VI, 354-355; by A. Parker in *Christian Century*, LXXII, 657 (reply by L. L. Strayer, LXXII, 734 and 846).
405. Hubler, Edward. *The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952.
Rev. by A. José Axelrad in *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XXVIII, 496-497.
406. Hughes, Merritt Y. "A Meditation on Literary Blasphemy", *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* (Sep.), pp. 106-115.
Evaluates the "success" of some landmarks in *Shak.* criticism, such as Ernest Boyd's *Literary Blasphemies*, and F. R. Leavis' *The Common Pursuit*. Boyd, who tried to make *Shak.* into an enlightened modern sceptic, and Leavis, who attacks the Bradleyan idealization of tragic heroes without providing a better substitute, both leave the *Shak.* aureole undimmed.
407. Hulme, Hilda. "Shakespeare and the Oxford English Dictionary: Some Supplementary Glosses", *RES*, n.s., VI, 128-140.
Offers additional meanings for several *Shak.* words as a result of supplementing OED readings with "unsearched sources of Regional English" to recreate the spoken language. Suggests also the value to the glossarist of taking the dramatist's words in the context of speech units.
408. Hunter, Edwin R. *Shakespeare and Common Sense*. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. Pp. 312.
Rev. by Ray Irwin in *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLI, 317-318; in *CE*, XVI, 392; by W. Gordon Zeeveld in *SQ*, VI, 470-471.
409. Hutslar, Donald A. "The Creative Photographer As Exemplified in The Shakespearean Theatre at Antioch College", Dissertation, Ohio Univ. Pp. 232. Abstracted by Nellie Shoemaker in "Dissertation Digest", *SNL*, V, 36.
410. "I Interviewed Hamlet", Intercepted over radio by Sergei Datlin, *News* (Moscow), no. 1, p. 17.
Hamlet answers political questions.
411. "Illustrated Second Folio Shakespeare for British Museum", *Music Journal*, LIV (Jan.), 268.
412. Isaacs, J. *Shakespeare's Earliest Years in the Theatre* (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1953). Proceedings of the British Academy, XXXIX. London: Cumberlege. Pp. 26.
Uses echoes of other dramatists in *Shak.*'s early plays to speculate con-

- cerning his thought and dramatic writing during the years 1583-1594. Noticed in *TLS*, May 13, p. 258.
413. Jack, Jane H. "Macbeth, King James, and the Bible", *ELH*, XXII, 173-193. James's influence on *Macbeth* a good one. Precisely because the King's mind was rich in Biblical history, the play achieves a "rich poetic unity". James's influence exemplified by the scene depicting Banquo's descendants—a "powerful reminder to the audience of Biblical descriptions of the evil of listening to false prophets".
414. Jackson, Sir Barry. "Producing the Comedies", *SS* 8, pp. 74-80. Sixty years of reminiscence, dealing particularly with staging and the damaging effect of excessive scenery, by the founder of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre.
415. Jacquot, Jean. "Connaissance du Théâtre Anglais", *Etudes Anglaises*, VII, 389-394. A selective survey of several *Shak.* critics, notably Willard E. Farnham, and their contribution to *Shak.* interpretation.
416. Jacquot, Jean. "Macbeth au palais de Chaillot", *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 89-90. Review of the stage production by the Théâtre National Populaire with Vilar as Macbeth.
417. Jacquot, Jean. "The Old Vic: Love's Labour's Lost", *Etudes Anglaises*, VII, 443. Critique of 1954 performance.
418. Jenkins, Harold. "As You Like It", *SS* 8, pp. 40-51. Originally a lecture delivered to the *Shak.* Conference at Stratford-upon-Avon, Aug. 18, 1953. A many-angled critical analysis, seeking the comic value of a play almost singularly lacking in important action. Shows how the play depends upon many "piquant but seemingly casual juxtapositions".
419. Jenkins, Harold. "The Relation between the Second Quarto and the Folio Text of *Hamlet*", *SB*, VII, 69-83. Examines and constructively rejects Alice Walker's theory that F was printed from a corrected copy of Q 2.
420. Jepsen, Laura. "Ethos in Classical and Shakespearean Tragedy", *Doctoral Diss.: Abstracts and Ref.*, VI (1953), 418-425.
421. Jepsen, Laura. "A Footnote on 'Hands' in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*", *Florida State Univ. Studies: Studies in English and American Literature*, no. 19, p. 7. The hands-motif is introduced not only into the plot, but also into the imagery-pattern to increase the ironic undertone of the play.
422. Johns, Eric. "Gielgud on Tour", *Theatre World*, Sep., pp. 24-29.
423. Johnstone, M. W. "Boyd Neel and the Canadian Stratford Festival", *Etude*, LXXXIII (Jun.), 20 ff. To utilize Canadian musical talent, Boyd Neel has organized the Hart House Orchestra which will play the scores, written by talented young Canadian composer Louis Applebaum, for the *Shak.* festival.
424. Jones, Claude E. "The Imperial Theme—*Macbeth* on Television", *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, IX, 292-298. Analyzes the reasons for the success of the Hall of Fame production.
425. Jorgensen, Paul A. "Castellani's *Romeo and Juliet*: Intention and Response", *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, X, 1-10. An analysis of critical reaction to the film, and a defense of the film in terms of Castellani's intentions.
426. Jorgensen, Paul A. "Divided Command in Shakespeare", *PMLA*, LXX, 750-761. *Shak.*'s most deliberate and politically significant interpretation of historical battles tends to be through a highlighting of dissensions between joint commanders—particularly between a senior and a junior general (as with Worcester and Hotspur, Cassius and Brutus, Cominius and Coriolanus).
427. Joseph, Bertram L. *Conscience and the King. A Study of Hamlet*. London, 1953. Noticed by J. B. Fort in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 154. Rev. by Virgil K. Whitaker in *SQ*, VI, 176-178; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 258.
428. Joseph, Bertram L. "The Elizabethan

Stage and the Art of Elizabethan Drama", *SJ*, XCI, 145-160.

Citing examples from John Bulwer's *Chironomia*, Joseph suggests that Elizabethans understood the "action of the orator and the stage-player as being substantially the same", at once natural and theatrical, with the style suited to the words.

429. Joseph, Bertram L. "A Style for Shakespeare", *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 212-216.

To do full justice to *Shak.* as playwright and poet, the actors do not need to seek fresh training in special techniques, but rather to concentrate on *Shak.*'s text as a work of art, and as Elizabethan drama.

430. Jouve, Pierre Jean. "Sonnets de Shakespeare", *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIV, 5-16.

431. Jouve, Pierre Jean. "Sur Les Sonnets de W. S.", *La Revue de Paris*, LXII, 112-119.

Briefly discusses such questions as the identity of W. H., and the artistic balance of *Shak.*'s "two loves". Immediately following the critique is Jouve's translation of selected sonnets in prose paragraphs.

Commented on by M. P. in *La Revue de Paris*, LXII (Oct.), 173.

432. Kahdy, N. "Eighth Grade Shakespeare", *High School Journal*, XXXVIII (Oct., 1954), 7-8.

433. Kalmer, Joseph. "Geschäft mit William Shakespeare", *Berner Tagblatt*, no. 57 (Feb. 27).

Deals with the *Shak.* Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon and the various ways in which the poet, 339 years after his death, provides a livelihood for thousands of inhabitants of his birthplace.

434. Keen, Alan. "Shakespeare's Northern Apprenticeship", *TLS*, Nov. 18, p. 689.

Reports his success in identifying, and linking with *Shak.*, "both Foke (or Fulke) and Thomas Gyllome", who are mentioned in the will of Alexander Houghton of Lea, Lancashire. See also Keen's letter of Dec. 16, *TLS*, p. 761, in which he claims identification of the famous bear Sackerson in *The Merry Wives*.

435. Keen, Alan and Roger Lubbock. *The Annotator*. London, 1954.

Rev. by Alice Griffin in *Theatre Arts*, XXXIX (Ap.), 7; by Alfred Harbage in *Yale Review*, XLIV, 443-446; by H. C. Kiefer in *Arizona Quarterly*, XI, 183-184; by Clifford Leech in *Durham Univ. Journal*, XLVII (Mar.), 90; in *CE*, XVI, 521-522.

436. Kellogg, A. B. "Nicknames and Nonces in Shakespeare's Comedies", *Names*, III, 1-4.

437. Kellogg, A. B. "Place Names and Epithets in Homer and Shakespeare", *Names*, III, 169-171.

438. Kemp, T. C. and J. C. Trewin. *The Stratford Festival. A History of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre*. Birmingham, 1953.

Noticed by Joseph H. Marshburn in *Books Abroad*, XXIX, no. 1, 104.

439. Keown, Eric. *Peggy Ashcroft: an Illustrated Study of Her Work, with a List of Her Appearances on Stage and Screen* (Theatre World Monographs, no. 3). London: Rockliff. Pp. 102.

440. Kermod, Frank. "Opinion, Truth and Value", *EC*, V, 181-187.

An answer to Winifred Nowotny's article on *Troil.* (*EC*, IV, 282-296; 1954 Bibl. no. 429).

441. Kerr, Walter F. "Stratford-on-the-Housatonic", *New York Herald Tribune*, Jul. 17, section 4, p. 1. *Caesar* at Stratford, Connecticut.

442. Kerr, Walter F. "Three Classics Are Revitalized", *New York Herald Tribune*, Jul. 10, section 4, pp. 1-2. *Caesar* and *Merch.* at Stratford, Ontario.

443. Kesler, Charlotte Ruth. "The Importance of the Comic Tradition of English Drama in the Interpretation of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*". Pp. 258. *DA*, XV, 1387-1388. Abstract of Univ. of Missouri diss.

Discusses the retention by *Shak.* and his contemporaries of the multiple unity, "the habit of symbolic interpretation, and the comedy of evil".

444. "King Henry IV", Part I and Part II", *Theatre World*, Jul., pp. 34-35.

Review of the Old Vic Productions, 1955.

445. Kinne, Wisner Payne. *George Pierce Baker, and the American Theatre*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1954. Pp. xvi + 348.

- Points out the influence of Baker's Lowell Institute lectures delivered in 1905 (published as *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*).
- Rev. by Walter Pritchard Eaton in *SQ*, VI, 171-172; by Norreys Jephson O'Connor in *Arizona Quarterly*, XI, 277-281; by E. J. West in *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 352-354.
446. Kirchner, Gustav. "Das historische und dichterische Bild Richards II", *Zeitschrift f. Anglistik und Amerikanistik* (Berlin), I (1953), 131-170.
- Whereas Lancastrian historians give purposely a vilified picture of Richard, *Shak.* comes nearer to historic truth.
447. Kirschbaum, Leo. *Shakespeare and the Stationers* (Graduate School . . . Series, no. 5). Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press. Pp. x + 421.
448. Kirschbaum, L. "Texts of 'Mucedorus'". *MLR*, L, 1-5.
- Argues that *Mucedorus* is a bad quarto, and that "the extant text can tell us only about the taste of the reading public"—and not about the author, the dramatic company, or the theatre public. Questions the stage vogue of the play.
- Reply by W. W. Greg, L, 322.
- 448a. Klajn, Hugo. "Dobra Ledi Magbet—ili 'arhivščica'?" *Savremenik* (Beograd), I, 320-324.
- About Lady Macbeth's character.
- 448b. Klajn, Hugo. "Shakespeare in Yugoslavia", *Review of International Affairs* (Beograd), V (June 1, 1954), 17-18.
449. Kleinstuck, Johannes. "The Problem of Order in Shakespeare's Histories", *Neophilologus*, XXXVIII (1954), 268-277.
- Challenges the view that *Shak.* in his Histories followed the Elizabethan concept, showing horror of rebellion and pointing to its remedies; instead *Shak.* implies in his own concept a criticism of that order which devotes like Henry IV, Prince John, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in *H. V* use simply as a Machiavellian instrument for gaining personal power. Order, *Shak.* shows, may be dangerous for man.
450. Knight, G. Wilson. *The Imperial Theme*. Further interpretations of Shakespeare's tragedies including the Roman plays. Third edition reprinted with minor corrections. London: Methuen. Pp. xv + 367.
451. Knight, G. Wilson. *The Mutual Flame*. On Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. London: Methuen. Pp. xi + 233.
- Mistakenly announced for 1954.
- Rev. in *TLS*, May 20, p. 268; by John Heath-Stubbs in *Time & Tide*, XXXVI, 534; by E. C. Pettet in *English*, X, 189; in *Dublin Magazine*, n.s., XXXI (Jul-Sep.), 79-80; by George Freedley in *Library Journal*, LXXX, 1714; by David Daiches in *Manchester Guardian*, Mar. 25, p. 9; by John Jones in *New Statesman and Nation*, XLIX, 478; by C. G. Martin in *EC*, V, 398-404; in *The Statesman* (Delhi and Calcutta), May 8, p. 15; by Roy Walker in *The Aryan Path* (Bombay), XXVI, 317; by Christopher Devlin in *The Month*, n.s., XIV, 372-374; by Gunnar Sjögren in *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), Aug. 17.
452. Knights, L. C. "King Lear and the Great Tragedies", in *The Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 228-256.
453. Knights, L. C. "On Historical Scholarship and the Interpretation of Shakespeare", *Sewanee Review*, LXIII, 223-240.
- Regards Whitaker's *Shakespeare's Use of Learning: An Inquiry into the Growth of his Mind and Art* as representative of the historical approach to *Shak.*, arguing that historical reconstruction is not enough and that *Shak.*'s "essential meanings need to be elicited afresh in each generation".
- Answered by Whitaker in *SNL*, V, 39. See no. 749.
454. Knights, L. C. *Some Shakespearean Themes*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- A study of some of the major themes in the plays.
455. Knox, Bernard. "The Tempest and the Ancient Comic Tradition", in *English Stage Comedy. English Institute Essays*, 1954 (see no. 760), pp. 52-73. See also *VQR*, XXXI, 73-89, and comment in *CE*, XVI, 455.
- Shak.* constructs *Temp.* on the an-

- cient master-slave paradigm as found in Plautine comedy, but surpasses Plautus in feeling and imagination.
456. Kökeritz, Helge. *Examples of Shakespeare's Pronunciation. A Recording*. Bridgeport, Conn.: Columbia Records, Inc. 10" LP.
Rev. by F. G. Cassidy in *CE*, XVI, 199.
457. Kökeritz, Helge. *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*. Yale Univ. Press, 1953.
Rev. by Hereward T. Price in *JEGP*, LIV, 418-421; by Herbert Dean Meritt in *MP*, LII, 275-276; by Bertil Sundby in *English Studies*, XXXVI, 78-83; by E. J. Dobson in *RES*, VI, 404-414; by Eilert Ekwall in *Moderna språk*, XLVIII (1954), 104-114; by Stanley Richards and Paul Slocumb in *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 187.
458. Kozelka, Paul. "Evaluation of Two Shakespearean Records", *Audio-Visual Guide*, XXII (Oct.), 16-17.
Reviews some recorded scenes from Castellani's *Romeo* film production on a CBS 12", 33 1/3 record, and Maurice Evans in scenes from *Ham.* and *R. II* (CBS, 12", 33 1/3).
459. Kozelka, Paul. "A Guide to the Screen Version of Shakespeare's *Othello*", *Audio-Visual Guide*, XXII (Oct.), 31-40.
Reviews Orson Welles's film. The striking photographic effects, used in Welles's earlier films merely for the sake of effect, have here dramatically impelled *Othello* to a terrifying conclusion; on the basis of this exciting quality the film was awarded the "Grand Prix" at a Cannes Film Festival.
460. Kozelka, Paul. "New Shakespearean Recordings", *Audio Visual Guide*, XX (Feb., 1954), 12-14.
Reviews 3 current *Shak.* records: *Romeo and Juliet*, with the Old Vic Company (RCA Victor, 33); *John Barrymore Reads Shakespeare*, with scenes from *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Richard III*, *Macbeth* (Dauntless Internat'l, 33); *Golden Age of the Theatre*, with Edwin Booth as *Othello* and Ellen Terry as *Portia* (Dauntless Internat'l, 33).
- 460a. Kreft, Bratko. "Shakespeareove historije", *Glasnik Matice Slovenske* (Ljubljana), I, 97-101.
Discusses *Shak.*'s histories, particularly *R III* and *H IV*.
461. Krishnaswami, P. R. *Four Lectures on Shakespeare*. Madras.
Rev. in *The Hindu* (Madras), Oct. 23, review page.
462. Krutch, Joseph Wood (educational director). *Midsummer Night's Dream: An Introduction to the Play* [Film]. Coronet. 16 mm, sound. 1 1/4 reels, 15 minutes.
Rev. by Richard E. Scott in *English Journal*, XLIV, 184.
463. Kuhl, E. P. "Hercules in Spenser and Shakespeare", *TLS*, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 860.
464. Kulisheck, Clarence L. "The Critics' Shakespeare", *SNL*, V, 38.
On the interrelationship between the newer critics, with emphasis on imagery, and our notion of *Shak.*
465. Künstler, Ernst. "Böhmen am Meer", *SJ*, XCI, 212-216.
Discussion and explanation of *Shak.*'s geography in giving Bohemia a seacoast.
466. Kusakabe, Tokuji. "The Orthography and Pronunciation of the Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622", *Bulletin of the Kyoto Gajugei University*, Ser. A, no. 7, pp. 1-16.
By comparisons with the Japanese, studies Cocks's diary as a source of information for the pronunciation of Elizabethan English. Frequent reference to *Shak.* and to Kökeritz' *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*.
467. Lambin, G. "Une première ébauche d'*Hamlet* (mars 1587)", *Les Langues Modernes*, XLIX (Mai-Jun), 229-237.
Suggests that John Gordon's "Mânes d'Henri" addressed in 1587 to James VI, upon the execution of the queen, directly influenced *Shak.*'s *Hamlet* in his treatment of Gertrude.
468. Lancaster, R. D. "Richard II", *TLS*, Oct. 28, p. 632.
A poem.
469. Langenfelt, Gösta. "The Noble Savage until Shakespeare", *ES*, XXXVI, 222-227.
Shak.'s own references to the Golden Age are slightly mocking, and in *Oth.*, he clearly indicates his dislike of primitivism.

470. Laqueur, Richard. *Shakespeares Dramatische Konzeption*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. Pp. [viii] + 356.
471. Lascelles, Mary. *Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure"*. London, 1953.
Rev. by Harold S. Wilson in *SQ*, VI, 172-174; by Ernst Th. Sehr in *SJ*, XCI, 348-350; by Roy Walker in *The Aryan Path*, XXV (1954), 178-179.
472. Law, Robert Adger. "The Chronicles and the Three Parts of Henry VI", *The Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, XXXIII, 13-32.
Analyzes with historical charts the use of historical materials, particularly Holinshed's 1587 *Chronicle*, and indicates that the composition and general style of Parts 2 and 3 link them together. With Henneman, agrees that Part I seems to be a Talbot play revised by *Shak.*, after the other Parts were composed.
473. Law, Robert Adger. "Hall's *Chronicle* and Its Annotator", *The Library Chronicle of the University of Texas*, Spring, pp. 3-7.
Finds no significant relationship between *Shak.*'s plays and the annotations (in a 1550 Hall's *Chronicle*) discovered by Alan Keen. See 1954 Bibl., no. 337.
474. Lefranc, Pierre. "Première de Macbeth en Avignon", *Etudes Anglaises*, VII, 443-444.
Review of *Shak.* performance in French.
475. Legman, G. "Ever or Never", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 361.
The motto of the early Anti-Shakespeareans and their patron to be found in *Willobie his Avis*, and parodied in the invocation to the reader in *Troi.*, should be attached to Chapman and the "School of Night".
476. Lehrman, Edgar H. "Soviet Shakespeare Appreciation (1917-1952)", *DA*, XIV, 1413-1414.
477. Leuca, George. "Wieland and the Introduction of Shakespeare into Germany", *German Quarterly*, XXVIII, 247-255.
After citing earlier German "paraphrasers" of *Shak.*, Leuca shows Wieland's efforts on behalf of *Shak.* had 3 important results: "the introduction of *Shak.* on the German (and continental) stage, a demonstration of the fact that a faithful translation was not only possible but desirable, and an enrichment of the German language".
478. Lewin, William. "Guide to the Technicolor Screen Version of *Romeo and Juliet*," il. *Audio Visual Guide*, XXI (Dec., 1954), 19-28.
Reviews the Castellani production with excerpts from "Juliet's" diary while she was rehearsing her role.
479. Lewis, C. S. *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (The Oxford History of English Literature, III). Oxford, 1954.
Rev. by Donald Davie in *EC*, V, 159-164; by Leicester Bradner in *RN*, VIII, 19-22; in *CE*, XVI, 466; by H. S. Wilson in *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIV, 429-433; by Hermann Peachmann in *English*, X, 144-145; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 319-322; by J. C. Maxwell in *Durham Univ. Journal*, XVI (Jun.), 133-137; in *VQR*, XXXI (Spring), xlv; in *SNL*, V, 14; by Elizabeth Sewall in *Thought*, XXX, 454-455.
480. Lewis, [Percy] Wyndham. *The Lion and the Fox: the Role of the Hero in the Plays of Shakespeare*. New edition. London: Methuen. Pp. 326.
Originally published in 1927.
481. "Library Notes", *Newberry Library Bulletin*, III, 254-255.
Mention of a rare *Shak.* printer's item: a sonnet written in gold ink on Japanese paper by Hermann Zapf, a German type-setter and calligrapher, whose work is a dazzling piece of virtuosity.
482. Liebert, Herman W. "Proposals for Shakespeare, 1756", *TLS*, May 6, p. 237.
Letter correcting reviewer's statement (*TLS*, Mar. 18) that the two Rothschild copies of Johnson's *Proposals* (1756) are the only two known.
483. Long, John H. *Shakespeare's Use of Music: A Study of the Music and Its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies*. Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press. Pp. xv + 213.
484. Lupo, Valeria. "Shakespeare era cat-

- tolico?" *La Fiera Letteraria*, no. 13 (Mar. 27), pp. 1-2.
485. Lynch, James J. *Box, Pit, and Gallery: Stage and Society in Johnson's England*. Univ. of California Press, 1953.
Rev. by John Loftis in *MP*, LIII, 66-67; by Emmett L. Avery in *MLN*, LXX, 62-64; by Charles Munro Gretschell in *Players Magazine*, Oct., pp. 23-24.
486. Lynch, William F. "Theology and the Imagination III. The Problem of Comedy", *Thought*, XXX, no. 116, 18-36.
Discusses comedy and its place in a Catholic world; examples from *Shak.*, among others.
487. "Macbeth", *National Parent-Teacher*, May, p. 40.
Motion picture review.
488. MacCarthy, Desmond. *Theatre*. London, 1954.
Rev. in *Thought*, XXX, 320.
489. MacCarthy, S. "Shakespeare the Medievalist", *Irish Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXIV (Sep.), 193-200.
490. Macht, David I. "Biblical Allusions in Shakespeare's 'The Tempest' in the Light of Hebrew Exegesis", *The Jewish Forum*, Aug., pp. 3-5.
Far from revealing any tendency toward anti-Semitism, *Temp.* "exemplifies *Shak.*'s respect for traditional Hebrew interpretations of the Bible".
491. Mackenzie, C. [Mr. Glen Byam Shaw's production of *Troi.*], *Spectator*, CXCI (Sep. 3, 1954), 284.
492. MacLeish, Archibald. "The Proper Pose of Poetry", *Saturday Review*, Mar. 5, pp. 11-12, 47-49.
Answers the question, "What is the language of poetry?" by analysis of *Shak.*'s Sonnet 116.
493. MacLure, Millar. "Shakespeare and the Lonely Dragon", *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIV, 109-120.
Considers Achilles, Coriolanus, and Antony as heroes whose tragedies are caused by a conflict between their own private honor and their public responsibility. "To Shakespeare as to More, and with more reason, politics appeared as a great play. . . . To be successful in politics, one must be a consummate actor, as Elizabeth was."
494. Macqueen-Pope, W. "Queen of the Tragic Theatre" [Sarah Siddons], *The Listener*, Jul. 14, pp. 68-69.
495. Magon, Jero. "Farewell to a Great Designer", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 130.
The American theatre mourns death of one of its best stage designers, Robert Edmond Jones.
496. Majdalany, Fred. "*Joe Macbeth*", *Time & Tide*, Oct. 29, pp. 1402-1403.
Ken Hughes's attempt at creating a Chicago atmosphere and character is judged irrelevantly long.
497. Majut, Rudolf. "Some Literary Affiliations of Georg Büchner with England", *MLR*, L, 30-32.
A summary review of *Shak.*'s influence, particularly that of *Ham.* in *Dantons Tod*.
498. Maker, H. J. "Lord St. Leonard's Portrait of William Shakespeare", *Hobbies*, LIX (Dec., 1954), 105-107.
499. Mander, Raymond and Joe Mitchenson. *The Artist and the Theatre*. The Story of the Paintings collected and presented to the National Theatre of W. Somerset Maugham. With an Introduction by W. Somerset Maugham. London: Heineman. Pp. xxii + 280.
Collection of theatrical pictures, identified as to play and player.
Rev. in *TLS*, May 6, p. 232.
500. Marsh, Ngaio. "A Note on a Production of *Twelfth Night*", *SS* 8, pp. 69-73.
The philosophy behind 1951 British tour was to remain independent of fashions and to do justice to the remarkable balance which the play has in its own right.
501. Martin, Martha Wing. "Shakespeare in Today's Classroom", *English Journal*, XLIV, 228-229.
On the basis of a survey of 166 high schools it was discovered that only 14 *Shak.* plays were studied, and that 4 plays were the focus of 128 schools: *Caesar* (49 schools), *Macb.* (38), *Merch.* (22), and *Ham.* (19). The compiler noted the gradual increase in emphasis of *Shak.* in the upper grades of the secondary level. (See also *SNL*, V, 18, for a longer version of this report.)
502. Masefield, John. "Festival Theater", *Atlantic*, Jan., p. 25.
Reply by Christine Stewart in Mar., p. 25.
503. Masefield, John. *William Shakespeare*. London, 1954.

- Noticed by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 324-325; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 153-154; rev. by Robert Halsband in *Saturday Review*, Feb. 26, p. 26.
504. Masson, David I. "Free Phonetic Patterns in Shakespeare's Sonnets", *Neophilologus*, XXXVIII (1954), 277-289.
Presents a sound analysis extendable to cover all types of sound-artistry and designed "to bring out modes of repetition, permutation and modulation"; relates these to various levels of meaning.
505. Matthews, Harold. "The First Three Plays" [of the Stratford Festival], *Theatre World*, Jul., pp. 16-25.
506. Matthews, Harold. "Horror-Tragic", *Theatre World*, Sep., pp. 33-36.
The final plays of the 1955 Stratford Festival.
507. Mattingly, Alethea S. "The Playing Time and Manner of Delivery of Shakespeare's Plays in the Elizabethan Theatre", *Speech Monographs*, XXI, 29-38.
508. Mauduit, J. "Cinna, Macbeth, Le Prince de Hombourg: Le T.N.P. a Rouen et en Avignon", *Etudes*, CCLXXXIII, (Oct., 1954), 70-79.
509. Maurice, Martin. *William Shakespeare*. Paris, 1953.
Noticed by J. B. Fort in *Etudes Anglaises*, VII, 414-415.
510. Maurice, Martin. *William Shakespeare*, tr. into Italian by Luciana Lombardo Frezza (Collezione Sidra). Milano: Rizzolo. Pp. 359.
511. Maurois, André. *Profiles of Great Men*. Translated from the French by Helen Temple Patterson. London: Tower Bridge Publications. Pp. 148.
Includes study of *Shak.* as one of Maurois' masters.
Noticed in *TLS*, Feb. 11, p. 94.
512. Maxwell, J. C. "The Presuppositions of Tragedy", *EC*, V, 175-178.
Objects to Clifford Leech's notion (*Shak's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth Century Drama*) that there is something which can be called "the tragic picture" or "the tragic view of things".
Reply by Clifford Leech, V, 178-181.
513. Maxwell, J. C. "The Relation of 'Macbeth' to 'Sophonisba'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 373-374.
Notes linear parallels between *Macbeth* (I. ii. 50-51), John Marston's *Sophonisba* (I. ii), and Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (III. 257-258); suggests that Marston followed Jonson, while *Shak.* borrowed from Marston.
514. Maxwell, J. C. "Shakespeare: The Middle Plays", in *The Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 201-227.
515. McAvoy, William C. "Form in *Richard II*, II. i. 40-46", *JEGP*, LIV, 355-361.
Gaunt's praise of England indebted to directions for praising a city found in Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* and the scholia of R. Lorchius.
516. McBean, Angus. *Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, 1951-3*. London, 1953.
Rev. by R. S. in *The Hindu* (Madras), weekly edition, Jan. 17, 1954, p. 11; in *Times of India* (Bombay), Feb. 27, 1954, p. 8.
517. McGlinchey, Claire. "Still Harping . . .", *SQ*, VI, 362-364.
Suggests another likely source for Polonius' "precepts" speech in the advice given by Elder Knowell to his nephew Stephen in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* (Act I, scene i), a play of whose cast *Shak.* was once a member.
- 517a. McManaway, James G. "Bibliography", in *Literature and Science* (Proceedings of the Sixth Triennial Congress, Oxford, 1954), pp. 27-35. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (for The International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures).
Scientific method in the bibliographical study of literary problems, especially *Shak.*
518. [McManaway, James G.]. "Supplements to the New Variorum Shakespeare", *SQ*, VI, 247-248.
Supplement to 1 *Henry IV* will appear as Summer number of *SQ*, 1956.
519. McMullan, Frank. "Community Theatre: A Wooden 'O' Among the Palms", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 152.
San Diego National *Shak.* Festival of 1954.
520. McVicar, Leonard H. "From Little Acorns: Stratford's Shakespearean Festival", *Recreation*, XLVIII, 110-111.

- Discusses the festival at Stratford, Ontario.
521. Meader, William G. *Courtship in Shakespeare. Its Relation to the Tradition of Courtly Love*. New York, 1954.
Noticed in *Seventeenth Century News*, XIII, 13; in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVI, 563; rev. in *CE*, XVI, 522; by William Dace in *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 68.
522. Meierl, Elisabeth. *Shakespeares Richard III und seine Quelle. Die Bedeutung der Chronik für die Entwicklung des Shakespeareschen Dramas*. Ms diss. München.
523. Meissner, Paul. *Shakespeare*, 2nd edition, revised by Martin Lehnert. Berlin, 1954.
Rev. by Fernand Mossé in *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII, 69.
524. Merchant, W. M. "John Runciman's *Lear in the Storm*", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVII (1954), 385-387.
The picture "provides an important commentary on 18th century pictorial sensibility which we may use to measure the stage versions" of *Lear* in that period.
525. Merchant, W. M. "Timon and the Conceit of Art", *SQ*, VI, 249-257.
Vindicates the dramatic function of the Poet and Painter scenes. Poetry and painting, as argued in Renaissance controversy, present appearance as a revelation of reality; and this kind of presentation becomes the business of the play.
526. Merion, Carslyn. "Twelfth Night", *TLS*, Mar. 11, p. 149.
Questions, with reference to Hotson's book, whether we must assume that only one troupe of players performed before Elizabeth and Don Virginio Orsini on Twelfth Night, 1601. (See no. 403.)
527. "The Merry Wives of Windsor at the Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon", *Theatre World*, Sep., pp. 30-32.
528. Michel, Laurence. "Shakespeare's Sonnet CVII", *JEGP*, LIV, 301-305.
As a means of avoiding logical flaws similar to Hotson's in dating this sonnet, suggests the application to literature of "a kind of Ockham's Razor Test",—*Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.
529. Michel, Laurence. "Yardsticks for Tragedy", *EC*, V, 81-88.
Prompted in part by D. J. Enright's essay on *Coriolanus* (*EC*, IV, 1-19). Questions results of using *tragedy* and *tragic* "confidently but loosely".
530. Michel, Laurence and Cecil C. Seronsy. "Shakespeare's History Plays and Daniel: An Assessment", *SP*, LII, 549-577.
Study focuses upon historical material and attitudes in *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, *Henry VI* (briefly), and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Finds, along with evidence of Daniel's later borrowings, that *Shak.*'s craftsmanship, and to some extent his conception of history, cannot adequately be appreciated without recognition of Daniel as a shaping force.
531. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Recorded by THE OLD VIC Company. New York: Radio Corporation of America, 1954. 3 LP records in album. LM-6115.
Rev. by James G. McManaway in *SQ*, VI, 351-352.
532. Miller, Robert P. "The Double Hunt of Love: a Study of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* as a Christian Mythological Narrative", *DA*, XIV, 2338.
533. Milunas, Joseph G., S.J. "Shakespeare and the Christian View of Man", *DA*, XIV, 526-527.
534. Mönch, Walter. *Das Sonett, Gestalt und Geschichte*. Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle Verlag. Pp. 341.
Rev. by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 327-328.
- 534a. Moravec, Dušan. "Shakespeare pri Slovenci: Othello", *Gledališni List* (Celje), I, 1-7.
Quotes *Shak.*'s plays that have been performed in Slovenia; deals with *Oth.* in detail.
535. Muir, Kenneth. "Buchanan, Leslie and 'Macbeth'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 511-512.
Two unnoticed parallels between Buchanan and *Macbeth*, and between Seneca and *Macbeth*.
536. Muir, Kenneth. "Changing Interpretations of Shakespeare", in *The Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 282-301.

537. Muir, Kenneth. "Greene and Troilus and Cressida", *N&Q*, II, n.s., 141-142.
Literary resemblances between Greene's *Euphues his Censure to Philautus* and *Shak.*'s play are cited and on the basis of similar words and phrases, *Shak.*'s acquaintance with Greene's work is posited.
538. Muir, Kenneth. "King Lear IV. 6", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 15.
Holinshed's account of Gogmagog influenced *Lear*.
539. Muir, Kenneth. "The Sources of 'Twelfth Night'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 94.
Shak. probably influenced by the epistle dedicatory of Rich's *Farewell to Militarie Profession*.
540. Muir, Kenneth. "Troilus and Cressida", *SS* 8, pp. 28-39.
Originally a lecture delivered to the *Shak.* Conference at Stratford-upon-Avon, August 18, 1953. Surveys various critical perplexities and several themes in the play, ultimately affirming a moderate point of view and an underlying unity.
541. Müller-Bellinghausen, Anton. "Die Wortkulisse bei Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCI, 182-195.
The technical aspects of the Globe Playhouse, and the importance of the spoken word in the absence of scenery and artificial lighting.
542. Müller-Hegemann, D. "Über die Beziehungen der Psychopathologie zur Literatur", *Psychia. Neurol. med. Psychol.* (Leipzig), V, 341-346.
The psychopathologically significant aspects of literature, as in *Shak.* and others, are related to the social stresses of the authors' times.
543. Munday, Mildred B. "The Influence of Shakespeare's Predecessors in his Early Blank Verse: a Study of Metrical Structure with Special Attention to Rhetoric and Syntax", *Summaries of Doctoral Diss.*, Univ. of Wisconsin, XIV, 437-438.
544. Murry, John Middleton. *Shakespeare*. London: Jonathan Cape. Pp. xx + 448.
A reprint of the study first published in 1936, with a long, new introduction by the author.
Noticed in *TLS*, May 13, p. 258.
545. Muschg, Walter. *Tragische Literaturgeschichte*. Zweite, umgearbeitete und erweiterte anlage. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1953. Pp. 747.
Includes considerable commentary on *Shak.*
Rev. by Ants Oras in *JEGP*, LIV, 135-139.
546. Mustanoja, Tauno F. "Middle English 'With an O and an I' with a Note on Two Shakespearean 'O-I' Puns", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, LVI, 161-173.
The refrain "With an O and an I" had a polarity and a flexible emotionality through frequent usage, which fact lends support to re-interpretation of certain *Shak.* lines.
547. Nathan, Norman. "Antony and Cleopatra": IV. vii. 6-10", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 293-294.
Proposes an interpretation of these lines which embraces two previous views, giving both a deeper meaning.
548. Nathan, Norman. "The Marriage of Richard and Anne", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 55-56.
Discusses Richard's motives in marrying Anne.
549. "News and Ideas", *CE*, XVII, 57.
Notes the editorial in *SNL* (Ap.) which had berated the NCTE resolution regarding the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre in Stratford, Conn.
550. Nicoll, Allardyce. *Shakespeare: An Introduction to His Works*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1953.
Rev. in *N&Q*, CXCIX, p. 457.
551. Nitze, William A. "'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' V. i. 4-17", *MLR*, L, 495-497.
Suggests that *Shak.* derived the madnesses of the lunatic, lover, and poet from the second discourse of Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*, perhaps in a Latin translation.
552. Norberg, Lars. "Shakespearetidens Teater", *Borås Tidning*, XXIX, 10.
553. Nørgaard, Holger. "The Bleeding Captain Scene in *Macbeth* and Daniel's *Cleopatra*", *RES*, n.s., VI, 395-396.
The puzzling simile of the spent swimmers in *Macbeth*, scene 2, is to be found in Daniel's *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, substantiating the notion that *Shak.* was preparing to write his *Antony* during the composition of *Macb.*
554. Nørgaard, Holger. "Shakespeare and

- Daniel's 'Letter from Octavia'," *N&Q*, n.s., II, 56-57.
- First scene in *Antony* partly suggested by Daniel's "Letter".
555. Nørgaard, Holger. "Stage-Coach or 'Stage-Coach'?" *ES*, XXXVI, 24-25.
- Argues that the stage-coach mentioned by Genest was a play by Farquhar and not actually a vehicle in *Titus*.
556. Nosworthy, J. M. "The Integrity of Shakespeare: Illustrated from *Cymbeline*", *SS* 8, pp. 52-56.
- Finds varied stylistic resemblances elsewhere in *Shak.* for several of the doubtfully authentic passages in *Cym.* Concludes that it is wiser to look in *Shak.* than in rival candidates for what purports to be his.
557. Nosworthy, J. M. "Shakespeare and *Sir Thomas More*", *RES*, n.s., VI, 12-25.
- Argues that the problem of authorship of additions is inseparable from the problem of date. Vocabulary, phrase, and ideas of Addition II and III point to *Shak.*'s authorship in 1601-2.
558. Noyes, Robert Gale. *The Thespian Mirror. Shakespeare in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*. Providence, Rhode Island, 1953.
- Rev. by J. M. S. Tompkins in *RES*, n.s., VI, 83-84.
559. O'Connor, John J. "Another Human Footstool", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 293-294.
560. Ogburn, Dorothy and Charlton. *The Renaissance Man of England*. New York: Coward-McCann.
- Further insistence upon Oxford's authorship of *Shak.*'s plays.
561. O'Hanlon, R. L. "Shakespeare and the Hard of Hearing", *Volta Review*, LVI (May, 1954), 214-216.
562. "The Old Vic Company in *Julius Caesar*", *Theatre World*, Oct., pp. 17-23.
563. "Olivier as Titus," *New York Times Magazine*, Sep. 4, p. 20.
564. Omkarananda, Swami. *Shakespeare on Sivananda*. Rishakesh: Divine Life Society, Yoga Vedanta Forest Univ., n.d. Pp. 66.
- Rev. by K. C. Varadachari in *The Hindu* (Madras), Mar. 27.
565. O'Neal, Cothburn. *The Dark Lady*. New York: 1954.
- Noticed by Milton Crane in *SQ*, VI, 355; rev. by Harold C. Bohn in *SNL*, V, 30.
566. Ong, Walter J., S.J. "Metaphor and the Twinned Vision", *Sewanee Review*, LXIII, 202-222.
- A formulation of a definition for "metaphor" as simultaneously both "an intellectual monad and dyad", with special reference to *Shak.*'s "Phoenix and the Turtle".
567. "Open House", *Time*, May 9, pp. 85-86.
- Under the direction of Louis B. Wright, the Folger *Shak.* Library, with its unique *Shak.* collection (79 First Folios), is invaluable to students of Elizabethan literature.
- Reply by Louis B. Wright, May 23, p. 8.
568. Oppel, Horst. *Das Shakespeare-Bild Goethes*. Mainz: Kirchheim & Co., 1949.
- Rev. by Werner P. Friederich in *Comparative Literature*, VII, 93-94.
569. Oppel, Horst. *Shakespeares Tragödien und Romanzen: Kontinuität oder Umbruch?* Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1954. Pp. 46.
- Noticed in *N&Q*, n.s., II, 182-183; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 325.
570. Ornstein, J. A. "Th' Art a Knowing Cookie, Will", *High Points*, XXXVII (Nov.), 65-69.
571. Orsini, Napoleone. "Stato attuale della filologia Shakespeariana", *Paideia*, VIII (1953), 153-176.
572. Orwell, George. "Lear, Tolstoy, and the Fool", *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*. New York, 1950. Pp. 32-52.
573. "Othello", *Theatre Arts*, XXXIX (Nov.), 67.
- The New York City Center production of *Oth.*, though Shakespearian in essence, failed to bring out sufficient psychological motivation.
574. "An 'Othello' Problem", Birmingham [England] *Post*, Mar. 30.
- Iago must be the most important actor in the play; unless his role is brilliantly done, Othello appears a fool rather than a tragic hero.
575. Paladino, Santi. *Un Italiano autore delle opere di Shakespeare*. Milano: Gastaldi, 1954. Pp. 136.
- Maintains Florio's authorship of *Shak.*'s works. For a similar claim

- made earlier, see Paladino's *Shakespeare sarebbe il pseudonimo di un poeta italiano*. Reggio Clabria: Casa Editrice Borgia, 1929.
576. Palmer, Ralph Graham. *Seneca's "De Remediis Fortuitorum" and the Elizabethans*. Chicago, 1953.
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577. Panter-Downes, M. "Letter from London: Two Companies at Stratford-on-Avon", *New Yorker*, Aug. 13, 56-57.
578. Paris, Jean. *Hamlet ou les Personnages du Fils*. Paris, 1953.
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579. Parker, Marion Hope. *The Slave of Life. A Study of Shakespeare and the Idea of Justice*. London, 1954.
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580. Parrott, Thomas Marc. *William Shakespeare. A Handbook*. Revised Edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. [xiv] + 266.
The text of this companion to *Shak.* study has been corrected to agree with that of the revised edition of *Shakespeare: Twenty-three Plays and the Sonnets*, 1953, where it serves as a General Introduction.
581. Parsons, Howard. "The 'Dram of Eale'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 409.
A reply to Glen O. Allen's article (see no. 136) requesting the retention of emended "oft" but rejecting Allen's further emendation "adduce" in *Ham*.
582. Parsons, Howard. "Richard III", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 175-176.
Comments on needed emendations of "pleading" for "pleasing," and "amorist" for "amorous" in Richard's soliloquy: I. i. 9.
583. Parsons, Howard. "Shakespeare Emendations, 'Richard III'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 288-289.
Suggests "deformed" for "dif-fused" (I. ii. 75), and the reading "Look, when he fawnes" in I. iii. 289.
584. Parsons, Howard. *Shakespearean Emendations and Discoveries*. London, 1953.
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585. Parsons, Howard. "Shakespeare's Sonnet CXLVI", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 97.
Argues the second line originally read "Lured by those rebel powers that thee sway".
586. Partridge, A. C. *The Accidence of Ben Jonson's Plays, Masques and Entertainments*. With an appendix of comparable uses in Shakespeare. Cambridge, 1953.
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"A new popular revised edition". Addenda on p. 226. Previous edition, 1947.
588. Patterson, Remington. "Shakespearian Connexions", *TLS*, Dec. 23, p. 777.
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Works of Balzac, James, Eliot, etc., are examined and interpreted to demonstrate the presence and significance of the Lear complex—the father's libidinous attachment to his daughter.
590. Payne, B. Iden. "Shakespeare Woman Actor", *San Diego Magazine*, August, 62-73 and cover.
Illustrated account of San Diego Festival.
591. Payne, Pierre Stephen Robert. *Roaring Boys*. New York: Doubleday. Pp. 316.
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- Rev. in *Booklist*, Sep. 15, p. 34; by F. E. Faverty in *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, Sep. 18, p. 11; in *Kirkus*, XXIII, 441; by Caroline Tunstall in *New York Herald-Tribune Book Review*, Sep. 4, p. 5; by Frances Winwar in *New York Times*, Sep. 4, p. 6; in *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sep. 25, p. 21.
592. Pearce, Josephine Anna. "The Manipulations of Time in Shakespeare's English History Plays", *DA*, XV, no. 11, p. 2192.
- Shak.*'s use of time, "serial, tripartite, and existing apart from event", also gives indication of a creative subjectivity, suggesting the modern theory of relativity.
593. Pedicord, Harry William. *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1954. Pp. 267.
- Noticed by Charles Beecher Hogan in *SQ*, VI, 353-354.
594. Percival, Alicia C. "The Shakespearian Woman—Human as she is", English Association Lecture, April 23, as noted in *English*, X, 204-205.
- "Although Shakespeare did not draw "types" of women, one might categorize" his women: the "good queen", the "wronged wife", the "Girl-turned-Boy" characters.
595. Perry, Thomas A. "The Two Gentlemen of Verona: an Historical Study", *Doctoral Diss.: Abstracts and Ref.*, VI (1953), 445-446.
596. Pettet, E. C. "Dangerous Sea and Unvalued Jewels: Some Notes on Shakespeare's Consciousness of the Sea", *English*, X, 215-220.
- Illustrates *Shak.*'s "Elizabethan" sense of the sea's capacity for terror or rich trade, as well as *Shak.*'s own more unique and imaginative apprehension of the secrets of the deep.
597. Phillips, Gerald William. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, addressed to members of the Shakespeare Fellowship. Cambridge: Published privately for the author and distributed by Heffer, 1954. Pp. 23.
598. Pocock, J. G. A. "Producer's Dream", *Landfall* [New Zealand], VIII (Sep. 1954), 206-209.
- Review of the New Zealand Players' production of *Dream*.
599. *Poetry Series*. (Readings from William Shakespeare and Rudyard Kipling by John A. Nist). Ypsilanti, Michigan: Idiom Recording Company. Division of Field Services. Michigan State Normal College. 12", 33 1/3 r.p.m.
- Includes some of the sonnets and songs.
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- 599a. Pokorný, Jaroslav. *Shakespeare in Czechoslovakia*. Prague: Československá Akademie věd Kabinet pro Moderní Filologii.
- An account of *Shak.*'s influence on the stage, in literature, and in music from 1595 to date.
600. Poley, Irvin C. "Drama in the Classroom", *English Journal*, XLIV, 148-151.
- Some pedagogical hints on the teaching of *Shak.* in the classroom.
601. "Pollux". "Othello" [review of productions], *Times of India* (Bombay), May 8, p. 10.
- Reviews performances in English and in Marathi languages.
602. Porohovshikov, Pierre S. *Shakespeare Unmasked*. London: Arco Publishers. Pp. 304.
- Claims authorship for Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland.
603. Potts, Abbie Findlay. "Hamlet and Gloriana's Knights", *SQ*, VI, 31-43.
- The *Faerie Queene* is found useful in supplying "commentary on ethics and dramatic cruces" in *Q2 Ham*. Parallels in situation, vocabulary, and imagery are noted.
604. Prema, B. S. "Lady Macbeth and Clytemnestra", *The Literary Criterion* (India), I (1952).
605. Presson, R. K. *Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida", and the Legends of Troy*. Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1953.
- Noticed by Philip Edwards in *MLR*, L, 106; rev. by John Russell Brown in *MLN*, LXX, 133-134; by John Arthos in *SQ*, VI, 103-104; by J. M. Nosworthy in *RES*, n.s., VI, 195-196; by C. R. B. Combellack in *Comparative Literature*, VII, 372-374.
606. Prior, Moody E. "Imagery as a Test of Authorship", *SQ*, VI, 381-386.
- Questions, after testing them with reference to other plays and dramatists, three of the major premises used by K. Wentersdorf (*SQ*, V, 11-

- 32) in applying imagery as a test of authorship to the *Shrew*.
607. Pritchett, V. S. "Looking at Life; the Immortal Memory", *New Statesman & Nation*, Ap. 30, pp. 604-606.
On the *Shak*. Birthday Celebrations at Stratford.
608. Prouty, Charles Tyler. *The Contention and Shakespeare's 2 Henry VI*. Yale Univ. Press, 1954.
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609. Prouty, Charles T. (ed.). *Shakespeare: of an Age and for All Time. The Yale Shakespeare Festival Lectures*. Hamden, Conn., 1954.
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610. Purdom, C. B. *Harley Granville Barker. Man of the Theatre, Dramatist and Scholar*. London: Rockliff. Pp. xiv + 322.
Discusses his *Shak*. productions and his *Prefaces to Shakespeare*.
Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 2, p. 716.
611. Purdom, C. B. "Shakespeare and Mr. Wilson Knight", *The Listener*, Dec. 23, 1954, p. 1120.
612. Purdom, C. B. "Who Was the Third Murderer in 'Macbeth'?" *The Shakespeare Stage*, nos. 6-7 (1954), 49-53.
613. Race, Sydney. "The First Night of 'Twelfth Night'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 52-55.
Argues Hotson has not satisfactorily proved date of *Twelfth Night*.
614. Rang, Florens Christian. *Shakespeare der Christ. Eine Deutung der Sonette*, ed. by Bernhard Rang. Darmstadt: Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung. Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1954.
615. Razum, Hannes. "Probleme der Shakespeare-Regie", *SJ*, XCI, 225-232.
Stage presentation of *Shak*. has to be identified with the spirit, needs, and ideas of the present time.
616. Reed, Robert R., Jr. "The Fatal Elizabethan Sisters in 'Macbeth'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 425-427.
Macbeth's three witches are, fundamentally, naturalized Elizabethan hags, and are to be associated with Elizabethan concepts rather than with the Scandinavian Norns or the Roman Parcae.
617. Rees, Joan. "Julius Caesar"—An Earlier Play, and an Interpretation", *MLR*, L, 135-141.
Kyd's *Cornelia* probably influenced *Shak*, and helps to account in *Caesar* for attitudes toward Caesar and Brutus, as well as the central theme.
618. Rehner, Herbert Adrian. "Choral Speaking in the Theatre", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 160-161.
Discussion of this technique for the use of amateur groups in *Caesar* and *Romeo*.
619. Renan, Ernest. *Caliban. Suite de la Tempête*, ed. by Colin Smith. Manchester Univ. Press, 1954.
Rev. by H. W. Wardman in *French Studies*, IX, no. 1, 83-84.
620. Ribner, Irving. "Othello and the Pattern of Shakespearean Tragedy", *Tulane Studies in English*, V, 69-82.
Many critical impasses concerning *Oth*. are removed if we recognize that *Shak*. "was not primarily concerned with presenting credible portraits of life". *Oth*. is essentially a moral play; its hero is *humanum genus*, torn between the temptation of jealousy (Iago) and the appeal of virtue (Desdemona and Cassio).
621. "Richard Fenton and His 'Quizzing Age'", *TLS*, Oct. 28, p. 648.
Cites evidence that Richard Fenton was the author of the Sh. "fragments" in his *Tour in Quest of Genealogy* (1811).
622. Richards, Stanley. "On and Off Broadway", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 38.
The Brattle Players' production of *Oth*.
623. Richards, Stanley. "Stratford, Connecticut", *Players Magazine*, XXXI, 9.
Regrets the "ghosts of Sir Henry Irving and E. H. Sothern" which stalked a regrettably unimaginative production.
624. Robertson, Jean and D. J. Gordon (ed.). *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*. Malone Society, Vol. III.
Rev. in *TLS*, May 13, p. 260.
625. "Romeo and Juliet", *Reporter*, Feb. 24, pp. 47-48.
Review of motion picture.
626. Rosenberg, Marvin. "In Defense of Iago", *SQ*, VI, 145-158.
"Defends" Iago against the libel that he was a decent man, and also

- against the charge that he was a creature of subhuman evil. Sees him as a possible ulcer patient, suppressing under a proud self-control and civility violent feelings toward his superiors.
627. Rougemont, Denis de. "Kierkegaard and Hamlet: Two Danish Princes", *The Anchor Review*, no. 1, pp. 109-127.
- Adduces many curious details—notably those involving vocation—in which the religious ordeal of Søren Kierkegaard follows the tragic pattern of Hamlet.
628. Rowse, A. L. *An Elizabethan Garland*. London, 1953.
- Rev. by Virgil B. Heltzel in *SQ*, VI, 98; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 315.
629. Royster, S. "More About Shakespeare", *Education*, LXXV (Nov., 1954), 193-194.
- 629a. Rudolf, Branko. "Othello v Mariboru 1954. Othellov problem", *Nova Obzorja* (Maribor), I, 57-64.
630. Ruggles, Eleanor. *Prince of Players: Edwin Booth*. New York, 1953.
- Noticed by William Van Lennep in *SQ*, VI, 473.
631. Russell, Bertrand. *Nightmares of Eminent Persons*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Includes "Mr. Bowdler's Nightmare" (pp. 11-16) and "The Psychoanalyst's Nightmare" (pp. 17-28), the latter concerning Romeo, Hamlet, Othello, Lear, Macbeth, and Antony (repr. from *Courier*, XXII, Apr. 1954, 81-87).
632. Russell, Douglas A. "Uses of Felt at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre", *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 202-205.
- In the workshops of the *Shak.* Memorial Theatre at Stratford, England, the most important single fabric used in costuming and jewelry is felt.
633. "Russia's TV Viewers See 'Romeo, Juliet'", *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 22, pt. 1, p. 20.
- The first Soviet TV presentation of a full-length English play in English—*Shak.'s Romeo and Juliet*, produced by Peter Brook.
634. Salinger, L. G. "Messaline in 'Twelfth Night'", *TLS*, Jun. 3, p. 301.
- Suggests that *Shak.* invented the place-name Messaline, in connection with Illyria, from a reminiscence of the words Massiliensis and Hilurios which he had earlier encountered in the *Menaechmi*.
635. San Martín, Eduardo. *La Novia de Hamlet*, comedia en un proemio y tres actos. Mexico City: Publicaciones del Grupo Literario "Bohemia Poblana". Pp. [98].
636. Sanvic, Romain [Robert de Smet], *Le Théâtre, Elizabéthain*. Brussels: Office de Publicité, S.A.
- Chapters include: "Shakespeare-Roi", "Les Emules de Shakespeare", and "Les Successeurs de Shakespeare".
- Rev. in *TLS*, Sep. 30, p. 568.
637. Savage, Henry L. "The Shakespearean Library of Henry N. Paul", *Princeton Univ. Library Chronicle*, XVII, 49-50.
- The late Mr. Paul, formerly Dean of the Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia for 20 years, bequeathed his rich collection of early books, which throw light on *Shak.'s* world, to Princeton.
638. Savitri, R. Sethu. "Good and Evil in Shakespeare", *The Literary Criterion* (India), I (1952).
639. Schanzer, Ernest. "'King John,' V.ii. 103-4", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 474-475.
- Supports Honigsmann's explanation of "bank'd" as a card-playing term, as opposed to Dover Wilson's interpretation of "sailed up the Thames".
640. Schanzer, Ernest. "'A Midsummer Night's Dream' and 'Romeo and Juliet'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 13-14.
- Supports S. B. Hemingway's thesis "that in the Pyramus and Thisbe play Shakespeare was burlesquing his own tragic treatment of a very similar story in *Romeo*".
641. Schanzer, Ernest. "The Moon and the Fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XXIV, 234-246.
- Shak.* includes three distinct types of fairies; the Moon remains conventionally the "cold, wat'ry moon", yielding magic. And yet this drama is "no insubstantial pageant", for dream and nightmare "are still securely fenced in".
642. Schanzer, Ernest. "The Problem of *Julius Caesar*", *SQ*, VI, 297-308.
- The problem of interpretation is

- twofold: the psychological problem of the true nature of Caesar, and the ethical problem of the rightness of the assassination. As in *Meas.* and the problem plays, *Shak.*'s creative talent went into the problem more than into the solution.
643. Schanzer, Ernest. "Shakespeare, Lowes, and 'The Ancient Mariner'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 260-261.
Suggests as more likely sources for two passages in the "Ancient Mariner", lines from *Caesar* and *Temp.*
644. Schanzer, Ernest. "The Tragedy of Shakespeare's Brutus", *ELH*, XXII, 1-15.
Brutus is the tragic hero of *Caesar*, and the presentation of his tragic disillusionment points toward the later tragedies.
645. Schilling, Kurt. *Shakespeare Die Idee des Menschens in Seinen Werken*. München, 1953.
Rev. by Hereward T. Price in *SQ*, VI, 188-189.
646. Schlüter, Kurt. *Shakespeares dramatische Erzählkunst. Eine Untersuchung über den Wandel von Funktion und Gestalt der Erzählung in Shakespeares Dramen*. MS diss. München, 1954.
647. Schön, Gerhard. "Vorwärts zu Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCI, 233-237.
648. Schwaborn, Heinrich. "Brutus und Cassius, Einige Betrachtungen zu Julius Caesar", *Neuere Sprachen*, I, 24-32.
649. Schwarzstein, Leonard. "Knight, Ireland, Steevens, and the Shakespeare Testament", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 76-78.
Discusses men suspect in the fabrication of the *Shak.* Testament.
650. Secchi, Nicolo. *Self-Interest*, tr. by William Reymes; ed. by Helen Andrews Kaufman. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press. Pp. xxix + 106.
(For Secchi's influence on *Shak.*, see Mrs. Kaufman's article in *SQ*, V, 271-280.)
Noticed by R. E. Davril in *SQ*, VI, 352-353; by Marvin T. Herrick in *JEGP*, LIV, 416.
651. Schrt, Ernst Theodor. *Vergebung und Gnade bei Shakespeare*. Stuttgart, 1952.
Rev. by Oscar James Campbell in *MLN*, LXX, 366-369.
652. Sells, A. Lytton. *The Italian Influence in English Poetry from Chaucer to Southwell*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press. Pp. 346.
Shak.'s poetry, exclusive of his drama, receives a major emphasis, a large portion being devoted to the "problems" of the sonnets, to *Shak.*'s probable visit to Italy, as well as the influence of Titian's painting on *Venus*.
Rev. in *Comparative Literature*, VII, 283-285.
653. Semper, Msgr. I. J. "On the Dignity of Man", *Month*, CXCI, 292-301.
Hamlet's great lines on the dignity of man viewed as an ordered, phrase-by-phrase presentation of Medieval Thomistic philosophy.
654. Shaaber, M. A. "The Folio Text of 2 Henry IV", *SQ*, VI, 135-144.
Examines and rejects Alice Walker's compositor-based theory that F 2 H. IV derived from a copy of Q 1600 collated with manuscript. Reaffirms belief that F was printed from a manuscript and calls for further testing of compositor theories.
655. Shackford, J. B. "Bond of Kindness: Shylock's Humanity", *Univ. of Kansas City Rev.*, XXI (1954), 85-91.
Shak. used the conventional prejudices regarding the Jew to effect a dramatic ambivalence: the stock comedy of the Jew and the deeper tragedy of the Christian failure of agapé in relation to the Jew. Indications point to *Shak.*'s greater indictment of Christian unkindness.
656. Shah, C. R. "Shakespeare's Plays in Indian Languages", *The Aryan Path* (Bombay), XXVI, 483-448, 541-544.
657. "Shakespeare by the Oliviers", *New York Times Magazine*, Jul. 10, p. 16.
658. "Shakespeare Country", British Information Series, 1951. Cited in *Film-strip Guide*, 1954, p. 350.
A black and white filmstrip on *Shak.*'s countryside.
659. "Shakespeare in Munich", *Newsweek*, XLV (May 23), 106.
Review of *Caesar*.
660. "Shakespeare on TV", *Ave Maria*, LXXXII (Aug. 27), 6.
661. *Shakespearean Manual* (Vest Pocket Library Series). New York: Ottenheimer.
662. "Shakespearean Switch", *Newsweek*, Aug. 29, p. 52.

- Profs. Maynard Mack and Charles Prouty inaugurate a new summer-session *Shak.* course, designed especially for teachers, at Yale.
- Noticed also in *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 28, p. 47.
663. "Shakespeare's Roman Plays: & Other Subjects", *SNL*, V, 41 (to be continued).
- Report on the Seventh Shak. Conference, Stratford-upon-Avon, Sep. 4-9, 1955.
664. Shapiro, I. A. "Cruxes in 'Love's Labour's Lost'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 287-288.
- Suggests an emendation of "school of night" to "style of night", in IV. iii. 255.
665. Shapiro, I. A. "The Significance of a Date", *SS* 8, pp. 100-105.
- By correcting the reading of the date on the MS of Mundy's *John a Kent* from 1596 to 1590, suggests that *Sir Thomas More*, and other Elizabethan plays, must be redated—suggests, in fact, that our knowledge of dramatic chronology in the 1580's must be precarious if it can be upset by the redating of a single play.
666. Shaw, John. "Fortune and Nature in *As You Like It*", *SQ*, VI, 45-50.
- The conflict between Fortune and Nature—underlined by the dialogue and vocabulary of the play—bears importantly upon both characterization and plot.
667. Shield, H. A. "Links With Shakespeare—XII", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 94-97.
668. Shield, H. A. "Links with Shakespeare—XIII", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 513-514.
- The social and historical background of *L.L.L.*, emphasizing the figure of Humphrey Fludd.
669. Siegel, Paul N. "Adversity and the Miracle of Love in *King Lear*", *SQ*, VI, 325-336.
- Relates the play to the Boethian teachings on the value of adversity—specifically the power of love to conduct Lear and Gloucester from suffering to redemption.
670. Siegel, Paul N. "Echoes of the Bible Story in 'Macbeth'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 142-143.
- Parallels the figures of Lady Macbeth, Duncan, and Macbeth with Eve, Christ, and Lucifer whose desire "to assume the kingship of heaven" set the pattern for future sin.
671. Simpson, Percy. *Studies in Elizabethan Drama*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 265.
- Includes: "Shakespeare's Use of Latin Authors", "Shakespeare's Versification: A Study of Development", "The 'Headless Bear' in Shakespeare and Burton".
- Noticed in *TLS*, Feb. 18, p. 106; in *N&Q*, n.s., II, 368; rev. in *TLS*, Ap. 25, p. 202; by E. C. Pettet in *English*, X, 189; by J. I. M. Stewart in *New Statesman & Nation*, XLIX.
672. Sirluck, Ernest. "Shakespeare and Jonson among the Pamphleteers of the First Civil War: Some Unexpected Seventeenth-Century Allusions", *MP*, LIII, 88-99.
- Shak.'s* and Jonson's works "had become, *inter alia*, part of the arsenal of political warfare", and "there was a genuine popular acquaintance with the works themselves".
673. Sisson, Charles J. *Shakespeare* (British Council Series Writers and Their Work, no. 58). London: Longmans. Pp. 50.
- Surveys *Shak.* scholarship and criticism since 17th century. Includes *A Select Shakespeare Bibliography* by J. R. Brown.
- Noticed in *TLS*, May 27, p. 290; in *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIII, 721; rev. by A. H. R. Fairchild in *SQ*, VI, 463-465.
674. Sisson, Charles J. "*Taming of the Shrew*", *Drama*, no. 38, 25-27.
675. Smith, Gerald. "A Note on the Death of Lear", *MLN*, LXX, 403-404.
- Supports A. C. Bradley's contention that Lear dies of joy, citing the *Problems of Aristotle* (1597) and Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* as containing parallel examples of death through joy.
676. Söderwall, Margreta. "Shakespeare i engelska och svenska skolor" (Sh. in English and Swedish Schools), *Aktuellt från Skolöverstyrelsen* (Stockholm), Aug. 8 (1954), pp. 180-186.
677. Soellner, Rolf H. "*Anima and Affectus*: Theories of the Emotions in Sixteenth Century Grammar Schools and their Reflections in the Works of Shakespeare", *DA*, XIV, 351.
678. Sorell, W. "Shakespeare and the

- Dance", (a condensation), *Dance Magazine*, Aug., p. 24. ff. [illus.].
679. Sparks, W. H. M. "The Immortal Memory of William Shakespeare", *The Central [Birmingham] Literary Magazine*, XXXVIII, no. 4.
Speech made at the Annual *Shak.* Dinner of the Central Literary Association of Birmingham.
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685. Sprague, Arthur Colby. *Shakespearean Players and Performances*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1953.
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- Links between *Lear*, *A.Y.L.*, and *Dream*.
700. Stříbrný, Zdeněk. "K Otázce Shakespeareova soštového názoru", *Časopis pro Moderní Filologii* (Československá Akademie Věd), XXXVII, nos. 2-3, pp. 96-104.
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702. "Summer Circuit", *Newsweek*, Aug. 15, p. 88-89.
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703. "Summer Mirth as Winter Comes", *New Zealand Listener*. XXX (Jun. 4, 1954), 6-7.
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- 703a. Summers, Joseph H. "The Masks of Twelfth Night", *Univ. of Kansas City Review*, XXII, 25-32.
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705. Szyfman, Arnold. "Poland", *World Theater*, IV, no. 3, 73-74.
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706. "The Taming of the Shrew at the Old Vic", *Theatre World*, Feb., pp. 12-13.
707. Taylor, Dick, Jr. "The Third Earl of Pembroke As a Patron of Poetry", *Tulane Studies in English*, V, 41-67.
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708. Taylor, E. M. M. "Lear's Philosopher", *SQ*, VI, 364-365.
- Suggests that the "mad" Lear's references to "this philosopher" or "this same learned Theban" have their source in the ideas of the Greek Cynic philosophers, who were known to Elizabethans like Thomas Nashe in his *Anatomic of Absurditie*.
709. "Theatre", [Moscow] *News*, no. 19 (Oct. 1), p. 31.
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719. Trewin, J. C. *Shakespeare's Country in Pictures*. Transatlantic Arts, Inc.
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723. Uhler, John E. *Morley's Canzonets for Two Voices*. Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1954.
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724. Ure, Peter. "The Looking-Glass of Richard II", *PQ*, XXXIV, 219-224.
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725. Vallette, J. "Shakespeariana", *Mercur de France*. CCCXXV (Août).
726. Viebrock, Helmut. "Neue Wege der Shakespeare-Forschung, Bemerkungen zu Horst Oppel 'Shakespeares Tragödien und Romanzen: Kontinuität oder Umbruch?'" *Neuere Sprachen*, III, 128-131.
- 726a. Vinaver, Stanislav. "Šekspir u punom blesku i zamahu", *Književnost* (Beograd), X, 105-113.
The author analyzes briefly nearly all the plays, trying to show *Shak.* at his highest.
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728. Wadsworth, Frank W. "Shakespeare in Action", *CE*, XVI, 486-492; 524.
Evaluates the Oregon *Shak.* Festival in Ashland, praising the effectiveness and newly acquired intimacy of the "reconstructed" Elizabethan stage, while suggesting that the production itself, gaining fluidity, suffered somewhat in delivery and consistency of mood, as a consequence.
- 728a. Wain, Marianne. "Racine Revisited", *Mandrake*, II (Autumn & Winter 1955-56), 427-432.
A rev. of Eugene Vinaver's *Racine and Poetic Tragedy* (tr. P. M. Jones), with a comparison of *Ham.* and *Phèdre*.
729. Walker, Alice. "Collateral Substantive Texts (with special reference to *Hamlet*)", *SB*, VII, 51-67.
A consideration of possible ways to eliminate the formidable number of compositors' errors from edited texts.
730. Walker, Alice. "Compositor Determination and Other Problems in Shakespearean Texts", *SB*, VII, 3-15.
Inquires concerning purposes which "compositor-determination" may serve and how analysis should be made. Focuses on the 34-year period during which the substantive texts of *Shak.*'s plays were printed.
731. Walker, G. G. "Shakespeare and Music", *Etude*, LXXIII (Sep.), 54.
732. Walker, L. O.P. "How Catholic Was Shakespeare?" *Dominicana*, XL (Jun.), 159-177.
733. Walker, Roy. "The Celestial Plane in Shakespeare", *SS* 8, pp. 109-117.
After brief survey of scholarship on *Shak.*'s astronomical lore, traces the impingement of "the celestial plane" (mainly through star-torch-eye imagery) upon human action in several plays.
734. Walton, J. K. *The Copy for the Folio Text of Richard III*. With a Note on the Copy for the Folio Text of *King Lear*. (Monograph Series, no. 1) Auckland Univ. College, New Zealand: The Pilgrim Press. Pp. 164.
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Noticed in *TLS*, Dec. 9, p. 750.
735. Warner, Alan. *Shakespeare in the Tropics*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1954.
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736. "Was Shakespeare a Playwright or an Alias?" *Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 20, p. 10 ff.
737. Watkins, Leslie. *The Story of Shakespeare's School, 1853-1953*. Stratford-upon-Avon: The Herald Press and Edward Fox and Sons. Pp. xii + 60. Illustrated.
Survey, by the headmaster, of the past century of the Stratford-upon-Avon Grammar School, with an indication that the complete history of the school may soon be written.
Noticed in *TLS*, Mar. 25, p. 186; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCI, 315.
738. Watkins, Ronald. "The Actor's Task in Interpreting Shakespeare", *SJ*, XCI, 174-181.
The modern *Shak.* actor should replace the cultivation of such externals as mannerisms, elaborate scenic effects, etc., with a sound pursuit of *Shak.*'s spoken words.
739. Watson, Sara Ruth. "The 'Mousetrap' Play in 'Hamlet'", *N&Q*, n.s., II, 477-478.
Suggests that *Shak.* modelled the staging of Hamlet's play-within-a-play upon the alleged theatre-in-the-round performance of *Twelfth Night* at Whitehall, in which case there is little doubt but that Claudius sees and understands the significance of the dumb-show.
740. Waugh, Evelyn. "Titus with a Grain of Salt", *Spectator*, CXCV (Sep. 2), 300-301.
741. Wavell, Major the Earl. "Shakespeare and Soldiering", in *Essays by Divers Hands, Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, n.s., XXVII, 140-151.
A soldier's informal reaction to the plays, indebted to Sir Duff Cooper and to Dover Wilson.
- 741a. Weagant, James R. *ORMTS* (Francis Bacon Prints). Los Angeles: 1955. Pp. [80].
742. Webster, Margaret. *Shakespeare Without Tears*, revised and enlarged edition, with an introduction by John Mason Brown. New York: World Publ. Co. Pp. 318.
Noticed in *English Journal*, XLIV, 549.
743. Weigart, Wolfgang J. *Shakespeare Psychognostic: Character Evolution and Transformation*. Tokyo: 1952.
Rev. by Lawrence Babb in *SQ*, VI, 190.
744. "A Weird Kind of 'Lear'", *Life*, Aug. 8, pp. 64, 67, 68.
Photographic essay on the Isamu Noguchi designs for *Lear*, and the London production, starring John Gielgud, which used them. (See also no. 225.)
745. Weisinger, Herbert. "The Study of Shakespearian Tragedy since Bradley", *SQ*, VI, 387-396.
Takes a dim view of certain modern tendencies undermining Bradley: emphasis on text instead of idea; studies of imagery; use of Elizabethan psychology; highlighting of native medieval elements; semantic revolt against generic terms; and the claim that tragedy cannot be created.
746. West, E. J. "Irving in Shakespeare: Interpretation or Creation?" *SQ*, VI, 415-422.
Contemporary opinions of Irving's performances attest, almost unanimously, that he did not seek or achieve real interpretation but rather used *Shak.*'s roles as raw material "from which to design his own fantastic and eccentric creations".
747. West, Robert H. "King Hamlet's Ambiguous Ghost", *PMLA*, LXX, 1107-1117.
Shak.'s ambiguous portrayal of the ghost carries the dramatic impact of mystery and awe, which effect *Shak.* secured by enlivening an out-worn Senecan ghost-convention with some contemporary Christian and pagan elements; thus the ghost is not explicable in terms of any one system of pneumatology, as advocated by Semper or Battenhouse.
748. Whitaker, Virgil K. *Shakespeare's Use of Learning: An Inquiry into the Growth of His Mind and Art*. San Marino, Calif., 1953.
Rev. by Giles E. Dawson in *MP*, LII, 205-206; by H. Norgaard in *ES*, XXXVI, 117-121.
749. Whitaker, Virgil K. "Vindicating the

- Historical Approach", *SNL*, V, 39.
An answer to L. C. Knights (see no. 453).
750. White, A. T. *Will Shakespeare and the Globe Theater*. New York: Random House.
751. "Who Wrote What? and How?" *High Points*, XXXVII (Oct.), 72-73.
752. Wilkins, George. *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*, ed. by Kenneth Muir. Liverpool Univ. Press, 1953.
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- 752a. Wilkinson, L. P. *Ovid Recalled*. Cambridge University Press.
Discusses influence on *Shak*.
753. Wilkinson, L. P. "Shakespeare and Horace", *TLS*, May 6, p. 237.
Letter referring to Percy Simpson's essay "Shakespeare's Use of Latin Authors" (see *TLS*, Ap. 25, p. 202 for review), and pointing out an unmentioned influence of Horace's Epode XI on *Shak*'s Sonnet 104.
754. Willcock, Gladys D. *Language and Poetry in Shakespeare's Early Plays*. Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1954. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. Pp. 103-117.
755. *William Shakespeare: Select Catalogue of Books in Newcastle-upon-Tyne City Libraries*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1952.
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756. Williams, Raymond. *Drama in Performance* (Man and Society Series, ed. by Lady Simon of Wythenshawe and others). London: Frederick Muller, 1954. Pp. viii + 9-128.
757. Wilson, F. P. "The Elizabethan Theatre", *Neophilologus*, XXXIX, 40-58.
Discusses kinds and locations; problems of staging; notes on audiences and acting.
758. Wilson, F. P. *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1953.
Rev. by Walter H. Walters in *Educational Theatre Journal*, VII, 76-77.
759. Wilson, John Dover. "The New Way with Shakespeare's Texts: II. Recent Work on the Text of *Romeo and Juliet*", *SS* 8, pp. 81-99.
The "New Way" was first surveyed in *SS* 7 (see 1954 Bibl., no. 598). Present article applies new methods to a "problem of peculiar difficulty". Concludes that *Q2 Romeo and Juliet* did not derive directly from *Shak*'s "foul papers" but from a specimen of *Q1* "corrected throughout and supplemented by a scribe who was given access to the foul papers of the theatre."
760. Wimsatt, W. K., Jr. (ed.). *English Stage Comedy. English Institute Essays*, 1954. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. Pp. x + 182.
Individual essays treating English comedy from *Shak* to Eliot. For the two *Shak*. essays, see nos. 155 and 455.
Noticed in *Essential Books*, Oct., p. 31; rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 4, p. 652.
761. Winterich, John T. "Your Literary I.Q.: Shakespeare as a One-Timer", *Saturday Review*, Oct. 22, p. 17.
Problem: to spot for quotations the speaker and the words which *Shak*. used only once in his plays.
762. Winterich, John T. [and Nan Cooke Carpenter]. "Your Literary I.Q.: That Affair at Elsinore", *Saturday Review*, Nov. 5, p. 40.
Problem: to identify author and title of several versions of the *Ham*. story.
763. Winterich, John T. [and James L. Rosenberg]. "Your Literary I.Q.: The Economical Bard", *Saturday Review*, Dec. 31, p. 6.
Problem: to identify certain *Shak*. characters who appear more than once in the plays.
764. Wolfit, Donald. *First Interval: The Autobiography of Donald Wolfit*. London: Odhams, 1954. Pp. 256.
765. Wollmann, Alfred. *Die Personenführung in Shakespeares Historien*. MS diss. München.
766. Wood, Roger and Mary Clarke. *Shakespeare at the Old Vic*. Foreword by Michael Benthall. London, 1954. (Published in U. S. in 1955).
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767. Worsley, T. C. "[Sir John Gielgud's] *King Lear*", *New Statesman and Nation*, L, Aug. 6, 160.
768. Wright, Herbert G. "How Did Shakespeare Come to Know the 'Decameron'?" *MLR*, L, 45-48.
Suggests *Shak*. could have used

- the French translation of the *De-cameron* by Antoine le Maçon, equally as well as Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, as his source for *All's W.*
769. Wyatt, E. V. "American Shakespeare Festival Production", *Catholic World*, CLXXXI, 469-470.
770. Wyatt, E. V. "Brattle Shakespeare Players", *Catholic World*, CLXXXII (Nov.), 141-142.
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771. Wyatt, E. V. "Merchant of Venice", *Catholic World*, CLXXXI (May), 149.
772. Yamaguchi, Yusuke. *Evil in the Tragedy* [An Inquiry into Shakespeare]. Tokyo: For the Author. Pp. [ii] + 42.
A translation into English of Chapter II of the author's *Evil and Literature*. Treats of *Ham.*, *Oth.*, *Macb.* and *Lear*.
773. Zeisler, Ernest B. *Othello: Time Enigma and Color Problems*. Chicago: Alexander J. Isaacs, 1954. Pp. 60.
Rev. by Philip Butcher in *SQ*, VI, 191.
774. Zink, P. M. "Hamlet, Caviare to the Generals", *English Journal*, XLIV, 37-38.
775. Zolotow, Maurice. "The Foxy Dreamer of Broadway", *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 22, pp. 36-37, 127-128, 130.
Performance of *Shak.* drama has been the foremost impulse of Maurice Evans' career begun in a tour of *Romeo* with Katherine Cornell, continued as a soldier with the Armed Forces, where he "force-fed" *Shak.* to the camps, and more currently on T.V., where he has tried to prove that *Shak.* also makes good "business" sense.

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of Shakespeare*

EDITED BY

G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

Professor of English, University of Illinois

(This special issue is numbered separately)

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SHAKESPEARE
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THE NEW VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE, begun by Horace Howard Furness (1833-1912) and continued by his son, Horace Howard Furness, Jr. (1865-1930), is one of America's great contributions to scholarship. In 1930, responsibility for the edition was entrusted to the Modern Language Association of America, which has added six titles to the twenty edited by the two Furnesses. To increase the usefulness of the volumes published in recent years, the Variorum Shakespeare Committee of the Modern Language Association has secured the cooperation of the Shakespeare Association of America in the production of a *Supplement* to the first M.L.A. edition, Professor S. B. Hemingway's *1 Henry IV*. This *Supplement* presents the results of research and criticism of the play since 1936 in concise variorum style and brings the original edition up to date. It appears concurrently as the regular Summer 1956 number of *Shakespeare Quarterly* and in book form to range with the volumes of the New Variorum Shakespeare.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY, *Chairman*
M.L.A. Committee on the New Variorum Shakespeare

Prefatory Note

This "Supplement" to Professor S. B. Hemingway's Variorum edition of *1 Henry IV* (1936) brings together with some degree of completeness all (mere nonsense aside) that has been written relating to the play from 1935 to July of 1955. A few publications prior to 1935 have also been admitted. Inevitably some materials have been missed and reviewers will perform a helpful service by drawing attention to significant omissions.

From the beginning, space has been a controlling factor. Shakespeare's history plays have in recent years interested a wide variety of critics (old, medium, and new) and among the history plays, in part because of Falstaff, the *Henry IV* plays have attracted most comment. The "List of Books and Articles" contains over 250 separate items which have been drawn on for quotation and discussion. To these, however, must be added a number of publications to which it has been impossible to give more than a passing reference in the text. Something of the problem posed by sheer quantity may be illustrated by the Appendix on "Characters." Originally this section ran to around 140 typed pages; it was reduced to 91 pages and then to 69 pages, roughly half its first length. The other sections of the Appendix have been similarly, though less drastically, reduced. Only the Critical Notes, in the editor's view the most useful part of a Variorum, have escaped essentially uncut.

Every effort, consistent with preserving the distinctive features of the Variorum series, has been made to conserve space. A new page-size, broader and longer, has been adopted, a change which substantially increases (in the Appendix sections, as much as forty per cent) the amount of printed matter on a page without sacrificing readability. References to books quoted or discussed have been reduced to author's name, date of publication, and page number(s); full information on title, author's initials, and place of publication must be sought in the "List of Books and Articles" (pp. 106-110). For articles quoted or discussed the citation is fuller, giving name (without initials), journal, date, volume, and page(s); author's initials and title of the article may be found in the "List of Books and Articles." Where there is any possibility of confusion with other authors of the same name publishing in the same year, initials have been used; and when an author has two publications in the same year, titles have been retained. For books and articles not quoted or discussed but only referred to (hence not included in the "List of Books and Articles"), a full citation, except for titles of articles, is given.

Chronological order has been followed in presenting the editorial and critical authorities quoted except when it was felt that a special emphasis or relationship was established by a different order. The editor is responsible for all unassigned comment and matter inserted in square brackets.

All references to Shakespeare's plays, apart from *1 Henry IV*, are to the Cambridge *Shakespeare*, ed. W. A. Wright, 1891-1893.

An important, early allusion to *1 Henry IV* (V.i. 129-130) has just come to my notice.

In a letter of 20 September 1598, from Tobie Matthew to Dudley Carleton, we read: "The Lord of Ormond is hurt; and since the great overthrow there is 400 more throats cut in Ireland. Sir Fras. Vere is coming towards the Low Countries, and Sir Alex. Ratcliffe and Sir Robt. Drury with him. Honour pricks them on, and the world thinks that honour will quickly prick them off again" (*State Papers, Domestic-Elizabeth, 1598-1601*, [vol. 268], p. 97; from a manuscript note by J. O. Halliwell in the University of Edinburgh Library).

My acknowledgements though not many are heavy. First, of course, I wish to record my debt to Professor S. B. Hemingway, whose Variorum Edition of *1 Henry IV* must be considered a landmark in the series; upon this admirable foundation I have been able to build in security. The Graduate College of the University of Illinois has been most generous with substantial financial aid, aid which enabled me to employ a part-time research assistant throughout the work. To the faithfulness, good temper, and efficiency of this assistant, Mr. Arthur E. Pennell, I owe special thanks. My thanks are also due to Professor M. A. Shaaber, who very kindly sent me several corrections of the Variorum Critical Notes. Dr. A. G. De Capua, University of Illinois, prepared the translations of the German criticism. It is, of course, always a pleasure to record the continual help of Miss Eva Faye Benton, English Librarian of the University of Illinois. Miss Alma DeJordy, University Consultant in Bibliography, has also been most helpful in procuring the necessary photostats and microfilms. My thanks are also owing to Miss Isabelle F. Grant, Curator of the Rare Book Room at the University of Illinois. To Dr. James G. McManaway, Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Shakespeare Association of America and informing spirit behind the "Supplement," I offer my gratitude for the hours of patient time and effort he has expended to give body and reality to what must otherwise have remained a permanent desideratum. To Professor Hyder E. Rollins, General Editor of the New Variorum *Shakespeare*, my debt is longstanding and deeply personal, not to be reckoned only in terms of the many criticisms and suggestions he has made during the preparation of this "Supplement." *Ad magistrum honor!*

My wife has as usual assisted me in all the proofreading. To her goes (without saying) my everloving thanks.

Urbana, Illinois

G.B.E.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The reader is referred to HEMINGWAY (pp. vii-viii) for abbreviations and symbols in the Textual Notes used for editions published before 1935.

ALEX.	P. Alexander, ed., <i>Complete Works</i> , 1951
BALD	R. C. Bald, ed., <i>1 Henry IV</i> (Crofts Classics), 1946
EDD	<i>English Dialect Dictionary</i> , ed. J. Wright, 1898-1905
ELH	<i>English Literary History</i>
ed.	edited by, or editor
edd.	editors
F(f)	folio or folios
f(f)	page, or pages, following
fol(s)	folio (a leaf), or folios
HLQ	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
HEMINGWAY	S. B. Hemingway, ed., <i>New Variorum 1 Henry IV</i> , 1936
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
KIT.	G. L. Kittredge, ed., <i>1 Henry IV</i> , 1940
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLQ	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
NED	<i>New English Dictionary</i> , ed. J. A. H. Murray, etc., 1888-1933
n.d.	not dated
n.s.	new series
NEIL.	W. A. Neilson (with C. J. Hill), ed., <i>Complete Plays and Poems</i> , 1942
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
Q(q)	quarto or quartos
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RID.	M. R. Ridley, ed., <i>1 Henry IV</i> (New Temple Sh.), 1935
SAB	<i>Shakespeare Association Bulletin</i>
s.d.	stage direction
SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
SN	<i>Studia Neophilologica</i>
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue</i> , 1926
Sh.	Shakespeare
Sh'n.	Shakespearian
Sh.'s	Shakespeare's
Sh.-Jahrbuch	<i>Shakespeare Jahrbuch</i>
SIS.	C. J. Sisson, ed., <i>Complete Works</i> , [1953]
TLS	<i>London Times Literary Supplement</i>
WIL.	J. D. Wilson, ed., <i>1 Henry IV</i> (New Cambridge Sh.), 1946

TEXTUAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

TEXTUAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

TEXTUAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

In the Textual Notes the following editions have been collated throughout:

G. L. KITTREDGE (separate annotated ed.)	[KIT.] 1940
J. D. WILSON (New Cambridge Sh.)	[WIL.] 1946
P. ALEXANDER (Works)	[ALEX.] 1951
C. J. SISSON (Works)	[SIS.] [1953]

Three other editions have been collated against the readings selected from the four editions above:

M. R. RIDLEY (New Temple Sh.)	[RID.] 1935
W. A. NEILSON and C. J. HILL (Works, revised ed.)	[NEIL.] 1942
R. C. BALD (Crofts Classics)	[BALD] 1946

The Textual Notes do not attempt to set up the full Variorum apparatus; they are intended generally only to supplement, for the years 1935-1955, the information in HEMINGWAY. In order, however, to show the textual authority or the source on which the recent editors have based their readings, I have for all significant readings indicated, in parentheses, the text in which they first appear. The choice of readings is selective. Only the following are recorded: those involving verbal or metrical variants; those involving departures from the pointing of Q1 which admit a possible confusion or change of meaning; those concerned with changes in stage directions or with new stage business. Occasionally it has seemed desirable to record information on readings not included in HEMINGWAY's collation; only in certain cases, however, are the readings of all the editions ordinarily collated by HEMINGWAY included.¹ To these editions I have added Q9 (1700), the so-called "Betterton's Quarto"; the second edition of Rowe (1709), here indicated by ROWE ii (HEMINGWAY's ROWE ii = ROWE iii [1714]); and the second edition of Johnson (1765), indicated by JOHNS. ii.² Occasional references have also been given to the DERING MS. (Folger Sh. Library).

The abbreviations and symbols in the Textual Notes are the same as those used by HEMINGWAY, except that the symbol + has been extended to indicate the substantial agreement of all editions collated since RID. (RID. +. =RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS.) and Qq to include Q9 as well as Q1-8. Colon and semi-colon are, except in special cases, treated as equivalents in recording variants for all editions after Q9 (1700).

WIL. and BALD employ -ed for all past tense forms, indicating the stressed form by an accent mark (-*éd*). SIS.'s text is ambiguous in its use of the -ed forms, the past tense is -ed being used for all cases without the addition of an accent for final stressed -ed. This ambiguity is indicated by ?SIS.

In most readings where SIS. differs from the other six editors he is following his copy-text in A. H. BULLEN's edition (vol. V, 1906). My colleague, Mr. John Smith, kindly called my attention to this fact.

A note on HEMINGWAY's Variorum text may be found below, pp. 45-46.

¹ I have been unable to identify the edition described as STA. ii (1870).

² It should be noted that JOHNS. ii as here used refers to the edition indicated by JOHNS. i in M. A. Shaaber's Variorum *a Henry IV* (1940). Shaaber, following a mistaken identification by H. N. Paul, reverses the correct order of the two editions, both of which appeared in the same year.

TEXTUAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

I. i.

s.d. Lord John of Lancaster] Om. WIL. (CAP.)
s.d. Westmerland,] Westmoreland, Sir Walter
Blunt, RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (CAP.) Sir
Walter Blunt, meeting Westmoreland WIL. West-
morland, Sir Walter Blunt, SIS. [Westmoreland
used throughout, except in SIS.]

23. mothers] mother's KIT. NEIL. BALD. (F4)
mothers' RID. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (THEOB.)

39. Herdforshire] Herefordshire RID. +. (Q6)
[So throughout.]

53. Archibold] Archibald RID. +. (Q5)

55. met, where] met, / Where RID. +. (CAP.)

55-56. spend / A] spend a RID. +. (CAP.)

62. is deere] is a deer RID. +. (Q5)

true industrious] true-industrious KIT.
(THEOB. ii)

71. Earle] the Earl WIL. (POPE)

75-76. In faith it is. / West. A] West. In faith,
/ It is a KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (STEEV.)
Wes. In faith it is. / A RID.

93-94. surprizd . . . use,] surpris'd . . . use KIT.
NEIL. BALD, ALEX. surpris'd, . . . use RID. WIL. SIS.
(Q3)

I. i. 1-28. So . . . old] WILSON (ed. 1946): The speech (i) foreshadows the theme of the two Parts, viz. that peace is impossible to an England ruled by a usurper, that Carlisle's prophecy (*Richard II*, IV. i. 136-149) must be fulfilled to the letter, and that the only Jerusalem Henry IV will see is the 'Jerusalem Chamber' where he dies, and (ii) links the play with *Richard II* on the one hand by its close relation to Carlisle's words, and with Henry V on the other by introducing the idea of foreign war as a unifying force. The guile that many detect in the speech is not intended; on the contrary, Henry is shown at the outset a man 'shaken,' 'wan with care,' and guilt-conscious. [See KNIGHTS, pp. 63-64 and EVANS, p. 102.]

8-9. with . . . paces] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): With the tread of the steeds of troops at war with each other.

21. We are impressed] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The King speaks of himself as if he were a conscript, enlisted by compulsion. His *vow* is the conscripting authority.

25-27. blessed . . . crosse] NOBLE (1935, p. 169): *Book of Common Prayer, Communion, Prayer of Consecration*: "to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption." The King's mood in this scene is heavy with religious emotion. His reference in lines 78-79 to the sin of envy is reminiscent of *The Litany*, "from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, Good Lord, deliver us."

40-46. irregular . . . of] WILSON (ed. 1946): This hardly accords with the Glendower, gentleman and scholar, we meet in III. i.—KITTREDGE (ed. 1940) explains *irregular*: This adjective describes Glendower as engaged in 'guerrilla' warfare, as contrasted with a 'regular' army.

58. shape of likelihood] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 160): This means "evidence that made it seem likely."

60. pride] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 160): [COWL's] gloss "height" is excellent, but means little unless "pride" is explained as a figure from falconry and supplemented by its . . . use in . . . *Macbeth*, II. iv. 12.

68-69. Ten . . . Balkt . . . bloud] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1943 [July]) notes parallels in Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, XVIII, 182-183, and in Tasso, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, VIII, 19, the latter translated by Fairfax (1600) as: "A streame of blood, a banke of bodies slaine, / About him made a bulwarke and a mote."

78-86. Yea . . . Harry] McAVOY (1952, p. 67): Shakespeare is accomplishing a *vituperatio* by using *comparatio* to Hal's disadvantage. . . . Shakespeare used a rhetorically "correct" version of the *comparatio* here, inasmuch as Aphthonius had cautioned "atqui diuidere totas, laudis est, non comparationis." Shakespeare deals with the "theme of Honour's tongue" as a whole and does not attempt to break the praise down into its component parts. Thus he produces a true *comparatio* rather than a *laus*, or, in this case, *vituperatio*. Furthermore, . . . his use of the terms *theme* and *praise* shows definitely that he was using them consciously in their rhetorical sense.

101. *a while*] *awhile* RID. +. (F₁, *a-while*) [So throughout, unless otherwise noted.]

103. *we wil*] *we* / *Will* RID. +. (T. J. ii)

I. ii.

s.d. Enter . . . Falstaffe.] *Sir John Falstaff* lies snoring upon a bench in a corner. The *Prince of Wales* enters and rouses him *WIL. Falstaff* discovered asleep. Enter *Prince Henry* and wakes him. *Sis. 5. wouldst*] *wouldst* RID. BALD. *Sis.* (F₃)

7-10. *vnles . . . taffata*] Q1-5, F₁, THEOB. HAN. WARB. CAP. VAR. '78, '85, RAN. MAL. STEEV. VARR. SING. KNT. HUDS. i, HAL. ii. *Vnlesse . . . Taffata*: Q6-8. *unlesse . . . Taffata*, F₂F₄, ROWE, COLL. DEL. WH. i, STA. HUDS. ii. *unless . . . Taffata*, F₃, POPE. *Unless . . . taffata*. JOHNS. VAR. '73. *unless . . . taffata*.—DYCE, HAL. i. *Unless . . . taffata*, CAM. WH. ii. RID. +. *unless . . . taffata*.—KTLY. [Q9 omits and *Dialles . . . taffata* and places a period after *Baudes*.]

98-99. *prune . . . bristle . . . crest*] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 160): A mixed metaphor. "Prune" and "bristle" are . . . associated in our minds with the image of a bird . . . and a dog. The interesting language-problem . . . lies in the word "crest." Was the word then (as now) used only of birds, or used also of the top of a dog's head? In Shakspeare "crest" certainly may be used of a dog. [See *King John*, IV. iii. 148-149.]

106-107. *said . . . vttered*] TILLEY (1950), N307: Nothing is well said or done in a passion (in anger).

I. ii. 1. Now . . . lad] WILSON (ed. 1946): The point of this has eluded the critics. A 'discovery' of Falstaff asleep (behind the curtains of the inner stage) would provide one and is suggested by lines 3-4. Stephen Kemble employed the business in 1804. [He cites A. C. SPRAGUE, *Sh. and the Actors*, 1948, pp. 83-84.]

1-6. *time . . . time*] KING (*SN*, 1941-42, XIV, 178): Falstaff probably means 'How goes it?' . . . The Prince mis-takes Falstaff to mean 'What's the time?'

2-12. *Thou . . . day*] WILSON (1943, pp. 37-40): The clock, that is to say, symbol of regularity, register of human duties, controller of the world's business, has no relevance whatever to the existence of so 'superfluous and lust-dieted' a being as Falstaff. It is a devastating abstract and brief chronicle of his life, so devastating that he attempts no retort but shifts to the more entertaining ground of highway robbery, where he finds himself pressed scarcely less hard. In this first scene, at any rate, Falstaff comes off second best in his wit-combats with the Prince. . . . Falstaff's function, in short, as defined by this opening scene, is to act as 'the prince's jester,' and the Prince is not thereby in the least committed to countenance his way of living, still less to share in it. . . . One purpose, then, of the opening Falstaff scene is exposition. As he writes it Shakespeare is pointing his audience to the end of the play, hinting at the denouement. . . . This means that Falstaff must be clearly seen for what he is, viz. an impossible companion for a king and governor, however amusing as jester to the heir apparent. . . . It means also that the weakness of the hold he has upon his patron must be emphasized. This is, indeed, exhibited as a preoccupation of his mind. 'When thou art king' runs like a refrain through what he has to say, and reveals the anxieties beneath the jesting. . . . And behind this problem there looms a larger and grimmer one—the gallows, the almost inevitable end of purse-takers, and highway-men. . . . That theme too recurs with damnable iteration in this scene. . . . We shall not fully understand Falstaff if we do not allow for fear of the gallows as part of his dramatic make-up.—TILLYARD (1944, p. 288): The Prince is telling Falstaff that his concern is with disorder and misrule not with order and regularity.—BETHELL (*Anglia*, 1952, LXXI, 97-99) offers a detailed analysis of this scene in terms of comic techniques and concludes: Here, in the first presentation of Falstaff, we have him as hypocritical Puritan, the Vice who is at odds with "old father antic the law," the soul sold to the devil—and diabolic himself in his inversion of order and government; all the themes which will be developed in the rest of this and the following play. And the Falstaffian method of sophistical argument, of witty inversion (*moon for sun*; *theft as a vocation*) has likewise been established.

4. *benches*] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 160): Privy holes. [One level of meaning only.]

5. *truelie . . . trulie*] KING (*SN*, 1941-42, XIV, 178): The effect is more dramatic when the word is repeated in a deliberately different sense by a second speaker. This trick is the major stand-by of Elizabethan wit, being what Falstaff means by 'iteration' (l. 87 below) and by calling the Prince a 'cuckoo' (II. iv. 328).

7-10. *vnles . . . taffata*] See Textual Notes. HUDSON (ed. 1852) seems to be the last modern editor to link these lines with the preceding question (l. 6) instead of with "I see . . . day." Yet the weight of evidence in the early editions is, until F₂, all against the recent editors. Note the reading of the Players' Quarto (1700).

15. *that . . . faire*] As a quotation from a song: (Rowe iii, *none*.—) *none*.—RID. NEIL.
 RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. (CAP.)
wandering] *wandering* RID. WIL. BALD, SIS.
 (MAL.)
 16. *art a king*] *art king* RID. KIT. BALD, WIL.
 SIS. (Q2)
 17. *none*.] *none*.—KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS.

(Rowe iii, *none*.—) *none*.—RID. NEIL.

31. *moone*.] *moon*. RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX.

SIS. (Rowe) *moon*.—WIL.

32. *prooffe*. Now] *proof*, now: RID. *proof now*:

KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (COLL.) *proof now*, WIL.

proof now.—SIS.

13. *come neere me nowe*] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Prince Hal's speech has been full of extravagant abuse; Falstaff parries by taking it in a sense of his own.

14-28.] COWL (ed. 1930) suggests that Sh. in these lines is ridiculing certain "aesthetic heresies" in Chapman's *Hymnus in Noctem* (ed. P. B. Bartlett, *Poems*, 1941), lines 380, 324, 331, 270, 271, 81-83; and *Hymnus in Cynthia*, lines 171-173, 202-203, 98, 117.

14. *go by*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): A mild pun: (1) 'walk about by the light of'; (2) 'count time by'—for the *night* is the only time for us.

23-24. *bodie . . . beauty*] KÖKERITZ (1953, p. 70): The words *body* and *beauty* were never homonyms, though they are so characterized in most editions of the play. . . . On the other hand, the possibility of a pun *beauty*-*booty* should perhaps not be entirely dismissed.—COWL (ed. 1930): For the word-play on "body" and "bawdy," compare . . . Middleton, *The Family of Love* [ed. A. H. Bullen, *Works*, 1885, III], V. i [125]: "the liberality of your bawdies, not your minds."

25. *gentlemen of the shade*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare Gentlemen of the Chamber, etc., members of the Royal Household. In *Famous Victories*, vi. 30 ff. Hal promises an annual pension to all highwaymen.

25. *minions . . . moone*] PARR (1953, p. 60 n.): Mercury rather than Luna is the ruling planet of thieves (perhaps Shakespeare means merely that Falstaff steals at *night*); yet William Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, London, 1647, p. 81, records that Luna, ill-dignified, makes "a mere vagabond, idle person, hating labour; a drunkard, a sot, one . . . delighting to live beggarly and carelessly"—a description that fits Falstaff particularly well.

28. *steale*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Perhaps Falstaff pauses a moment before coming out with the outspoken word *steal*.—KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 172): Practise theft (NED 2) + walk softly (NED 10).

30-31. *fortune . . . sea*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Diana being a common title for Elizabeth, this talk about 'minions of the moon' seems pretty daring, especially as it exactly describes the condition of her favourites.

32-33. *snatcht . . . spent*] TILLEY (1950), G91: Soon gotten soon spent.

34-35. *lay by . . . bring in*] HEMINGWAY's quotation from HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) is misleading. HALLIWELL quotes a critic whom he calls "*Anon.*" Actually the passage quoted appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1752, XXII, 461 (appended to an essay called "Observations on Sh.'s Falstaff," pp. 459-461), above the initials "P.T."

35. *ladder*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The ladder from the gallows platform to the *ridge*—the horizontal crossbar which formed the top of the structure.

35-36. *low an ebbe . . . high a flow*] TILLEY (1950), E56: He that is at low ebb at Newgate may soon be afloat at Tyburn.

38-39. *is not . . . wench*] WILSON (ed. 1946): To change the subject, Falstaff insinuates that a purse of gold might be put to other uses; to which Hal replies with a reflection on the 'wench' and a quid pro quo in 'old lad of the castle.'

40.] In HEMINGWAY's note from STEEVENS for "*Pierce's Supplication*" read "*Pierces Supererogation.*"

41. *is not . . . durance*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Hal returns to his theme, punishment. [Compare Nashe (ed. McKerrow, 1910, III, 216): "a suit of durance that would last longer then one of *Erra Paters Almanacks.*"]

47. *reckoning*] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 174): 'You have asked her to give an account of herself' (NED 4 '*call to reckoning*' b 'the action of rendering to another an account of one's self'; possibly euphemistic here); and 'You have called her to you to pay the bill' (NED 3).

47-48. *Well . . . oft*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Falstaff dares not maintain the innuendo of lines 38-39.

50. *ile giue thee thy due*] TILLEY (1950), D634: Give everyone his due. [Earliest citation; compare D273, "Give the devil his due," at l. ii. 114; both proverbs seem to be at work here.]

54. *apparent*] *apparent*—RID. +. (Rowe)

76. *smiles*] *smiles* RID. +. (Q5)

57. *law*] *law*? RID. +. (F1)

51. *coin*] KÖKERITZ (1953, p. 100): A pun on *quoin* 'wedge' with the same sexual connotation as *weapon* in 2 *Henry IV*, II. i. 15 is obviously intended.

55-56. *gallows . . . king*] LE COMTE (*MLN*, 1948, LXIII, 257): In the light of such jokes . . . it looks as if Falstaff is saying, "Let not us be called 'thieves of the day's beauty' because we have met what is at present the common fate of our profession and spoiled the beauty of the day by getting hanged along the highway—an ugly sight."

58. *hang a theefe*] TILLEY (1950), T119: The great thieves hang the little ones. [Earliest citation.]

59. *No, thou shalt*] LE COMTE (*MLN*, 1948, LXIII, 257): This . . . can mean not only what Falstaff takes it to mean, that he shall be a judge, and what the Prince, correcting, says he means, that Falstaff shall be a hangman; it can obviously mean "thou shalt hang as a thief."

60-64. *ile . . . hangman*] ROSSITER (1946, p. 212) suggests that Sh. may have had the following lines from *Woodstock* (1 *Richard II*) in mind (lines 344-347, Malone Society ed., 1929): "*Nim*: . . . I may arise wth yo", at the westminster hall of promotion. / & then I care not / *Triss*: tho^h shalt: tho^h hast an executing looke / and I will putt the axe into thy hand."

65. *jumps*] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 175): Falstaff's mind runs, 'If I become a hangman I shall make people jump off the gallows ladder, and that jumps with my humour. . . .' Probably 'waighting' continues the train of thought, for in order to make the jump more successful the hangman would weight his victim's feet. 'Waighting' also plays on 'waiting at court' and 'waiting in the court in order to get a suit granted'; the former sense is ridiculous of Falstaff.

68. *suits*] TILLEY (1950), S962: Suits hang half a year in Westminster Hall, at Tyburn half an hour's hanging ends all. [An earlier example occurs only in Heywood's *Epigrams*, 1562.]

70-75.] ARMSTRONG (1946, pp. 27-28) cites this passage and II. iii. 77-78 as part of an "eagle, weasel, drone" image cluster (found also in 2 *Henry VI*, *Lucrece*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Henry V*, *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline*, and *Pericles*). The key words are: cat, lion, drone ("here become changed from an insect into a noise"), melancholy, ape, and weasel.

73. *Lincolnshire bagpipe*] MARDER (*N&Q*, 1950, CXCIV, 383-385) surveys the evidence so far advanced and concludes: In the context of 1 *Henry IV* there is a quest for melancholy associations by both Falstaff and Prince Hal. The drone of "Lincolnshire bagpipe"—if it did mean frogs to Shakespeare—immediately suggested more Lincolnshire to him. The "hare" in the very next line was also plentiful in that country and . . . rabbit snaring "was one of Lincolnshire's historic occupations." To this we must add the associational idea of the fens of Lincolnshire with the fens of Moorfields. Although there undoubtedly were melancholy hares close to London and frogs in the fens of Moorfields, their association with the Lincolnshire in the previous line seems to make inescapable the conclusion that when Shakespeare wrote the line in question he was thinking of the musical instrument as well as the monotonous croaking of the famed Lincolnshire frogs.

74. *a Hare*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Alanus de Insulis, in the twelfth century, describes the hare as in a state of 'melancholy fear', dreaming of the arrival of the hounds. 'Illic lepus, melancholicus arripit timore, non somno, sed timoris sopore, perterritus, canum somniabat adventum' (*De Planctu Naturæ*, ed. Thomas Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* [1872], II, 442). . . . For hare's flesh as food see Tobias Venner, *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*, 1620, p. 59: 'Hares flesh is of a very dry temper (i.e., quality), of a hard digestion, and breedeth melancholy more then any other flesh: . . . for it maketh a very dry, thicke, and melancholike blood.'

75. *Mooreditch*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare *The Penniless Parliament of Threadbare Poets*, 1608 (ed. [C.] Hindley [1872], p. 3): 'We think it necessary . . . that all such as buys this book, and laughs not at it, before he has read it over, shall be condemned of melancholy, and be adjudged to walk over Moorfields, twice a week.'

85-86. *wisdom* . . . *regards it*] NOBLE (1935, p. 169) suggests the influence of the Bishops' Bible, adding that "this allusion to *Proverbs*, i, 20, 24 was considered profane" since it was altered in F.—WILSON (ed. 1946) suggests influence of the Act of 1606. [The whole speech is cut by some contemporary "censor" in a copy of Q7 (1632) in the British Museum (C.34. k.10), who carefully deletes all "oaths," particularly in the Falstaff scenes.]

87. *thou . . . damnable iteration*] WILSON (ed. 1946): You can patter scripture like the Devil. Compare Apperson [*English Proverbs*, 1929], 'Devil' 44, and Chapman, *Busby d'Ambois*, V. ii.

92. *Lord and*] *Lord, an* RID. +. (POPE) [So throughout, unless otherwise noted.]

102. *Poyntes*] *Poynts* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, SIS. (CAM.) *Poynts*—ALEX. (THEOB.)

103. *match.*] *match.* [points] WIL.

108-109. *Sacke, and Sugar lacke? howe*] *Sack and Sugar? Jack, how* KIT. WIL. ALEX. *Sack and Sugar? Jack! how* NEIL. BALD. (THEOB. ii) *Sack-and-sugar? Jack, how* SIS. (CAP.)

120. *a clocke*] *o'clock* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, WIL. ALEX. (THEOB.) [So throughout.]

Gadshill, there] Qq, Ff, ROWE i, ii, RID. WIL. BALD, SIS. *Gads-hill; there* ROWE iii, POPE,

THEOB. HAN. WARR. JOHNS. *Gads-hill: There* CAP. VAR. '78, '85, RAN. MAL. STEEV. VAR. SING. KNT. HAL. ii. *Gadshill: there* VAR. '73, STA. *Gadshill. There* COLL. HUDS. i, DEL. KTLY. *Gadshill! there* DYCE, HAL. i, HUDS. ii, CAM. WIL. ii. *Gadshill! There* WIL. i, KIT. NEIL. ALEX.

130. *chops.*] *chops?* RID. +. (Q7, ROWE iii)

132. *Who I rob, I*] *Who I! I rob! I* KTLY. *Who, I? rob? I* WIL. *Who?—I rob, I* ALEX. *Who, I rob? I* Q2-9, Ff, et cet.

134. *camst*] *camst* BALD, SIS. (Q2)

135. *shillings.*] *shillings.* [Poyntes makes signals behind Falstaff's back] WIL.

5-6, 'men say Latin prayers By rote of heart and daily iteration.' [Some influence in this speech of *Proverbs*, i, 10-14; see above lines 85-86.]

88-89. much harme vpon me . . . Hal] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Oldcastle was traditionally a hypocrite and a Lollard, or follower of John Wycliffe; Falstaff retains his faculty for insincere repentance.

89-91. before . . . wicked] NOBLE (1935, p. 170): Falstaff first compares himself with Adam in a state of ignorance and then, it might appear, gives a deadly thrust. Compare the crucifixion of Christ between the two thieves and *Mark*, xv, 28: "He was counted among the wicked."

97. baffell] WILSON (ed. 1946): To call a knight a villain (= serf) would 'baffle' him.

98. amendment of life] NOBLE (1935, p. 61): In the New Testament, "amendment of life" is peculiar to the Genevan of *Luke*, xv, 7 ("which neede none amendment of life" as also *Matthew*, iii, 8 and *Acts*, xxvi, 20). But the phrase is also found in the Exhortation in the Communion Service—"confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life." It abounds in the Homily on Repentance.

100-101. no sinne . . . vocation] NOBLE (1935, p. 170): Falstaff's reply is in the spirit of the *Catechism*: "to labour truly to get mine own living," and of 2 *Thessalonians*, iii, 10 to which the Genevan (not the Tomson) attached a note: "Then by the worde of God none ought to liue idly, but ought to giue himselfe to some vocation, to get his liuing by, and to doe good to others." Compare also Homily against Idleness: "so every one . . . ought . . . in some kind of labour to exercise himself, according as the vocation, whereunto God hath called him, shall require."—KITREDGE (ed. 1946): A more or less proverbial perversion of a Biblical text: 'Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called' (1 *Corinthians*, vii, 20). Compare *Ephesians*, iv, 1: 'I beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called.' Compare Dekker, 1 *Honest Whore* [ed. F. Bowers, *Dramatic Works*, 1955, II: III, ii, 57-59]: 'If it be my vocation to sweare, every man in his vocation: I hope my betters sweare and dam themselves, and why should not I?'

102. Gadshill] WILSON (ed. 1946): In *Famous Victories* the 'thief' is named Cuthbert Cutter (sc. iv. 17 f.) but nicknamed 'Gadshill' by the carrier robbed by him on Gad's Hill (ii. 67; x. 44). Shakespeare adopts the nickname from the old play, and omits the *raison d'être*.

103. saved by merit] NOBLE (1935, p. 170): We may take it that Falstaff, like the Princess in *Love's Labour's Lost*, is referring to justification by faith and not by works. . . . Salvation by merit was denounced in Homily on Fasting.

105. true man] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare *Famous Victories*, ii. 75-78: "Iohn. My friend, what make you abroad now? It is too late to walk now. *Theef* (= Gadshill). It is not too late for true men [= honest men] to walke. *Lawrence*. We know thee not to be a true man."

108. Sacke, and Sugar] KITREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600 (Huntarian Club ed. [1890, I], p. 28, cited by Wright): "When signeur Sacke & Sugar drinke-drown'd reeles."—KELLER (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1937, LXIII, 151-152) notes that the common name for champagne in Germany, "Sekt," derives from Falstaff's association with "sack." [The DERING MS. reads: "S" Iohn Sacke & suger: Iacke how. . . ."]

145-147. spirit of perswasion . . . beleueed] NOBLE (1935, p. 171): Compare *Acts*, xxvi, 28: "Somewhat thou perswadest mee to be a Christian." . . . *Collect* [*Book of Common Prayer*] said on any occasion, but especially at the close of a service: "Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words, which we have heard this day with our outward ears, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living."

148. *thiefe, for*] Q1-4, RID. WIL. *theeje; for* out.]
 Q5-9, FF, et cet.
 151. *the*] *thou* KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS.
 (POPE)
 152. *summer.*] *summer!* Exit Falstaff RID. KIT.
 NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (F2) *summer!* [Falstaff goes
 WIL. *summer.* [Exit Falstaff. SIS.
 155. *Falstaffe, Harney, Rossill*] *Falstaff, Bar-*
dolph, Peto RID. +. (THEOB.) [Falstaff through-
 160. *How!* But how SIS. (F1)
 181. *lines*] *lies* KIT. NEIL. BALD. (Q2)
 183. *to morrow night*] *to-night* KIT. SIS. (CAP.)
 186. *a while*] *a-while* F1F2 *awhile* KNT. COLL.
 iii, HUDS. ii, DYCE, CAM. i, WH. ii, KIT. WIL.
 BALD, ALEX.
 204. *glistering*] *glittering* RID. BALD, SIS. (Q3)

145-150. Well . . . Eastcheap] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Falstaff assumes the manner of a preacher exhorting his congregation. There is no satire on the Puritans. He is merely burlesquing the style of pulpit oratory.

149. *abuses . . . countenance*] WILSON (ed. 1946): A double parody, (a) on 'the regular complaint that good causes are not properly encouraged by the nobility' (KITTREDGE), and (b) on puritans who attacked the 'abuses of the time,' e.g. Philip Stubbes in *The Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583.

155. Rossill] HOTSON (1937, p. 20) suggests that Sh. removed the name of Sir John Russell from the text because of his friendship for Thomas Russell, a descendant.

161-165. Why . . . vpon them] WILSON (ed. 1946): The action in II. i does not tally with this, but Shakespeare's ideas probably shift as he passes from scene to scene.

183. *meete me . . . Eastcheape*] SPRAGUE (1935, p. 50): A familiar variation of double time occurs when plot and subplot proceed at different rates of speed. Thus, in *King Henry IV*, when the Gadshill affair is planned (I. ii), there is mention of a meeting at the tavern in Eastcheap, the following night. But before this meeting takes place (II. iv) Hotspur, after defying the King, must have time to go north and make preparations for revolt; and, in II. iii, Kate speaks as if he had been there for two weeks.—WILSON (ed. 1946): This seems to overlook the earlier rendezvous on Gad's Hill; but Shakespeare wishes to fix the attention of the audience upon the coming disclosure at the Boar's Head, and knows they will notice nothing wrong.

186-208.] BAILEY (1929, p. 131): The speech has been attacked as showing the meanness of Henry's character. But why? Suppose a young man of our own day, one whose spirits were fuller grown than his wisdom, thrown by circumstances or by choice, by the love of pleasure and adventure or the scorn of cloistered virtue, into the society of a pack of amusing but worthless boon companions. It is not his wisdom that put him there. But being there, with whatever excuse, why may he not say, if he is clear-eyed and strong-willed enough to say it: 'I know my friends are shaking their heads over me. They see me playing the fool and think I am not capable of playing anything else. But they will one day find out their mistake. I don't mean all my days to be holidays spent among fools, however pleasant the holidays and however amusing the fools. And when I put on my working clothes and show the wisecracks what I really am and can do, they will give me all the more credit for their surprise.' What is the harm of that?—SPRAGUE (1935, p. 295): Shakespeare had been in trouble over Sir John Oldcastle (alias Falstaff), and probably was disinclined to run risks. Knowing perfectly well that he was violating dramatic propriety by doing so, he marched his prince down-stage, and made him assure those persons in the audience who might need assurance that he (the future Henry V) intended to reform, when the right moment came.—RIDLEY (1937, pp. 98-99): If we neglect that speech, not only do we wholly fail to follow the development of his character, and indeed probably think it inconsistent, but we have only ourselves to blame if we are shocked by the rejection of Falstaff at the end of Part II. To take a small instance, we are unprepared—so unprepared that we may think it out of character—for the sudden change in the prince which underlies one of the most dramatic moments of the play, the moment in II. iv. 475 where with an ease so complete because it is in fact so natural he changes from the boon-companion to the Prince of Wales for the entrance of the sheriff. The truth is that in his own view, whatever his behaviour may be, he is never anything but prince, and the future King of England. . . . There is no reason to suppose that he did not enjoy his association with Falstaff, or that he involved himself in an environment distasteful to his natural instincts with the deliberate purpose of surprising his kingdom into keener loyalty by his future reformation. But there is as little reason to doubt that he saw with perfectly cool

deliberation what the results of his course of action were likely to be. . . . From beginning to end he is never, not even in his gayest and apparently most careless moments in Eastcheap, anything but his father's son, hard, and practical, and foreseeing. He is always aware that he will in time wear the crown, and he proposes to wear it efficiently. He will amuse himself with Falstaff and Poinas as a man, just as he will study his subjects while he amuses himself by bewildering the drawer, but if they interfere with his being the king that England needs they will be brushed aside almost carelessly.—VAN DOREN (1939, pp. 117-118): If this is priggish, and it surely is, we must remember how conscious Shakespeare's princes always are of their careers, and we must remember that the uppermost drift of *Henry IV* is steadily in the direction of Hal's regeneration as Henry V. Falstaff is an interlude in his life: a circumstance from which Falstaff in fact derives much of his power.—KITTEDGE (ed. 1940, p. xi): Shakespeare, indeed, is so much concerned to guard against misconception on the part of the audience, that he deliberately renounces dramatic propriety in the famous soliloquy at the end of I. ii. This is, in effect, the author's explanation—a kind of chorus—and should be so understood. It is not the expression of the Prince's actual motive in upholding 'the unyoked humour' of his riotous comrades. It amounts to a mere statement of fact made by Shakespeare himself: 'When the Prince turns over a new leaf, he will be all the more admired for the contrast.'—WILSON (1943, pp. 41-42): The soliloquy seems callous and hypocritical to many modern critics. It was assuredly nothing of the kind to Shakespeare's original audience. Why not? The answer is, in the first place, that we have here a piece of dramatic convention, common in the Elizabethan theatre, but now over three hundred years out of date. The soliloquy . . . belongs to what may be called the expository type, a type already becoming old-fashioned towards the end of the sixteenth century and seldom used again by Shakespeare after *Henry IV*. Its function was to convey information to the audience about the general drift of the play, much as a prologue did. . . . 'I will be good' he promises, as Victoria did on a later and different occasion. The sign-post is the more necessary in Hal's case, because two full-length performances are to intervene between promise and fulfilment. . . . Modern critics invariably discuss the soliloquy in the light of their knowledge of the play as a whole. . . . Watch *Henry IV* in the theatre without critical prepossessions, and it will never occur to you that there is treachery to Falstaff in the soliloquy, because up to then Shakespeare has done nothing to enlist the sympathy or admiration of the audience on Falstaff's behalf. . . . We learn . . . that he has already made up his mind: . . . he would have to choose between Idleness and Duty, Vanity and Responsibility, and he knew which it would be. Meantime things must remain as they are. He is a banished and disgraced man, but his day would come, and then he would show the world!—LEISHMAN (*RES*, 1944, XX, 315): Professor Dover Wilson would have strengthened his case had he frankly admitted that here Shakespeare 'wanted art.' Shakespearean critics often try to have it both ways, and tend, perhaps unconsciously, to move on two levels of argument: they interpret and defend first-rate Shakespeare in the manner of Coleridge, and, at the same time, they try to make second-rate Shakespeare appear first-rate by defending it with the practical and commercial arguments of certain modern critics.—BETHELL (1944, p. 69): We must not take the speech naturalistically at all, so as to accuse Henry of a deliberate plan to secure favourable publicity. It is, rather, an objective statement of the facts, as they are, and as they will be (for it includes an element of the prophetic). . . . The rejection of Falstaff is already anticipated, and we know that all will work out in accordance with the highest moral precepts. An audience used to speeches addressed directly to themselves, in which they are, as it were, taken into the confidence of a stage character, would understand Prince Henry's soliloquy in this way.—JOSEPH (1951, p. 94): Unless in disguise, a nobleman must not behave like a commoner, nor a good man like one who is bad. It was for this reason, I believe, that Shakespeare makes Hal denounce his drinking companions. . . . As he speaks the soliloquy . . . his 'action' changes to that of a prince. The seemingly low commoner is invested with majesty, and the Elizabethan audience knows that such scurrilous speeches as he may speak do not come from his soul, but are part of a disguise, as was confirmed by the evidence of history. [See BALDWIN, p. 90; DANBY, p. 72; EMPSON, p. 90; GODDARD, p. 93; HEMINGWAY, p. 94; NICOLL, p. 73; PALMER, pp. 92-93; TRAVERS, pp. 69-70; WHITAKER, p. 94. There is a transcript of lines 186-208 (omitting l. 193) in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2,446, fol. [13]) headed 'The Prince of Wales his speech. 165' and, apparently, dated 'Aprill 14 Anno Domin[i] 1628 [or 1620].'] Although it contains several unique readings (l. 186, 'and will I'; l. 192, 'wondered at'; l. 197, 'that wisht fro'; l. 204, 'glittering ouer'; l. 206, 'set it forth'), it derives nearly certainly from some printed text later than Q3 (MS. reads 'soile' in l. 206).]

I. iii.

3. *me, for*] Q1-4, CAP. KIT. BALD. *me— for*
 WIL. *me: for* Q5-9, Ff, et cet. [KIT. om. *for.*]
 5-6. *my selfe Mightie.*] Q1-3. *my self, Mighty*
 HAN. WARB. JOHNS. VAR. '13, HUDS. II, DYCE, HAL.
 I, CAM. KIT. WH. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX.
my selfe, Mighty, Q4-9, Ff, et cet.
 6. *condition*] Q1, Q4-8, F1 *condiion, Q2Q3Q9,*
 F2-4, ROWE, POPE, THEOB. HAN. I, SING. COLL.
 HUDS. I, DEL. WH. I, RID. KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX.

SIS. *condition* past; KIT. *Condition*; WARB. et cet.
 26. *deliuered*] *delivered* WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (ROWE,
deliuer'd)
 47. *questioned*] *question'd* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 ?SIS. (F1)
 50. *pestred*] *pester'd* RID. BALD, ?SIS. (POPE)
 52. *what*] *what*, RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. (Q2)
what— KIT. ALEX. SIS.
 62. *destroyed*] *destroy'd* RID. + (?SIS.). (Q5)
 66. *answered*] *answer'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?SIS.
 (POPE)

186-194.] BALDWIN (1950, p. 235): Here is the *Lucrece* figure of clouds poisoning the sun, now condensed to two lines. . . . The figure is developed in *Lucrece*, and assumed or alluded to in *1 Henry IV*. . . . The two lines of *1 Henry IV* are rephrased from two of the sonnets. Sonnet XXXIII reads, "Anon permit the basest clouds to ride, / With ugly rack on his celestial face, / And from the forlorn world his visage hide." The first lines of these quoted sections are almost identical, and the second line of one says the same thing as the second and third lines of the other. The condensed form is almost certain to be the later. Further, a continuation of the sonnet passage in the next sonnet, XXXIV, has entered into this background.

To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
 Hiding thy brav'ry in their rotten smoke.

Here "the basest clouds" of Sonnet XXXIII, under the influence of "base clouds . . . in their rotten smoke" of Sonnet XXXIV (from the "rotten damp" of *Lucrece*) have become "base contagious clouds" in *1 Henry IV*. Clearly the line in *1 Henry IV* is later than the corresponding lines in Sonnets XXXIII and XXXIV.

189. contagious] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Pestilence was thought to be generated in fog, mist, and cloud. Compare *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 90: 'contagious fogs'; *Richard II*, III. iii. 85-87.

195. holly-dayes] TILLEY (1950), D68: Every day is not holiday (Sunday). [Earliest citation.]

195-197.] BALDWIN (1944, II, 542) compares (following COLLINS) Juvenal, XI, 208, but concludes: The subject as well as the sentiment is the same. . . . Shakspeare's phraseology, however, is not close enough . . . to give any certainty that Juvenal was his source for this idea.

203-206. mettall . . . off] SPURGEON (1935, p. 242) notes how this foil-jewel image links *1 Henry IV* with *Richard III* (V. iii. 250-251) and *Richard II* (I. iii. 266-270 and II. i. 46).

208. Redeeming time] NOBLE (1935, p. 171): See *Ephesians*, v, 16: "Redeeming the tyme, because the dayes are euill."

I. iii.] R. WATKINS (1950, p. 100): Scenes of conference, involving the use of a table, seem to be disclosed in the Study. King Henry IV rates Worcester from the council-board; and we must suppose therefore that the scene begins in the Study round the Table. . . . In the same play [III. i] Glendower, Hotspur, Worcester and Mortimer are disclosed at the conference-table, and return to it after an altercation to study the map.

1-9. My blood . . . proud] ADAMS (*SQ*, 1952, III, 283): It is perfectly obvious that Henry is here contrasting his official self as king with his "condition" as a man, friendly, open, easy-going toward his friends and all men. Now, he says, I will be "myself," a word which can only apply to his function as king. In other words, he is saying that he will live up to the generally understood type of king, the powerful ruler who is "mighty and to be feared." [ADAMS also calls attention to a similar use of *myself* at III. ii. 93.]

1-4. blood . . . patience] WILSON (ed. 1946): We begin in the middle of an altercation but catch glimpses at lines 77-80, 140 ff. below of matters earlier touched upon. Perhaps an opening passage has been cut.

5-6. I . . . fearde] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 161): [HEMINGWAY's] long note leaves us still in doubt at the end, though a simple gloss, such as the following, might clear it up: "I too, like the rest of you, will be (unlike my true self) mighty and to be feared."

13. portly] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Prosperous, with a suggestion of over-prosperity.

37-45. And . . . nobilitie] STYRLING (1949, p. 60) suggests that these lines reverse Sh.'s usual attitude toward the stinking mob and are a satire on snobbish "aristocratic nostrils."

38. pouncet boxe] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): For pictures of old pomanders see *Archaeological Journal*, 1874, XXXI, 337 ff.

70. *considered*] *consider'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?SIS.
(Rowe)

84. *that*] *the* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, SIS. (Q2)

85. *married*] *married* WIL. ?SIS. (Rowe, *marry'd*)

86. *emptied*] *emptied* WIL. ?SIS. (Rowe, *empty'd*)

93. *Mortimer*: *Mortimer!* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. *Mortimer?* KIT. SIS. (Q2)

96. *tongue: for*] *tongue for* RID. +. (HAN.)

106. *crispe-head*] *crisp head* RID. +. (JOHNS.)

[See Critical Notes.]

108. *base*] *base* KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (F1)

112. *slandered*] *slander'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (F3)

115. *thee, he*] *thee, / He* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, SIS. (STEEV.) *thee / He* KIT. ALEX.

122. *Northumberland*:] *Northumberland*, RID. +.

(Q2) [WARR. is the first editor to indicate the force of Q1's colon; ignored by recent editors.]

124. *you will*] *you'll* NEIL. WIL. (F1)

s.d. *Exit King*] Expanded substantially as in

CAP.: RID. +.

125. *And if*] *As if* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (CAP.)

129. *a while*] *awhile* KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (F1)

130a. *Enter Wor.*] After line 129: SIS.

137. *cankred*] *canker'd* RID. BALD, ?SIS. (CAP.)

142. *winces*] *wife's* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (Rowe) *wife's* KIT.

155. *soft, I pray you did*] SIS. *soft I pray you, did* Q2-7. *soft I pray you; did* F1-3. *soft, I pray you;— did* THEOB. WARR. *soft, I pray; did* HAN. II.

soft, I pray you. Did JOHNS. VAR. '73. KIT. *soft! I pray you, did* COLL. HUDS. I, DEL. WIL. I. *soft! I pray you; did* HUDS. II. *soft! I pray you. Did* KTLV.

soft, I pray you: Did KNT. IV, ALEX. *soft, I pray you, did* Q8, RID. WIL. *soft, I pray you; did* F4, Q9, ROWE, et cet.

163. *murtherous*] *murderous* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (Rowe)

70-76. The . . . now] BALDWIN (1944, II, 206-207), commenting on Quintilian (ed. [H. E.] Butler [1921], II, 521): The circumstances of person, place, and time are to be considered. These two [the other in *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 83-90] direct instances, together with numerous other partial allusions . . . make it clear that Shakspeare knew the doctrine of person, time, and place, from whatever source he may have derived it.

77. yet] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 161): One of the best instances in Shakspeare of what Kittredge and others call the "strong yet." The passage is obscure without this emphasis.

95. chance of war] TILLEY (1950), C223: The chance of war is uncertain.

101. hardiment] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 161) objects to STEEVENS' gloss and suggests that the passage means: "He spent ('confounded') the best part of an hour exchanging mighty blow for blow with Glendower."

106. *crispe-head*] WILSON (ed. 1946): A quibble, 'head' = the pressure of water against a bank (*NED* sb. 17), and 'crisp' = rippled. [The pronunciation implied by the reading "Crispe-pe head" in the DERING MS. deserves notice.]

119. *speake*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Emphatic: 'Let me not hear you even mention his name.'

127-128. *ease . . . head*] ANDERSON (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 250): Based on the idea that the heart, being the seat of the affections, influences thought. . . . Sane thinking—thinking which represents the normal individual—necessitates the co-operation of heart and head. . . . But the heart does not always remain merely counselor; it may assume control over reason. The heart in its affective states may be eased—but at hazard of the head.

137. *cankred*] KING (*SN*, 1941-42, XIV, 167-168): Thus Bolingbroke is associated with canker as a morbid growth in the body politic (cf. *NED* Cancer 3b) and a worm (*NED* Canker 4): at the same time he is 'cankred,' i.e. he has a worm or morbid growth in him. The image of the dog-rose which is its own worm pictures Henry IV essentially: the remorseful Lancastrian usurper.

149. *wrongs . . . pardon*] WILSON (ed. 1946): With 'God pardon' the old fox gives a sanctimonious smirk. Compare lines 162-164, 173-176 below.

155. *soft, I pray you did*] See Textual Notes. COLLIER seems to have been the first editor (followed only by HUDSON [1852] and DELIUS) to observe the emphasis of the Q pointing.

164. world of curses] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Treason against the king was treason against God.

165-166. *base . . . hangman*] KING (*SN*, 1941-42, XIV, 180-181): Base—Bass: 'low in the moral scale' (*NED* Base a 9) or 'low in the social scale' (*NED* 6) + 'of the lowest part in harmonized musical composition' (*NED* Bass a 3); . . . The base, the mean ['a middle or intermediate part' in music, *NED*] and the second ['the next to the highest part in music,' *NED*] form the chord. Chord—cord: 'the notes added to a bass to make up a harmony' (*NED* Chord sb² ¶ 2b) + 'a rope for hanging' (*NED* Cord sb¹ 1b). Note that the play chord—cord provides the link between the image in 'base second meanes' and that in 'ladder . . . hangman.'—WILSON (ed. 1946): The development of the imagery is characteristic: Northumberland is first the means of Bolingbroke's ascent to power, but 'cordes' and 'ladder' suggests the 'hangman' of Richard.

175. *sweet louely Rose*] SPURGEON (1935, p. 221) notes how this line picks up the metaphor

201. By] Hot. By RID. +. (Q5)
 204. fadome line] fathom-line RID. NEIL. WIL.
 BALD, ALEX. SIS. (THEOB. ii)
 212. Scots thar] Scots / Thar RID. +. (F1)
 222. hollow] holla RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX.
 SIS. (F1) holla KIT.
 223. Nay, ile] Nay, / I'll RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 ALEX. (STEEV.) Nay; / I'll KIT.
 233. poisoned] poison'd RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 ALEX. ?SIS. (POPE)
 234. ile] I will KIT. (POPE)
 239. whip] whip QO.
 242. do you] de'ye WIL. (F1)
 243. upon it] upon't WIL. (F1)
 244. kept] kept— KIT. ALEX. (ROWE) kept, RID.
 NEIL. WIL. BALD, SIS. (Q3)
 245. bowed] bow'd RID. + (?SIS.). (F1)
 247. Zbloud, when] 'Sblood! / When KIT. NEIL.
 BALD, ALEX. SIS. 'Sblood!— / When RID. (CAM.)
 253-254. when . . . age, gentle . . . Percy . . . kind
 coosen] As quotations: RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 ALEX. (POPE) [BALD and ALEX. include Looké
 (l. 253) in the quotation.]

of *Richard II* at V. i. 8 ("fair rose" as descriptive of Richard).

175-178. put down . . . shooke off] BALDWIN (1950, p. 199), commenting on *1 Henry VI*, II. iv. 68-71: This passage underlies both the passage in *1 Henry IV* and that in Sonnet LIV. Here is a rose, with a thorn to maintain truth and a canker to eat falsehood. . . . Further, both Sonnet LIV and the passage in *1 Henry VI* underlie the passage in *1 Henry IV*. The passage in *1 Henry IV* has rose, thorn, and canker as in *1 Henry VI*, but the opposition is no longer between the thorn of truth and the canker of falsehood; it is now between the rose on the one hand and the thorn and the canker-rose on the other. The opposition is the one developed in Sonnet LIV out of Sonnet V and the passage in *1 Henry VI*. So Sonnet LIV is later than Sonnet V and the passage in *1 Henry VI*, but earlier than that in *1 Henry IV*. It seems, however, very closely connected with the passage in *1 Henry IV*, since both are based in part on the same source passage, and one echoes the other.

190-193. Ile reade . . . speare] HOLMES (1929, p. 52) notes how the imagery of this passage is picked up again by Sh. in a passage describing Hotspur's death in *2 Henry IV*, I. i. 170-171, the mental link being Hotspur's answer "If he fall in, god-night."

194. sinke, or swim] Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), S485.

197-198. bloud . . . hare] SIMPSON (1955, p. 45) compares Virgil's *Aeneid*, IV, 158-159: "[Ascanius] dari pecora inter inertia votis / optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem."

199. Imagination . . . exploit] CRAIG (ed. 1951): It will be noticed that Northumberland thinks of Hotspur as beside himself, insane; and so, according to the theory of passions which prevailed at the time, he was. This line gives the theory of the effect of a fixed idea, which lies back of the madness of Lear and Othello.

208. halfe fac't fellowship] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): *Fellowship* is scornfully emphatic; 'this miserable necessity of sharing one's honour with others.'—WILSON (ed. 1946): A man to whom honour shared is not worth having is politically impossible.

214-215. Scot . . . soule] WILSON (ed. 1946): Double quibble: (a) 'scot' = a trifling amount (literally a share in the payment of a tavern bill), (b) 'scot and lot' = a final settlement.

228-252.] The curious anticipation of five scattered passages in *Hamlet* (I. v. 98-104; II. ii. 578-583; III. i. 70; I. v. 106-109; III. ii. 58-60) in these lines is worth noticing.

233. poisoned . . . ale] ZEEVELD (*SQ*, 1952, III, 253) points out how this ale-poison image is later picked up at II. ii. 43-45 and V. iv. 53-56.—CRAIG (ed. 1951): This has been called malicious; it is only part of Hotspur's madness.

238. Tying . . . owne] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare Greene, *Ciceronis Amor*, 1589 (ed. [A. B.] Grosart [1881-83], VII, 137-138): 'Tully tyed the peoples eares to his tongue by his eloquence.'

244. mad-cap duke] WILSON (ed. 1946): There is nothing 'madcap' about York in *Richard II*, except in V. ii, V. iii, scenes I suspect by another hand.

251-252. Why what . . . profer me] SPURGEON (1935, p. 196) associates these lines with the "dog-candy" image in *Julius Caesar* (III. i. 39-46; V. i. 39-44), *Hamlet* (III. ii. 58-60), *Antony and Cleopatra* (IV. xii. 20-23). See ARMSTRONG (1946, pp. 154-157) for another discussion of this image cluster.—JACKSON (*SQ*, 1950, I, 260-263) shows that the dog-fawning-sugar image group called by Miss Spurgeon (p. 194) the "clearest and most striking example" of Sh.'s tendency to repeat groups of images is "actually made up of proverbial phrases and friendship materials" and that Sh.'s "hearers would have been more apt to recognize the group of images as a skillful use of well-known information than as a reflection of the playwright's own experience."

251. a candy deale] WILSON (ed. 1946): A sweet quantity.

256. *tale, I tale, for I* KIT. (FI) *tale; [for] I* NEIL. *tale—I* WIL. ALEX. *tale; I* BALD.

264. *granted you* granted. You RID. +. (HAN.) [Note that Q9 reads: *granted to you, my Lord.*] my Lord.] my lord, To Northumberland RID. +. (HAN.) [Sis. places To Northumberland after granted.]

265. *employ'd* employ'd RID. + (?SIS.). (FI)

269. *is it* is't WIL. (FI)

271. *Bristow* Bristol NEIL. BALD. SIS. (POPE)

278. *game is* game's NEIL. WIL. (Q5)

287. *unsatisfied* unsatisfied WIL. BALD. ?SIS. (ROWE, unsatisfy'd)

293. *course* course. RID. +. (JOHNS.)

296. *poures* powers RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. SIS. pow'r's KIT. ALEX.

II. i.

I. *An is* An't WIL. (FI)

4. Ost.] Ost. [within] RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS. Ostler [sleepily, within]. WIL.

31. Car.] First Car. RID. +. (HAN.)

34. *God soft, I* Q1-3, SIS. *godsoft, I* Q4. *God soft; I* Q5Q6. *God, soft; I* Q7Q8, CAM. WIL. II, NEIL. BALD. *God, soft, I* RID. WIL. *God, soft! I* KIT. *God! Soft! I* ALEX. *soft; I* pray ye, I Ff, Q9, ROWE, POPE. *soft, I* pray ye: I COLL. HUDS. i, DEL. WIL. i. *soft! I* pray ye; I KITL. *soft, I* pray ye; I THEOB. et cct.

35. *I faith* Q1-8. OM. Ff, Q9, ROWE, KNT. ay, *faith* WIL. i'faith POPE, et cct.

37. *I when canst* Ay, when? canst RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. (POPE) Ay, when, canst ALEX. (ROWE) Ay when? Canst SIS.

37-38. (*quoth he*) *quoth he?* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. *quoth-a?* WIL. (FI) *quoth'a?* ALEX. (CAP.) *quotha?* SIS.

266. *bosome creepe* Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), B546.

271. *brothers death* COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1941 [April]): It is usually said that Shakespeare (following Holinshed) was mistaken in believing that the Earl of Wiltshire and the Archbishop of York were brothers. The Earl and the Archbishop were cousins, and they were also, respectively, the son and godson of Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton, who refers to the Archbishop in his will as "my most dear father and son." (Cf. 2 *Henry IV*, III. ii. 6: "Your fairest daughter and mine, my goddaughter Ellen"). Persons linked by the possession of a godparent in common were formerly deemed to be related: NED cites an example of the word "god-brother" of as late a date as the year 1571. The spiritual relationships established by sponsorship at baptism were very close, so close, indeed, that they constituted for the most part an impediment to matrimony.

II. i. ii.] R. WATKINS (1950, pp. 203-204): The episode of the highway robbery in 1 *Henry IV* shows Shakespeare's method in *extenso*. The prelude of the two carriers in the inn-yard . . . is an essential part of Shakespeare's stagecraft. Throughout the first act of the play we have been at court. The change of circumstances is indicated partly perhaps by the opening of the Study, in which are set some indications of the inn-yard—a bale of straw, a pannier, a rake, bridle and harness, a bucket, a trough—but mostly by the dialogue of the two carriers. Crammed with local colour, it is a masterpiece of compression. . . . To the setting of the circumstances is added the sinister note as the two carriers show their suspicion of the inquisitive spy and "setter" Gadshill. . . . When they have gone, the Chamberlain of the inn, Gadshill's accomplice, confirms the information that he gave him yester-night. . . . The Study curtains close, and we proceed with no interruptions to the projected scene of operations. Now the flat Platform becomes the slope of Gads Hill: the ten players, who take part in the scene, are carefully instructed in their miming to preserve the illusion of up and down hill. . . . The entry of Gadshill is a moment of melodramatic comedy. I fancy that as Falstaff grumbles at the Prince . . . he has his back to the Study curtains, which slowly part to a gap of a few feet, and reveal the figure of a masked highwayman, pistol in hand, perhaps under a weather-beaten signpost, one arm of which points left-handed down the hill. "Stand," roars the masked figure: "So I do against my will," cries Falstaff, and then amid laughter we recognise Gadshill. . . . Falstaff and his gang bestow themselves in the Study, while the Franklin, the Auditor and the two carriers appear through the right door.

16-17. *first cocke* KITREDGE (ed. 1940): The times of cockcrow were conventionally fixed as follows: first cock, midnight; second cock, 3 A.M.; third cock, an hour before day. [See a long note on "Cock-Crow" in E. I. Fripp, *Sh.'s Haunts Near Stratford*, 1929, pp. 35-40.]

20. *breedes . . . loach* WILSON (ed. 1946): Clearly 1 Carrier is a fisherman.

34. *Nay by God soft*, RIDLEY (ed. 1935): Q reads *Nay by God soft*, and though the expurgator of F clearly took it in the sense given by the usual punctuation, since F reads *soft I pray ye*, I suspect that an expulsive of the 'God's sories' type is concealed.

34-35. *tricke worth two of that* Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), T518.

37. *I when canst tell?* KITREDGE (ed. 1940): An ironical phrase for a refusal. [See TILLEY (1950), T88.]

42. *thee*.] *thee*. [aside] WIL. (*thee*. Q2, et seq.)
 44 s.d. Enter Chamberlain.] After line 45: KIT.
 After line 50: RID. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (CAP.)
 A Chamberlain comes from the inn WIL.
 s.d. EXECUT.] EXECUT Carriers RID. KIT. NEIL.
 BALD, ALEX. SIS. (ROWE) [the carriers go within
 WIL.
 46. Cham.] Cha. [within] RID. BALD, ALEX. SIS.
 (CAP.) Voice from within. WIL.
 56. *too*.] *too*—ALEX. (F1, *too* (*God knows*
what))
 65. *hee is*] *he's* WIL. (F1)
 66. *Troians*] Q1-7, F1F2. *Troyans* Q0, KIT.
 ALEX. *Trojans* F3F4, Q8, et cet. [Om. Q9.]
 70. *footlande rakers*] *foot land-rakers* RID. KIT.

NEIL. BALD, SIS. (T.J. ii) *foot-land-rakers* WIL.
 (F1) *foot landrakers* ALEX.
 72-73. *On- / eyes*] *oneyers* RID. KIT. NEIL.
 BALD, ALEX. SIS. (Q2) *onyers* WIL. (MAL. con.)
 93. *knave*.] *knave*. EXECUT RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD,
 ALEX. SIS. (F1) *knave*. [they go their ways WIL.

II. ii.

s.d. Enter . . . &c.] Enter Prince Henry and
 Poins RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (CAP.) A nar-
 row lane, near the top of Gad's Hill, some two
 miles from Rochester; bushes and trees. A dark
 night The Prince, Peto and Bardolph come up the
 hill; Poins hurrying after WIL. Enter Prince Henry,
 Poins, and Peto. SIS.

46. At hand quoth pickepurse] WILSON (ed. 1946): No one can be closer at hand than he who has his hand in your pocket.

58-59. Saint Nicholas clerkes]. HAIGHT (TLS, Sept. 16, 1944, p. 451) [St. Nicholas's Clerks = highway robbers]: In Shakespeare's day the word "necklace" was current slang for "noose" or "halter." . . . The point of the Chamberlain's speech, I believe, lies in a pun on "Nicholas" and "necklace." . . . If "Nicholas" be thought of as Old Nick and pronounced "necklace," the passage becomes quite clear.—WILSON (ed. 1946): The special saint of clerics and travellers was also claimed as patron by highwaymen and cutpurses, partly no doubt because his name suggested at once 'nick' (= cut) and 'Old Nick' (= the Devil), and partly, I suspect, because he was usually represented with three purses in his hand . . . and thus seemed to typify the cutpurse himself.

72-73. Oneyers] McNEIR (*Explicator*, 1952, X, no. 6, item 37): I suggest . . . "great one-eyers," and that Gadshill may be alluding here to the men in high places who wink at the depredations of Falstaff and his crew. . . . We may have here an instance of what King John (IV. ii. 211) calls "the winking of authority," a practice not unknown in Elizabethan times.

77. ride] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 176): 'Move about upon horseback' (NED 1) + a suggestion of 'copulate' (NED 3, cf. 'her').

78. booties] WILSON (ed. 1946): Spoil. NED gives no other instance of the plural in this sense.

81. liquord] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Possibly (for everything was possible for an Elizabethan punster) he is also thinking of bribery. To grease the 'itching palm' of an official was to 'anooint it with a bribe.' Compare *Julius Caesar*, IV. iii. 10; *King John*, II. i. 589-592.

82. in a Castell] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Gadshill alludes to the name of his leader—Sir John Oldcastle.

91. homo] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Apparently a definition from the Latin grammar, meaning here, "Don't call names."

93. muddy] TAYLOR (SAB, 1937, XII, 162) objects to HEMINGWAY'S gloss ("thick-witted") and suggests "low, dirty, brutish."—WILSON (ed. 1946): Filthy.—KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Muddle-headed. [Cites examples of contemporary usage.]

II. ii.] SPRAGUE (1944, p. 84): The old arrangements [in the Cumberland edition, 1826] for the Gadshill robbery are interesting. As soon as the travellers are attacked, they take to their heels, pursued by Bardolph, Peto, and Gadshill—thus leaving Falstaff alone on the stage, "running about with his sword drawn," and shouting defiance. Then he follows them out. The Prince and Poins appear briefly—wearing "different Vizors," as Phelps [in a prompt book in the Folger Library] notes. Falstaff and his companions return "with Bags of Money," and "sit down on the ground" to divide the spoils—it was Phelps's idea, again, that they should "assist Falstaff to sit." Stephen Kemble "succeeded admirably" here: "Nothing could be better described than the gleam of contentment in his countenance, and his chucking at being so fortunate, with so little danger to himself" [*European Magazine*, October, 1802]. The knight's happiness does not last long. Hal and Poins—a multitude of men in buckram and men in Kendal green—set upon him. "We caught him," an old actor is quoted as saying in Henry Curling's *Recollections of the Mess-Table and the Stage* [1855, pp. 5, 6], "and, one on each side, rained just such a shower of blows upon him as Prince Hal and Poins inflicted upon poor Jack at Gad's Hill; thrashing him unmercifully." At times, I am sorry to say, Sir John has literally crawled away. So, at any rate, did Charles Kemble at Covent Garden in 1824 [*John Bull*, May 9, 1824]; and so Mark Lemon was

3. *close.* *close.* [They step aside.] KIT. *close.* [They step back.] NEIL. (WIL. ii) [Poins hides behind a bush WIL. *close.* [They retire. SIS. (DYCE)

4. (1st) *Poynes.* [Poinst! KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. (POPE)

(2nd) *Poynes.* [Poinst! ALEX.

(POPE ii) *hang'd!* Poinst! KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. (CAP.)

5. Prin.] Prince. [comes forward] KIT. NEIL. SIS. (DYCE)

9. *him.* *him.* [Steps aside.] KIT. *him.* [Withdraws.] NEIL. *him.* [he joins Poins WIL. *him.* [Retires. SIS.

12. *squire* squier WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (CAM.)

20. *Bardoll* Bardolph RID. +. (F1) [So through-out.]

22. *true-man* true man KIT. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (Q3)

24. *a foote* afoot RID. +. (Q2)

26. *upon it* upon't WIL. SIS. (F1)

29. Prin.] Prince. [comes forward] KIT. NEIL. WIL. SIS. (DYCE)

33. *mine* my Qo.

38. *prince, Hal.* Prince Hal, KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (Q3)

41. *Hang* Go hang RID. KIT. WIL. (Q3) Go, hang BALD.

45 s.d. Enter Gadshill.] Enter Gadshill, Bardolph and Peto with him. RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX.

Gadshill approaches, coming down the hill WIL. Enter Gadshill and Bardolph. SIS. (ROWE)

46. *will.* *will.* Poins, Bardolph, and Peto come forward WIL.

47. Po.] Poins. [comes forward] KIT. NEIL. (CAP.)

voice. *voice.* [Comes forward with Peto.] SIS.

Bardoll New line, as speech-head: WIL. (JOHNS. conj.)

49. Bar.] Gadshill. WIL. (JOHNS. conj.)

54. *all:* *all.* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. (Qo) all—SIS.

63. *In deed* Q1Q2. *Indee* Q3, et seq. [Qo is damaged, but appears to read *Indee*.]

70. Prin.] Prince. [aside to Poins] KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (COLL.)

71. Po.] Poins [aside to Prince] KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (DYCE ii)

close. *close.* EXEUNT PRINCE and POINS RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (MAL.) *close.* [The Prince and Poins slip away WIL.

73 s.d. Enter . . . travellers.] The Travellers are heard coming down the hill WIL.

74. *Traul.* First Trav. RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (CAP.)

74-75.] As verse: KIT. (DYCE ii)

75. *a while* awhile RID. KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (VAR.)

advised to do when, as an amateur, he played Falstaff in 1869: "Poor old ——— (mentioning an actor of considerable reputation) was quite outraged because I would not go down on my face and grovel in the robbery." It was "the recognized legitimate business" [HUTTON, *With a Show in the North*, p. 18].—R. WATKINS (1950, pp. 136-137): Falstaff and his gang, after driving their victims out of sight, return to the Platform to share the booty. Now in Shakespeare's playhouse the Prince and Poins will hide outside the two Stage-Posts, that is to say, in the front of the Platform close to the groundlings: the dramatic effect of their hiding is thus doubled, for we too in the audience seem to be lying in wait to pounce on Falstaff.

2. *frets . . . Veluet* Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), T8.

26. when thecues . . . another] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Falstaff is thinking of the proverb, 'There is honour among thieves.' [See TILLEY (1950), T121a.]

40-44. Out . . . my poyson] ELSON (SP, 1935, XXXII, 186) compares 1 *Richard II*, lines 1467, 1659-1660 [Malone Society ed., 1929]: "this is somewhat to course yo' grace should be an hostler to this fellow). . . He haue these verses sung to ther faces by one of my / schoolboyes, wherein He tickell them all ifaith."

41. *Hang . . . garters* Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), G42. [This and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V. i. 348, are the earliest citations.]

47-49. Po. O tis . . . case yee] WILSON (ed. 1946), accepting JOHNSON's arrangement: We may add that lines 49-51 must be spoken by the 'setter,' whose function is to give notice of the prey's approach, while Peto's question at line 59 and Gadshill's answer to him provide further evidence that Gadshill enters alone. The Q text is explained if we suppose that (a) Shakespeare wrote the two short speeches (ll. 47-48) in one line and their prefixes, as was his custom, in 'English' script like the rest, and (b) the printers, taking it as a query addressed to Bardolph, changed Gadshill to Bardolph accordingly at the beginning of line 49.

73. *euerie man to his businesse* Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), M104. [Earliest citation; see also *Hamlet*, I. v. 130.]

74-84. Come . . . faith] ELSON (SP, 1935, XXXII, 184) points out Sh.'s indebtedness to 1 *Richard II*, lines 1527-1637 [Malone Society ed., 1929], both in situation and in an impressive number of verbal echoes.

76. Trauel.] Travellers. RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (DYCE i) Traveller. KIT.

78. a] *ah!* RID. NEIL. (Rowe) *Ah*, KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. *Ah* SIS.

80. Tra.] i Traveller. WIL. (CAP.) Traveller. KIT. Travellers. RID. NEIL. BALD, SIS. (DYCE i) Trav. ALEX.

84 s.d. bind them. Exeunt.] bind them' and then drive them down the hill WIL. (CAP.) bind them, and exeunt with them. SIS. (KNT. iii)

s.d. Enter . . . Poynes.] Re-enter Prince Henry and Poin disguised RID. SIS. (CAM.) Enter the Prince and Poin [in buckram suits]. KIT. NEIL. ALEX. (HAL. i) The Prince and Poin steal from the bushes disguised in buckram WIL.

89. coming.] coming. [They stand aside.] KIT. coming. [They retire. SIS. (DYCE)

93 s.d. As they . . . upon them] After line 93:

WIL. ALEX. (DYCE) [Whole s.d. follows line 95 in RID. NEIL. BALD, SIS.]

they all . . . them.] 'They all run away, leaving the booty behind them, and Falstaff, after a blow or two, runs away too,' roaring for mercy as the Prince and Poin prick him from behind with their swords WIL.

96-102.] As verse: RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (POPE)

97. all] Om. KIT. (Q2)

102. rogue] *fat rogue* NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (Qo)

II. iii.

s.d. solus] alone BALD. Om. SIS. (CAP.) letter.] letter' and striding to and fro WIL.

3. *the*] Om. RID. +. (Q6)

77-84.] GALWAY (*SAB*, 1935, X, 185) notes these lines as the first of six (out of a total of thirteen in Sh.) "comic flytings of the direct, full-fledged, major kind" in the two parts of *Henry IV*. He compares II. iv. 208-228, 417-434; Part II, II. i. 55-58; II. iv. 131-184; V. iv. 1-31.

82. store] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): All you possess.

92. theres no equitie stirring] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): There's no such thing as correct judgement in the world—neither I nor anybody else can judge a man's character.

98-99. each takes . . . officer] TILLEY (1950), T112: The thief does fear each bush an officer.

100. lards the leane earth] TILLEY (1950), D616: Fat drops fall from fat flesh. [Only in Ray, 1678.]—WILSON (1943, p. 28): Human sweat, partly owing perhaps to the similarity of the word to 'suet,' was likewise thought of as fat, melted by the heat of the body.—CRAIG (ed. 1951): An allusion to the practice on the part of butchers of inserting fat into lean meat. "Sweat" was not distinguished from fat.

102. How the rogue roard] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Poin refers to the vociferous swaggering of Falstaff in II. 77-84. Compare *Cymbeline*, V. v. 293-295, *Henry VIII*, V. iv. 6. A *roarer* or *roaring boy* was a swaggering ruffian. [Compare KITTREDGE's later comment on Hal's report that Falstaff "roard for mercy" (II. iv. 239): This is the only departure from accuracy in Prince Hal's story. Falstaff's 'roaring' was certainly not 'for mercy.' WILSON (1943, p. 135, note 18) comments: "Thus is a fine and independent judgement corrupted by romantic tradition." See also E. E. STOLL (*MLR*, 1947, XLII, 16).]—WILSON (1943, pp. 44-46): It is unquestionable that, if we rely upon our 'impressions' of his behaviour in this scene alone, he must be pronounced an absolute coward, seeing that the audience is clearly intended to derive all possible pleasure from the agonized cries and precipitate flight. . . . Morgann, Bradley, and the rest cannot admit such conduct, because it lowers Falstaff in their esteem. . . . In the first place, the critics are, as usual, reading the play backwards. Before the Gad's Hill scene the only thing an audience knows about Falstaff is that he is an old reprobate who is at once very funny and very fat. They cannot share the reverence for him which Morgann and Bradley profess, because, unlike them, they have had no opportunity of reading both parts of the play and meditating upon them. They perceive, then, nothing at all incongruous or disturbing in the running and roaring. And if it be urged that this is only to postpone the problem, that once spectators have learnt to think of Falstaff as a butt and a coward, they can never afterwards entertain the respect and admiration which a consideration of his character as a whole shows to be his due, I counter with my second point, viz. that the critics, again as usual, are confusing stage-performance with real life. Under the conditions of theatrical illusion all sorts of things, which would seem incredible or impossible in the world of fact, may be enacted and will be accepted without question. A good actor . . . is perfectly capable of exhibiting extreme terror and complete self-possession at one and the same time.

10. nettle danger] TILLEY (1950), D28: Danger and delight grow both upon one stalk (stock).

23. braine . . . fanne] WILSON (ed. 1946): Knock him down with a feather (of which fans were made at this time).

30. feare and cold heart] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1942 [August]) compares Virgil, *Aeneid*, X, 452: "Frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis," and IV. iii. 7, below.

33. *king*.] *king*: RID. NEIL. ALEX. (HAN. ii)
king! KIT. *king*. BALD. (POPE)

47. *the murmur, tales*] *thee murmur tales* RID.
+. (Q2)

64. *What ho*.] *What ho!* Enter Servant RID. +.
(CAP.)

68. *horse, Roane?*] *horse? Roan*, RID. NEIL. (Q3,
Q6) *horse? A roan*; KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS.
(Q3)

69-72.] As verse: RID. +. (POPE)

70. *Hot*.] *Hotspur*. [rapt] WIL.

72. *parke*.] *park*. Exit Servant RID. +. (DERING
MS. HAN.)

77-81.] As verse: RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
ALEX. (CAP. but with Q reading *faith*)

79-81. *I jeare . . . go*.] As verse, lines ending
stir / you / go: SIS. (POPE)

83-85.] As verse: RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
ALEX. (POPE)

84-85. *in faith . . . true*.] As verse, lines ending
Harry / true: SIS. (POPE)

86. *Away, away*] *Away, / Away* RID. KIT. NEIL.
WIL. BALD, ALEX. (CAP.)

love.] *Love*, RID. ALEX. SIS. *Love?* KIT.
(CAP.) *Love!* NEIL. WIL. BALD. (ROWE)

97. *a horseback*] *a-horseback* KIT. WIL. SIS.
o-horseback NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (THEOB.)

114. *Excunt*] he hurries forth; she follows, mus-
ing WIL.

II. iv.

s.d. Enter . . . Poiners.] A room at the Boar's
Head Tavern in Eastcheap; at the back a great
fireplace with a settle. Midnight The Prince enters
at one door, crosses the room somewhat unsteadily,
opens a door opposite, and calls WIL. Enter Prince
Henry. SIS. (DYCE)

1. *fat room*] *fat-room* KIT.

2. *little*.] *little*. Enter Poiners. SIS. (DYCE)

3. *Hal?*] *Hal?* [comes forth WIL.]

5-6. *base string*] *base-string* RID. NEIL. WIL.
BALD, ALEX. SIS. (DYCE) *base-string* KIT.

40. *stomacke, pleasure*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Moore Smith suggests 'stomach-pleasure,' i.e. relish for your food.

51.] In HEMINGWAY's note from MALONE observe that *Notes from Blackfriars* is a subdivision of *Certain elegies, done by sundrie excellent wits* (STC 7567).

62. *heauy*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Combines two meanings: 'weighty' and 'woful.'

70. *roane . . . throne*] KÖKERITZ (1953, p. 150): The old, etymologically correct pronunciation of *throne* was *trone*, . . . a fact that explains Hotspur's jest.

84-85. *in faith . . . things true*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Professor Peter Alexander brings to my notice an extract from the *American Nation*, 11 March 1875, reprinted p. 124, *Trans. New Sh. Soc.* 1875-76, which quotes the following passage about Lady Percy: "Saeua in familiares, petulans etiam erga maritum, cujus secreta se exquaesituram minitabat, vel *frangendo digitorum ossicula*, si veritatem pandere constantius recusaret." This the writer claims to have found in Polydore Vergil, xxvi, 2, but unfortunately the reference is wrongly given, nor have I been able to trace the passage elsewhere. Yet it looks like Latin of the period; and, if genuine, might offer a clue to some hitherto undetected source of the play. [Further search has turned up nothing. The reference makes no sense in terms of the method of reference used in the *Anglia Historia*.]

86. *Joue*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): This absent-minded trick of speech is burlesqued by Prince Hal in II. iv. 90 ff.

II. iv.] ADAMS (1943, p. 198): A situation demanding an entrance to the study from one side (or possibly through the door at the rear) together with an exit into a "room" at the other side. . . . Prince Hal, it will be recalled, directs Poiners to stand "in some by-room while I question my puny drawer to what end he gave (mc) the sugar"; . . . Poiners then retires behind the hangings at one side; little Francis enters the study and is bewildered by a cross-fire of questions and calls, until at last the Vintner rushes in to scold Francis and to announce Falstaff's arrival at the outer door.

12. *good boy*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare in modern slang: 'one o' the boys.' *Good boys* (like *good fellows*) was a cant term for 'thieves.'

14. *dying scarlet*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Topers' urine was supposed to make the best scarlet dye; hence 'dying scarlet' became a euphemism for drinking deep. . . . Professor Daly of Edinburgh suggests to me that such notions derive from the common practice, still found among cloth-dyers of the Hebrides, of using urine as a mordant to fix the colors. [Note Keats's use of this phrase, and that in l. 15, in his letter of 5 January 1818 (*Letters*, ed. M. B. Forman, 1935, p. 74).]

15. *when . . . watering*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): *Watering* was a slang word for 'drinking.' Compare Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603 (ed. [G. B.] Harrison [1924], p. 80): 'A Tinker came sounding through the Towne, mine Hosts house being the auncient watering place where he did vse to cast Anchor.'

25-99.] TAYLOR (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 162-163) objects to HEMINGWAY's reference (and again at II. 106-107) to the "drunken buffoonery of the Prince": "Shakespeare could not represent a Prince of

30-31. *present.* *precedent.* KIT. NEIL. BALD.
(POPE) *precedent.* Poin returns to the room
whence he came, leaving the door open behind
him WIL. *precedent.* [Exit Poin. ALEX. SIS.
(THEOB.)

32. Po.] Poin [calls]. WIL. Poin. [Within]
ALEX. SIS. (DYCE)

33. Prin.] Poin. RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD.
(Q4) Poin. [Within] ALEX. SIS. (DYCE)

Frances. [Exit Poin. RID. KIT. NEIL.
BALD. (CAP.)

s.d. Enter Drawer.] *Francis.* bustles in
through the other door WIL.

34. *sir.* *sir.* [turns back WIL.

37. *hast* has ALEX.

39. 47, 50, 57, 69. Poi.] Poi. [within] RID. +
(CAP.)

51. *Lord.* *lord.* [he makes toward the by-room
WIL.

52. Prin.] Prince [checks him]. WIL.

56. *it.* *it.* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS. (Q2)
it—WIL.

59. *a Thursday* o*Thursday* RID. NEIL. BALD,
ALEX. (CAM.) *a-Thursday* WIL.

63. *not-pated* *knor-pated* ALEX. (POPE)

Wales drunk on the Elizabethan stage." Note, however, that WILSON (ed. 1946) introduces this scene with: "The Prince enters at one door, crosses the room somewhat unsteadily, opens a door opposite, and calls."—WILSON (ed. 1946): The fun of this episode, hitherto overlooked, lies in the lad's agitation at the prospect, as he imagines, of an offer of a place in the Prince's household; an offer never made because constantly interrupted by Poin's calls, and his own conditioned reflexes thereto.—WILSON (1943, p. 49): The main purpose of this trifling episode, apart from giving Falstaff's voice a rest after the roaring and in preparation for the strain of the scene ahead, is to keep the audience waiting, agog for him. They have not seen him since the 'open and apparent shame' of Gad's Hill. What will he look like? How will he behave? Above all, by what means can he possibly elude the trap the Prince and Poin have laid?—SPENS (TLS, August 24, 1946, p. 403) [takes issue with DOVER WILSON's interpretation of (a) the drawer incident]: We know from Ben Jonson that the fashionable young man of the day was apt to affect such a *single* humour. The Prince is disclaiming such an ideal for himself, and is comparing his rival Hotspur who is such a "Humourist" with the tapster Francis who has "fewer words than a parrot." The whole episode of Francis is there to show this aspect of Hotspur and the contrasting versatility of Prince Hal. The Prince's question to Francis as he passes "What's a'clock?" is merely to draw the mechanical reply "Anon, anon, sir," and so underline his point. The clock is apparently at that moment striking midnight, so that anyone but an automaton could have answered. As for the fun—any phrase repeated over and over again in a great variety of contexts, will always strike an audience as ludicrous. Thus it is funny in itself, and the parallel between the glorious Hotspur and the "puny drawer" gives force to the Prince's caricature of his rival; . . . [and (b) his suggestion that Prince Hal was "partially incapacitated by drink" in this scene]: No one knows what the word "Rivo" means or where it comes from, but it is pretty clear that the drunkard calls for more wine—whole rivers of it probably. It is noticeable that the phrase comes between two references to Falstaff, and I think "drunkard" is suggested by the thought of the old toper. But the meaning surely is that just as the drunkard calls for more liquor, so Hal, who has an insatiable thirst for "Humours," calls for more of them and for Falstaff, who is the fountain head of the infinite variety of that wine, and who has been kept waiting without until the Prince has explained his jest to Poin. The Prince's is a metaphorical drunkenness. [See TILLYARD's detailed discussion of this scene, pp. 91-92.]

30-31. *present*] WILSON (ed. 1946), reading *precedent*: Something really original and worth copying.

43-44. *faire paire of heeles*] Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), P31.

63. *Caddice garter*] LINTHICUM (1936, p. 72): The tape, in many colours, was used for girdles, or for garters by the poor folk of Shakespeare's age, who could not afford silk ribbon. The allusion [like that in the earlier "puke stocking"] . . . is a contemptuous reference to the vintner's poor clothing.

66-68. Why . . . much] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The Prince is talking incoherent nonsense to mystify Francis. One is tempted to make sense of it, and perhaps Hal has some thought or other in the back of his mind: 'You'd better stick to your trade and learn to serve wine. If you rob your master, you'll become a fugitive. A white doublet like that you are wearing will not keep clean long; and if you take refuge in foreign parts like Barbary, you won't find much use for it there!'—WILSON (ed. 1946): 'If you haven't the courage to run away, you are doomed to serve (or to drink) "brown bastard" for the rest of your life, and to watch that nice white drawer's doublet of yours growing dirtier and dirtier. A thousand pounds for a penn'orth of sugar is a good offer, not to

72. *within.* *within* (exit Francis.) RID. +. (JOHNS.)

74. *door:* *door.* (exit Vintner.) RID. +. (THEOB.)

76 s.d. Enter Poincs.] After line 75: WIL. BALD, ALEX. SH. (F1)

84. *pupil age*] *pupil-age* ALEX. (DYCE 1)

midnight.] *midnight.* [Enter Francis.] KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. *midnight.* [Francis hurries past carrying drink.] WIL. *midnight.* Enter Francis, passing over. SH.

86. *sir.* *sir.* [Exit.] KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SH. (COLL.)

96. *after:* Qq, Ff. *after:*—DYCE, HAL. i, HUDS. ii. *after.* STA. COLL. iii, KIT. BALD, ALEX. SH. *after:* ROWE et cet.

a trifle, a trifle. As part of Hotspur's comments: RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. [SH. uses no quotes.] [JOHNS. is the first editor clearly to include these words as part of Hotspur's supposed comments; THEOB. ii and iii and WARR. are ambiguous; CAP. is the only editor definitely to give them to Prince Hal.]

99 s.d. Enter Falstaffe.] Enter Falstaff, Gadshill, Bardolph, and Peto; Francis following with wine RID.

KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SH. (DYCE) Falstaff enters with Gadshill, Bardolph and Peto; Francis follows with cups of sack Falstaff, taking no heed of Prince and Poincs, sits wearily at a table WIL.

101. Falst.] Falstaff [to himself]. WIL.

106. Prin.] Prince [points]. WIL.

106-107. *butter, pitifull . . . Titan*] *butter?* *pitiful-hearted butter*, RID. (THEOB.) *butter?* *Pitiful-hearted butter*, KIT. *butter, pitiful-hearted Titan*, NEIL. ALEX. (POPE) *butter (pitiful-hearted Titan!)* WIL. (WARR.) *butter!* (*pitiful-hearted Titan*) BALD. *butter—pitiful-hearted Titan—* SH.

108. *sonnes.* *sun's!* RID. (CAM.) *sun!* KIT. (Q3, SING.) *[sun!]*? NEIL. (Q3) *sun's?* WIL. BALD, ALEX. SH.

109. Falst.] Falstaff [giving Francis the empty cup]. WIL.

116. *old. . . while.*] Q2, ?Q4, Ff, Q9, ROWE, POPE, HAN. i, SH. *old. . . while;* Q3. *old;* . . . *while,* Q5Q6. *old;* . . . *while;* Q7Q8. *old. . . while!* THEOB. WARR. JOHNS. VAR. '73 (all reading *God help, the while*), RID. *old. . . while!* KITLY. KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. *old. . . while;* BALD. *old. . . while!* CAP. et cet.

be had in Barbary itself.' [See a reference in Nashe (ed. McKerrow, 1904, II, 11) to "Barbaric purses, which neuer ope to any but pedantical Parasites." Here, as in SH., there seems to be some connection between "Barbary" and money.]

70. Away you rogue] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Sentimental readers here and there feel that the Prince has treated the boy ill; but they need not distress themselves. When Francis grew up and became an innkeeper himself, we may be sure that he often told with intense self-satisfaction how he had once been on intimate terms with Prince Hal.

82. I . . . humors] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Why, it was just a whim of mine. I am in the mood to indulge any fancy that any man has ever had since the creation.—WILSON (ed. 1946) interprets similarly. But see TILLYARD, p. 92.

93. I want worke] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1943 [April]): Hotspur was in a similar predicament to that of Alexander the Great, who "feared he should want work, having no more worlds to conquer" (Bacon, *Apophthegms*). For "work," in the sense "fighting," see *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. vii. 2: "Caesar himself has work" (is fighting).

98. Rivo] PEARCE (*Explicator*, 1951, IX, no. 6, item 40): Italian has the word, meaning "brook, stream," and conceivably sixteenth-century drinking argot could have used the word for the equivalent of "Pour it down!" A likely confusion for the term is the Italian "riviva," an expression for "Another toast," "Let's cheer—or drink—again." [See note on ll. 25-99 above.]

99. Ribs . . . Tallow] For an excellent discussion of Falstaff in terms of food imagery see WILSON, *Fortunes*, 1943, pp. 27-30.

103. sow neatherstocks and mend them] Compare George Wilkins' *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (1607), sig. F2^r: ". . . in this honest and needful calling of Purse-taking, then I do to peece stockings." These words are spoken by Butler, whose character and language obviously owe something to Falstaff. Note phrases like "Elders pictured in the painted cloth" (sig. F2^r), "the Moone patronesse of all purse-takers" (sig. F3^r), "setting thy worsh. knighthood aside" (sig. F3^r), "Sure I ha sed my prayers, and liud vertuously a late" (sig. F3^r; not spoken by Butler).

105. no vertue extant] TILLEY (1950), F34: There is no faith in man. [Compare] *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii. 85-86.

106. *butter*] TILLEY (1950), B780: To melt like butter before the sun.

107. *pitifull harted Titan*] RIDLEY (ed. 1935): Omit the second Titan (assuming perhaps that Titan was an interlinear correction of the *sun*, which found its way into the wrong place as well as the right).

108. *compound*] WILSON (ed. 1946): I.e. of Falstaff's face (red as the sun) and the cup of sack (melting like butter before it).

117. say, . . . weaver.] Q1, P4. say, . . . weaver,
Q2Q3. say: . . . Weaver, Q5-8. say. . . Weaver, F1,
Q9, ROWE, POPE, HAN. i. say. . . weaver; THEOB.
WARR. JOHNS. HAN. ii. COLL. DYCE, DEL. HAL. i.
CAM. KTYL. HUDS. ii. WH. KIT. NEIL. BALD. ALEX.
say! . . . weaver; CAP. VARR. RAN. MAL. STEEV. VAR.
'03, VAR. SING. KNT. HUDS. i. STA. HAL. ii. say? . . .
weaver; VAR. '13. say. . . weaver; RID. say. . .
weaver—WIL. say. . . weaver. SIS.

120. Falst. Falstaff [rounds upon him]. WIL.
123. Wales.] *Wales!* RID. WIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS.
(T.J. i) *Wales?* KIT. NEIL. (F1)
124. round-man] *round man* RID. +. (Q4)
129. thee.] *thee.* [he draws his dagger WIL.
135. me.] *me.* [to Francis WIL.
139. *All it!* *All's* WIL. SIS. (Q3)
152. signum.] *signum!* [he draws it] WIL.
(COLL. MS.)

117-118. weaver . . . sing psalms] BALDWIN (1943, p. 198): Shakspeare was clearly amused at the ill-taste of those who sang the metrical psalms to such secular tunes as by nature or associations did not befit the sacred character of the psalms [see *Merry Wives*, II. i. 53-55; III. i. 15-26; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 42-43], and he has given some hints as to what kind of people were guilty of this type of confusion.—WILSON (ed. 1946): Perhaps a relic of Oldcastle's Lollardry.

119-253. How now . . . true prince] WILSON (1943, pp. 51-54) views the scene from two levels, that of the groundlings and that of the "brighter spirits": To [Hal] and to them everything proceeds according to plan, Poins's plan: Falstaff piles lie upon lie, and when he is at length confronted with the facts, crowns his endeavours, in a last desperate hope of escaping the toils, with the most thumping lie of the lot, the assertion that he had known the two men in buckram all along. It allows him a momentary triumph, but only of the purely verbal kind. The game is up; the braggart exposed and baffled; the success of Poins's little plot complete. Such is the purport of this famous episode on the surface. . . . Shakespeare filled his dialogue with gathering . . . hints in order to produce an ever-deepening impression upon the brighter spirits in the theatre. Having riveted their attention from the outset by Falstaff's air of self-assurance and the impudent attempt to transfer the charge of cowardice to the Prince and Poins, he drives them step by step first to a suspicion and then to a belief that the old scoundrel very well knows what he is about and that he holds the trump card in his hand, while letting his opponents imagine that they are playing their own little game. In the rapid give and take of spoken dialogue, listeners have little time to consider the points individually, and some points will appeal more to one type of intelligence, others to another; but, as the hints grow broader and more numerous, they prove, at last and in the aggregate, overwhelming. Thus, when the climax comes, alert minds are ready to take Falstaff's word for it that he had recognized the men in buckram from the beginning, and are almost prepared to doubt their own eyes and ears which had seen and heard the running and the roaring on Gad's Hill. [See below CAZAMIAN, p. 82; GUPTA, p. 81; UTTER, p. 78; and for strong objection, E. E. STOLL, *MP*, 1954, LI, 145-159.]

124. round-man] KING (*SN*, 1941-42, XIV, 164): Falstaff's figure gives the sense 'stout' (*NED* 3), his manner here 'plain-spoken' (*NED* 13b).

137. lips] TILLEY (1950), L329: You licked not your lips since you lied last. [First cited as a proverb by James Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs*, 1721.]

143. thousand pound] WILSON (ed. 1946): The sum named in *Famous Victories*, [sc.] i, not in II. i. 53 above.

152. sword . . . handsaw] ARMSTRONG (1946, pp. 39-40) links this use of "handsaw" through association with "geese" (II. iv. 122) to the famous crux in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 374-375: In Shakespeare's mind, while writing *1 Henry IV*, was the idea of a "dagger of lath"—a ridiculous and ineffective weapon. His thought then moved on to the idea of a "sword hacked like a handsaw." Geese are associated with these ideas. When later he wrote *Hamlet* previously established associations intruded themselves. A transaction in which a hundred coins are concerned reappears [cf. *1 Henry IV*, II. iv. 131, 145-147; *Hamlet*, II. ii. 361-362] and the conception of another ridiculous and ineffective weapon—a goose-quill [*Hamlet*, II. ii. 339]. Thus Rosencrantz would never have mentioned goose-quills if Falstaff had not threatened to drive Prince Henry's subjects like geese! . . . It was Rosencrantz's weapon reference which, reviving the memory of Falstaff's hacked sword, brought the word "handsaw" to Hamlet's lips. [ARMSTRONG later, pp. 57-65, discusses the "goose" references in II. iv. 122 and III. i. 227 as part of an image cluster involving the goose and venereal disease.]

152. ecce signum] TILLEY (1950), under S443, notes an earlier use of the phrase in Marlowe's *Faustus* (1604 Q) III. iii. [This may, however, be only a reminiscence of *1 Henry IV*, since the 1604 Q is a memorialy reconstructed text (see W. W. GREG, *Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus,"* 1950).]

157. Gad] Pri. RID. +. (F1)

173. *murdred*] *murder'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?Sis.

158, 160, 164. Ross.] Gad. RID. +. (F1)

154-155. more . . . truth] TILLEY (1950), T590: The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

157, 158, 160, 164.] WILSON (ed. 1946): I conjecture that Shakespeare's MS. originally read 'Prin.,' 'Ross.,' 'Ross.,' 'Ross.,' that when 'Rossil' was cut out of the play a single 'Gad.' was jotted in the margin as a note to the prompter to substitute that character, which he did in the 'book' from which F was corrected, and that when Shakespeare's MS. reached the printer he altered the wrong prefix.

170. bunch of radish] WILSON (ed. 1946): A symbol of leanness. Elyot, *Castle of Healeh*, 1539, p. 35, writes 'Radyse rootes haue the vertu to extenuate or make thin.'

174-202. I haue . . . out of two] WALDOCK (*RES*, 1947, XXIII, 20-23) argues from the thesis of "the variability of texture in Shakespearean drama" and dissents from the interpretations of KITTREDGE [l. 182 below] and WILSON [l. 119 above]: The logic of the passage . . . is as follows. It has an obvious psychological basis in the heightenings, the embellishments, the improvings, the pilings-on of one who is telling a sensational and highly successful yarn. . . . In real life—or by the conventions of even a moderately realistic play—the 'arithmetical progression' would be more than improbable, it would be impossible. Very well: for the moment or two required Shakespeare changes the conventions, and then a second or two later changes them back again. . . . Just for these few moments the realistic conventions drop away: we make a quick readjustment of attitude (all, of course, quite instinctively and unconsciously): we accept the scene as the ultimate burlesque, the *reductio ad absurdum* of the sort of exaggeration that is a familiar part of our daily experience. This, at least, is what we should do—not asking *how* Falstaff could have expected to be believed (as the editor of the new Variorum text asks); knowing perfectly well that—if the play were still continuing on a realistic basis—he could never have expected it; but *granting*, for the fun, that he *does* expect it. The implication is that Falstaff, while he is going up the scale of those numbers, steps slightly out of rôle; and that, as I see it, is so. He is, for the moment, a more abstract Falstaff, a Falstaff whose identity has been merged, just for these few instants, with that of a typical vaudeville comedian. . . . If the passage had lasted much longer there *would* have been a chance of real disturbance: the audience would have felt a strangeness coming over the scene. We are, that is to say, near the limit of tolerance—for audiences; far beyond it, needless to say, for critics, or for leisurely, probing, inquisitive readers; . . . These variations of texture—or mountings and descendings of planes within the action—are common-places of popular comedy, and probably always have been; . . . In the crucial passage itself the attitude of the Prince and Poins is, I think, decisive. They, of course, never suspect that Falstaff is not contradicting himself in all innocence. They are careful not to bring him to a complete halt, they nudge one another, they wink, perhaps, at the audience ('Ay, and mark thee too, Jack'). At all events there is surely not an atom of doubt that it is *they* and the audience who are in league just here, not the audience and Falstaff. . . . I need hardly add that unless Falstaff's enjoyment of his joke is manifest to someone—if not to the Prince and Poins, then at least to the audience—it does not exist. To say that he is enjoying his joke secretly is to say something that does not make dramatic sense. [A footnote calls attention to Sir Ralph Richardson's later independent interpretation of the "arithmetical progression" passage—played straight with intention to get away with as good a story as possible.]—R. WATKINS (1950, pp. 139-144): Something in his [Poins's] sniggering manner betrays the truth to Falstaff. Nimble the old villain sees his way to turn the tables: . . . Picture the scene: the Prince and Poins up-stage enjoying their joke together, Falstaff right forward on the perimeter, enjoying *his* with the groundlings: . . . And the ensuing tale with its monstrous arithmetical progression is seen by the audience for what it is—Falstaff's ripost to the Prince's trick. . . . Falstaff, as we have seen, by taking the audience into his confidence, makes us feel in collusion with his villainies. . . . But Falstaff has more than one trick up his sleeve: and if he cannot always carry the audience with him as confederates, he will sometimes associate them with those whom he wishes to make his dupes. . . . The Prince gives his version of the business, his plain tale to put Falstaff down, and cries "What trick? what device? . . ." Falstaff, as always, has the last trick: blandly, amid the expectant silence, he says, "I knew ye as well as he that made ye." Then if the player is doing his job, not only Hal and Poins but the audience too will burst into incredulous and uproarious laughter, and as he cries "Why heare ye my Masters . . ." Falstaff will have to silence the whole playhouse, shouting at the Prince and

177. *face*:] *face*; RID. 4. (F1)
horse:] *horse*; RID. (Rowe) *horse*. KIT.
 NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (JOHNS.)
 187. *Buckrom*:] *buckram*? RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL.
 SIS. (CAP.)
 190. Pr.] Prince. [aside to Poins] KIT. WIL.
 ALEX. (WH. i)
 195, 201-202.] As asides: WIL.
 205. *couldst*] *couldst* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 SIS. (Q2)
 210. *tallow-catch*] *tallow-keech* BALD, SIS.
 (JOHNS.)
 225. *elsskin*] *elf-skin* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, SIS.
 (Q3) *eel-skin* WIL. ALEX. (HAN.) [See Critical
 Notes.]
 229. *a while*] *awhile* KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS.
 (VAR. '03)
 246. Falst.] Falstaff. [solemnly] WIL.

Poins, but through them at you and me in Yard and galleries. When he has reduced us all to silence, he need not raise his voice to say "was it for me to kill the Heire apparant?" For the nonce, the whole audience is within the hospitable four walls of mine Hostess' tavern.

175 ff.] An early imitation of this scene occurs in Chettle and Day's *Blind Beggar of Bednall-Green* (performed 1600), when Swash describes how he was robbed on the highway (ed. W. Bang, 1902, ll. 1200-1204).

177-179. thou . . . me] CRAIG (*Univ. Cal. Pub. in Eng.*, 1940, IX, no. 1, 17-18): The hilarity for the Elizabethan audience must have been further enlivened by Falstaff's utter confusion in the terms of dueling which he employs. . . . We have Saviolo [*His Practice* (1595)], Silver [*Paradoxes of Defense* (1599)], and again Saviolo, all mixed in one speech, which must have afforded amusement for the swordsmen in the audience. As for wards, Vincentio [Saviolo] describes in his book four principal wards, or positions in fence. . . . And when Falstaff says "here I lay," the terminology is Silver's: "If he lie aloft and you lie alowe with your sword. . . ." Again, when Sir John roars on, "and thus I bore my point," he returns to Vincentio who says: "If you perceive his rapier to be long (i.e., his arm extended),—and the point thereof borne somewhat high, you shall answer him in this ward."

182. I . . . fourre] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): At about this point Falstaff (already suspicious) begins to feel pretty sure that the Prince has played him a trick. To test the matter, and to provide himself with a good answer if his suspicions come true, he raises the number of his alleged assailants with every breath. He does not expect Hal and Poins to believe him in these absurdities. Thus he is ready—when the Prince reveals the facts—to retort: "Why, I knew all that before!" with the implication: "and that's why I gave you such an absurd account of the whole affair. You might have guessed from my nonsensical story that I didn't expect you to believe me."

192. *marke*] WILSON (ed. 1946) explains as (a) heed, (b) keep count.

204. *Kendall greene*] LINTHICUM (1936, p. 79): Falstaff's imaginary 'knaves' had dressed true to form, either as robber woodmen, or as low-class thieves.

208-210. *clay-braind* . . . *tallow-catch*] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Such breathless strings of epithets of abuse are characteristic of Latin comedy.

210. *tallow-catch*] WILSON (ed. 1946): I believe it to be nothing more recondite than the pan to catch the dripping from meat roasting on a spit.—HARRISON (ed. 1948): The rim on the candlestick which, when piled up with the drippings of wax, is no bad image for Falstaff.

212. *truth the truth*] Proverbial. Compare TILLEY (1950), T581.

225-228. *Zbloud* . . . *tuck*] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940) compares *How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1602 (ed. [A. E. H.] Swaen, [1912], p. 34): "That Rat, that shrimp, that spindleshanc, that Wren, that sheep-biter, that leane chittiface, that famine, that leane Enuy, that all bones, that bare Anatomy, that lack a Lent, that ghost, that shadow, that Moone in the waine."

225. *elsskin*] All editors of the play read *elsskin* for all Q and F texts. Actually Q1 (the three extant copies) and Q2 both clearly read *elsskin*. Q3 initiates the reading *elsskin*, which through Q5 finds its way into the F text. Hanmer's emendation, therefore, would seem more than ever justified. NED, however, records the form *elshin*, as a variant of *elsin*, an awl, and it is possible that *elsskin* is a compositor's misreading. The imagery at the end of the passage supports the comparison of Hal to an awl, and the reference to a dried *neatstong* which immediately follows *elsskin* may have been suggested by the association between a shoemaker's awl and neat's leather. If *Starveling* in *Midsummer Night's Dream* were only a shoemaker!

240-244. What . . . shame] JOSEPH (1947, p. 213 n.) notes that both Wilson (*Arte of Rhetorique*, 1585, fol. 61r) and Fraunce (*Lawiers Logike*, 1588, fol. 101r) "warn that the answerer will seek starting holes to escape meeting an argument directly."

254. money.] money. [he dances] WIL.
 261. A.] *Ah*. RID. +. (ROWE, DYCE)
 265. noble man] nobleman RID. +. (Q2, noble-
 man; ROWE, Nobleman)
 278. no fie:] no, fie! RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 ALEX. (THEOB.) no—fie! KIT. no fie! SIS.
 296. Bar.] Bardolph [thrusts forward his face].
 WIL.
 300 s.d. Enter Falstaff.] After *halter*, line 301:
 RID. KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (F1)
 306. talent] *salon* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX.
 SIS. (F4)

250. lion . . . true prince] WILSON (ed. 1946): Edward III dared Philip of Valois to prove his kingship by entering a lion's den (see [L. D.] Einstein, *Italian Renaissance in England* [1902], p. 239).

253. for a true prince] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Falstaff mischievously intimates that he is glad to have this confirmation of the Prince's legitimacy.

255. pray] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 162): *NED Prey v 2* 'take booty' + *Pray v 5* 'offer prayer.' [HEMINGWAY'S reference should be *Matthew*, xxvi, 41.]

257. come to you] All texts agree in making these words the conclusion of the sentence beginning with "gallants" (l. 255). I suspect, however, that we should read them as an invitation and toast: "Come [let's drink.] [Here's] to you!"

258. a play extempore] See also ll. 87-98 above. For the suggested *commedia dell'arte* background of this scene see WINIFRED SMITH, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 1912, pp. 170 ff.; THORNTON S. GRAVES, *SP*, 1922, XIX, 429-456; and KATHERINE M. LEA, *Italian Popular Comedy*, 1934—WILSON (ed. 1946): In the old *Henry IV* Oldcastle and Hal seem to have rehearsed the scene in court when Hal strikes the Lord Chief Justice. In *Famous Victories*, sc. v, this is enacted by two clowns.

269. send . . . mother] BOGORAD (*SQ*, 1950, I, 76-77): The question arises why Prince Hal refers to his mother, who has been dead for almost ten years. . . . Hal's instant dismissal of the nobleman and his immediate return to the hilarity of exposing Falstaff indicate that he is at the moment better satisfied to stay at the tavern than to concern himself with messengers from court. He is, in fact, so irritated at the interruption of his fun that he tells the Hostess to send the messenger back to his mother. Hal's mother being dead, the dismissal amounts to a wish that the messenger were also dead.—BOWMAN (*SQ*, 1950, I, 295) rejects BOGORAD's interpretation: Rather my contention is that the remark represents: one of many Shakespearean refusals to be enslaved by historical fact; a literal dispatching of Sir John Bracy back to a living mother, a touch characterizing Bracy as a kowtowing effeminate fop, and Hal as one who despises hypocritical ingratiating to royal favor. Assuming this point of view, the situation then in microcosm affords a striking parallel to Hotspur's rejection of the overbearing dandy at Holmedon. . . . Granting an intended parallel, one observes a striking and no doubt intended character contrast. Hotspur's petty annoyances give rise to lengthy denunciations. . . . Hal's annoyances begin and end with a sarcastic and cryptic remark.—PEARCE (*N&Q*, 1952, CXCVII, 26): What both commentators [BOGORAD and BOWMAN] . . . overlook is that Hal *had* a living mother in 1403, his step-mother Joanna of Navarre, whom King Henry married by proxy on April 3, 1402, and crowned as his queen on February 26, 1403, three weeks after her bridal. According to Agnes Strickland, the relationship between Joanna and Hal was not only friendly but affectionate. . . . I interpret the "mother reference" . . . as follows: Hostess. "My lord, there is a court nobleman at the door who wishes to speak with you. He says your father sent him." Hal. "Well, give him some money. That will improve (and I hope satisfy) him. Then send him back to my stepmother. Maybe *she* sent him after me, in the first place." Hal was only fifteen years of age in 1403, a little young to be at large in taverns. Joanna could well have been anxious to have him at home. Certainly she seconded the King's desire to separate Hal from his irresponsible companions and bring him to a sense of filial loyalty and princely obligation.

301. No . . . halter] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Prince Hal's pun is a masterpiece. . . . *Rightly*, *taken*, and *halter* are all three emphasized in a voice that rises in pitch: 'No, if *rightly* (justly, as you ought to be) *taken* (arrested)—HALTER (collar; the hangman's noose)'!—TILLEY (1950), C513: After a collar comes a halter.

303. bumbast] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 165): The immediate sense is 'padding' (*NED* + 2), but as Falstaff has just told his tall story of the robbery, 'tall talk' (*NED* 3) is also appropriate.

303-306. bumbast . . . waste] ARMSTRONG (1946, pp. 35-37) collates these lines with II. iv. 320-328 and V. i. 59-61 as part of a persistent image cluster (associated also with 3 *Henry VI*, *Richard II*, *Macbeth*, *Lucrece*, and *King Lear*): Pride is the master idea controlling or giving coherence to the image cluster of which "eagle" and "knee" are members. [The "eagle" is a "Pride bird."]

312. *Amamon*] *Amaimon* WIL. ALEX. (CAP.) 335. *Mackrel*] *mackerel* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 315. O] *Owen* WIL. SIS. (DERING MS.) SIS. (F3)
 318, 328. a *horsebacke*] a-horseback KIT. WIL. 341. *not shou*] *thou not* SIS. (CAP.)
o'horseback NEIL. BALD. ALEX. (CAP.) 354. *ioynd stoole*] *joined-stool* RID. *join'd-stool*
 333. *stole*] *stolen* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, SIS. KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. (F1) *joint-stool* BALD, SIS.
 (DERING MS. VAR. '73) (ROWE)

... There is a continuity of association [through references in *Macbeth*, *Lucrece*, and *King Lear*] between Falstaff's knee, the eagle, the sparrow and the cuckoo. Therefore it is because Falstaff's waist was once like an eagle's talon in girth that he calls Prince Henry a cuckoo!

307-308. sighing and grief] WILSON (ed. 1946): The jest is that grief was supposed to impoverish the blood and so lead to emaciation and decline.

313-314. vpō ... Welsh hooke] WILSON (ed. 1946): Glendower is, Falstaff implies, (i) a rustic soldier, fighting with a billhook, (ii) a black magician, swearing his men upon a hiltless weapon.

324. rascall] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 177): *NED* 3b 'Used without serious implication of bad qualities' + 4b 'A young, lean or inferior deer.' Now it was just the fault of the rascal deer that, lacking mettle, it would not give the hunters a good run, so Falstaff casts doubt on his statement about the 'rascal' Douglas by giving it the form of a direct untruth about the 'rascal' deer. And indeed Douglas does run away. ... One sense of an ambiguous word may require a supplementation the exact contrary of the statement in the text. This subtle trick is characteristic of Falstaff, who thus on one plane of language contradicts what he says on another. [Compare V. iv. 125.]

324-325. good mettall ... runne] Surely a pun on "metal—mettle" is intended here; Douglas is gold, not lead—he will not run (melt) easily. Read in this way the lines seem to bear on the later discussion of a "true piece of golde," "counterfet," and "coward" in lines 461-464.

343. fiend ... spirit ... diuel] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 171): It is interesting that the same play on these three words occurs in Sonnet CXLIV: "Two loves I have ... The worse spirit ... would corrupt my saint to be a diuel ... And whether that my angel be turn'd finde, Suspect I may."

352-353. chaire ... crowne] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (Malone Society ed. [1907], ll. 258-263): 'For when I come and set me downe to rest, / My chaire presents a throne of Maiestie: / And when I set my bonnet on my head, / Me thinks I fit my forehead for a Crowne: / And when I take my trunchion in my fist, / A Scepter then comes tumbling in my thoughts.'—HARRISON (1933, p. 131): When Sir John crowned himself with a cushion, his hacked dagger held sceptrewise, he assumed the port and majesty of Alleyn, discoursing heroical matters in some fusty tragedy.—CHEW (1947, p. 16) points out that the cushion here may be interpreted as a common emblem of lechery.

354-356. state ... crowne] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The Prince speaks with exaggerated solemnity, as if he were a prophet. Compare *Isaiah*, xxii, 19: 'And I will drive thee from thy station, and from thy state shall he pull thee down.' *Taken for* means 'understood to be,' 'seen to be,' and also 'taken away in exchange for.'

361. king Cambyses vaine] STEWART (TLS, May 26, 1945, p. 247): In *Cambyses* the tyrant is maudlin in his cups and his queen is lachrymose—but why does Falstaff choose this vein, and why does he presently switch to euphuism? In *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* ... Henry IV is himself more tearful than anyone at Cambyses's harassing court. Three times in the quarto of 1598 we are told in stage directions that the king is reduced to tears before receiving, or when upbraiding, his son. Is it possible, then, that Falstaff is making fun of an absurd, and as it were Cambysic, scene in the earlier play about the Henry's, and that the burlesque interview at the Boar's Head has touches parodying a high-flown interview in the old play? ... And what of the euphuism? It seems to me that in the *Famous Victories* both this interview scene and the almost immediately succeeding monologue in the course of which the Prince takes the crown show unmistakable traces of euphuism; that in fact nearly all the structural devices analysed by Bond in his edition of Lyly can, after a blurred fashion, be distinguished. But Falstaff, of course, makes play both with these and with the decorative features of the style. May we conjecture, then, with a number of critics, that there was an earlier and fuller Queen's play from which the *Famous Victories* is descended; and may we go on to suppose that in this a colouring of euphuism, as well as the *larmoyant* vein of *Cambyses*, was sufficiently prominent to be worth Falstaff's making fun of in passing.—WILSON (ed. 1946): All who read this play in fourteeners ... must agree [with

362. Prince.] Prince [bows]. WIL.
 367. trustfull] trustful RID. +. (DERING MS.
 ROWE)
 371. tickle-braine.] tickle-brain. [Exit Bardolph
 with Hostess. Ss.
 375. so] yet KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. Ss. (Q3)
 407. me.] me? RID. +. (THEOB.)
 409. Hare] here. [they change places WIL.
 (COLL.)
 415. nay] [aside] nay WIL.
 424-425. reuerent] reverend RID. +. (F1)
 444. lane] lean RID. +. (Q2)
 451. will.] will. A knocking heard EXEUNT
 MISTRESS QUICKLY, FRANCIS, and BARDOLPH RID. KIT. NEIL.
 ALEX. (MAL.) will. [A knocking heard. EXEUNT
 Hostess and Bardolph.] BALD. (COLL.) [See Critical
 Notes for WIL. and line 371 above for Ss.]
 s.d. running] Om. Ss.

Johnson] I suspect that quotations from Preston figured in the old *Henry IV*, and that Shakespeare rewrote them to burlesque the more up-to-date style of Kyd or Greene. . . . By 1596-98 Preston and fourteeners were *vieux jeux*.

368. For teares . . . eyes] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare . . . for style, Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* [ed. F. S. Boas, 1901], IV. i. 94-95: "How can mine eyes dart forth a pleasant looke, / When they are stoppt with fouds of flowing teares?"

374-375. cammomill . . . growes] TILLEY (1950) cites two earlier uses of this proverbial expression (C34) before Lyly's *Euphues*.

375. so youth] RIDLEY (ed. 1935): The F reading . . . is usually accepted; but I see no reason to suppose that Falstaff in adopting Euphuistic diction will be too careful of sense.

376-377. son . . . opinion] TILLEY (1950), M1193: Ask the mother if the child be like his father.

381-382. shal the blessed sunne . . . black-berries] DAVENPORT (*NSQ*, 1954, CXCIX, 19) compares Lyly's *Campaspe* (ed. R. W. Bond, *Complete Works*, 1902, II), II. ii. 31-32, 48, 82-84.
 399. lookes] TILLEY (1950), F5: A fair face must have good conditions.

407-408. if thou . . . matter] BALDWIN (1944, II, 183): Shakespeare knew the [grammarian's] distinction in style between high, low, and medium, and knew that the words should be suited to the matter [as, for example, it was laid down in Erasmus' *Copia*].

407-409. Depose . . . Hare] ADAMS (*SQ*, 1952, III, 282-283): This outrageous reply has escaped general notice, yet it reveals the consummate self-assurance Falstaff possesses in his relations with Hal. What other man in England would dare to joke of deposition with the Prince of Wales, the son of Henry IV? To make the joke even more telling, Falstaff has just been playing the rôle of that king, who at that very moment is facing a rebellion to depose him; and to cap the climax, Hal is now "ascending the throne" as Henry, and his first act, as Falstaff points out, is to depose his predecessor. In this scene Sir John is playing with fire.

408-409. hang me . . . Hare] WILSON (ed. 1946): I.e. baffle me. . . . For the absurd comparison of Falstaff, hanging upside down, with a baby rabbit or the long body of a skinned hare in a shop, compare 'bunch of radish' (L1170), 'shotten herring' (L1114).

409-411. Hare . . . here . . . here] KÖKERITZ (1953, p. 111): The Prince . . . echoes Falstaff's *hare* by *here*.

417. Swearest . . . boy] RIDLEY (ed. 1935): An amusing instance of the expurgator. F in Falstaff's speech tones down 'Sblood to I'faith (and omits I'faith altogether), so making the Prince's remark quite pointless.

425. vice . . . iniquity . . . ruffian] WILSON (ed. 1946): 'Ruffian' was a cant word for the Devil, e.g. in the Chester miracle plays (compare *NED* 'ruffin').

427. neat . . . capon] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1929 [August], p. 8): The neat carving of a fowl was regarded as a gentlemanly accomplishment as late as the end of the 17th century. . . . [Compare] Jonson, *Every Man Out of his Humour* [ed. Herford and Simpson, III, 1927], IV. i. [34-40]: "O, fine courtier! How comely he bowes him in his court'siel! . . . how vpright hee sits at table! how daintily he carues! . . . how cleanly he wipes his spoone, at every spoonfull of any white-meat he eates, and what a neat case of pick-tooths he carries about him, still!"

443-444. if to . . . be loued] JOSEPH (1947, p. 179): Because the figure enthymeme combines anthesis with inference and works out two opposing arguments in a small space it is particularly effective.

451. I do, I will] SPRAGUE (1935, p. 150): There is plenty of irony in that! But to appreciate it, the Elizabethans who first saw Falstaff stride the boards were required to wait until 2 *Henry IV* had been composed and produced.—KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): I will never banish him until I banish all the world. That he is to 'banish plump Jack' in 2 *Henry IV* (V.v) is, naturally, not in

the Prince's mind, for when that happens, he has 'turned away his former self.' [See, however, GODDARD, p. 82.]

451-456. s.d.] WILSON (ed. 1946): Q and F provide no previous exits for Bardolph and Hostess. Cambridge and modern editions supply at line 451 'a knocking heard. Exeunt Hostess, Francis, and Bardolph.' This (i) would leave the stage silent for several moments, which is absurd, and (ii) is unnecessary, since Bardolph and Hostess can exit any time unnoticed by the audience. [The DERING MS. gives the Hostess an exit at line 477.]

461-464. Doest . . . made . . . instinct] FLATTER (TLS, Oct. 6, 1945, p. 475) defends the reading *made*: Falstaff's words do not seem . . . to call for any emendation, provided we take "made" for "artificially made." What Falstaff means to say comes to this: "Don't give me away: I am genuine gold; in reality it is *thou* who art a counterfeit, a piece of *made* gold (such as alchemists try to "make" in their furnaces)"—whereupon the Prince, taking up the antithesis of naturalness and imitation, makes the reply: "And thou art a coward—not a counterfeit, but a natural one." [Flatter gives examples to illustrate the use of *made* in the sense of *counterfeit* or *artificial*.]—WILSON (ed. 1946): No change needed. Falstaff, cornered, humorously pleads for the Prince's help, saying, 'Don't let me down by calling a true-mettled fellow a false thief. Appearances are deceptive; you, for example, are really mad, though you don't look it, e.g. mad enough to give the whole thing away for the sake of "old father antic, the law."' His next speech implies that he is bound to be hanged, unless the Prince refuses the sheriff entry. The sheriff enters, but a thumping lie is forthcoming—LEA (RES, 1948, XXIV, 236-240): In Samson's bitter reflection 'How counterfeit a coin are they who friends / Bear in their superscription,' . . . we may find a clue to the meaning. . . . Milton provides three terms 'counterfeit . . . coin . . . friends': Shakespeare only two, so that Falstaff's remark is cryptic through slipping of the third term 'friend,' obvious perhaps by Shakespeare's train of thought and by common association. . . . [Miss LEA cites the following passage from *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1563), ed. L. B. Campbell (1938), p. 281: "A Golden treasure is the tryed frend. / But whoe may gold from counterfaytes defend? / Trust not to sone, ne all to lyght mistrust. / With thone thy selfe, with thother thy frend thou hurst. / Whoe twyneth betwyxt, and steareth the golden meane, / Nor rashly loveth, nor mistrusteth in vayne. / For frendshyp poyson, for safetie mithridate / Hit is, thy frend to love as thou wouldest hate." She suggests that Sh. had the *Mirror* passage in the back of his mind by pointing out two echoes from the same tragedy, "Howe the Lord Hastynges was betrayed" (by Dolman), earlier in the same scene of *1 Henry IV* (see *Mirror*, lines 96, 281-283).] The second knocking interrupts them. There is a flurry on the stage. The mock-Prince would continue: 'play out the play, I have much to say in the behalfe of that Falstaffe.' He is not heeded, so he tries again, 'Listen, Hal. Don't ever make the blunder of mistaking a true gold (friend) for a sham (and flatterer).' 'Plump Jack' is probably in his mind as this genuine friend, and it would be a sin to mistrust him. Then turning to the heir-apparent who is both counterfeiting the King before his time and, as Falstaff would hope, feigning annoyance as a friend when he is really quite well disposed towards his old fat companion, he carries on his metaphor into a compliment: 'you are the real thing all right (good metal),' adding with an irresistible quip, 'though you don't look like it.' He laughs as he says it and hopes the good humour will be catching. But the Prince is out to snub and picking up his 'you' by 'thou' and playing off the word 'essentially' repeats, for the fifth time, the jibe about cowardice and instinct. . . . Falstaff carries over his concern with his own merits as a companion, and continues his pleading by referring to himself in 'never call a true piece of gold a counterfeit,' and then changes his reference by the inflexion of 'thou' as he turns to the Prince's quality.—MCCURDY (1953, pp. 152-153) notes the interesting link with Hamlet's "I essentially am not in madness, But mad in craft" (III. iv. 187-188).—ADAMS (SQ, 1954, V, 208-209) links the speech with the lines on "instinct" and the "true prince" (II. iv. 246-253): Falstaff is saying, "I recognized you for a true prince before; my instinct told me so; never call a true prince or a true piece of gold a counterfeit." (The equation of gold as the highest of metals with a king or with royalty is an Elizabethan commonplace. . . .) Thus, the second clause of the speech can only mean that Hal is made of the essence of princeliness, even though his actions do not seem to show it. In other words, he is reminding Hal that he as a prince can protect him from the sheriff, and that a true prince would not let his friends down. Hal, of course, cannot afford to let the challenge pass; so he retorts that Falstaff is by nature a coward without finer instinct, even though he does accept Falstaff's "major" and protects him from the sheriff.

462. *made*] *mad* KIT. NEIL. WIL. (F3)
 473. *me.*] *me.* [Exeunt all except the Prince and Peto.] NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (COLL. i, ii) *me.* [he does so; all but the Prince and Peto go out WIL. (MAL.)
 474. *Sheriffe.*] *sheriff.* Exeunt all except the Prince and Peto RID. KIT. (ARD.) *sheriff.* [Exeunt all except the Prince and Peto. SIS. (MAL.)
 s.d. the Carrier] *Carrier* SIS. (THEOB.)
 475-481.] As verse: RID. +. (POPE)
 477. *followed*] *follow'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (ROWE)
 495 s.d. Exit] Exeunt Sheriff and Carrier RID. +. (HAN.)
 498, 503, 518, 519. Peto.] Poinis. WIL. SIS. (DERING MS. JOHNS. CONJ.)
 498. *Falstaffe:*] [lifts the arras] *Falstaff!* WIL. SIS. (COLL. iii)
 501 s.d. pocket] pockets RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. (Q4) [SIS. reduces s.d. to: Poinis searches.]
 505. *Item*] Pet. [reads] *Item* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. (F1, CAP.) Poinis. *Item* WIL. (JOHNS. CONJ.) Poinis [reads]. *Item* SIS. (DYCE)
 508. *anchauet*] *anchovies* RID. +. (THEOB.)
510. O] Pri. O RID. +. (F1)
 III. i.
 s.d.] Wales. A room in Glendower's house WIL. Wales. Glendower's castle. ALEX. SIS. [RID. KIT. NEIL. and BALD give the conventional setting *Bangor. The Archdeacon's house* introduced by THEOB.]
 s.d. Glendower.] *Glendower,* carrying papers WIL.
 3-5. As verse: KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (F1); RID. (SING. ii)
 6-9.] As verse: RID. (*sit/ name/ you/ sigh/ heaven*); KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (T.J.); SIS. (STA.)
 9. *heauen.*] *heaven.* [they sit WIL.
 10-11.] As verse: RID. (COLL.); KIT. ALEX. (POPE)
 16. *Shaked*] *Shak'd* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (Q5)
 17-19.] As verse: RID. (POPE)
 33. *distemperature*] *distemperature* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, SIS. (Q3)

461-468. Doest . . . another] WILSON (1943, p. 58): It is a magnificent display of stoutness of heart, which looks Death straight in the eyes without blinking or turning aside. And it succeeds, if Hal's resolution really needs stiffening. For, though he does not 'deny the sheriff,' he finds a better way by hiding the hunted man behind the arras. . . . He [Falstaff] has disproved the Prince's major, and though he never fights longer than he sees reason, or fights at all if he can avoid it, we hear no more of his 'cowardice' for the rest of the play.

482. not here] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Prince Hal makes what used to be called a 'mental reservation';—'not here, but behind the arras.' . . . A gesture, no doubt, served to emphasize *here*.

491-492. It . . . farewell] WILSON (ed. 1946): By this, I take it, Falstaff's snores are becoming audible to the whole theatre; hence the brusque dismissal.

496-503.] ADAMS (1943, p. 183): Needless to say, the entire audience must be given the opportunity of witnessing the unveiling and searching of Falstaff, which means that Falstaff lay behind the midpoint of the rear hangings.

498. Peto.] WILSON (ed. 1946) accepts JOHNSON's emendation of *Poinis* for *Peto*: I may also add (i) that it would be strange for Poinis to disappear altogether after line 445 and yet turn up later in 2 *Henry IV* with all his old vivacity, (ii) that Johnson has the support of the DERING MS., and (iii) that, as Johnson himself notes, Peto appears in IV. ii not in the Prince's retinue but as Falstaff's 'lieutenant.'

498. fast asleep] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Falstaff relies upon the Prince to see him safely through this affair; but even so, his calmness is proof enough that he is no coward. [Considered unsentimentally, Falstaff falls asleep because Sh. at this point needs to lay the groundwork for III. iii.]

III.i.] WILSON (ed. 1946): Bangor is not mentioned by Shakespeare, and 'the archdeacon' only once, casually. It is a family party (see ll. 84-88, 187); Glendower behaves like a host; and Shakespeare probably imagines his castle as the venue.

18. mothers cat] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1929 [December]) considers as proverbial and cites Field [ed. W. Peery, *Plays*, 1950], *Amends for Ladies*, II. i. [95-96]: "Your mothers Cat has kittens'd in your mouth sure."

25-35. And . . . leaue] ALLEN (MLN, 1935, L, 171-172): Important for the general knowledge of Shakespeare's time was the emphasis given to [the medieval] theory [the idea of the caged winds] by Caxton's translation of the popular French encyclopaedia, the *Image du Monde*. . . . It will be seen that in the strict sense the theory of Hotspur is mediaeval in emphasis rather than classical. Whether or not Shakespeare subscribed to this theory is difficult to say; however, a reference in *As You Like It* to the ability of earthquakes to move mountains suggests that Shakespeare may have been *au courant* with the more advanced discussions of his age. Although this power of the earthquake is overlooked by the mediaeval authorities, it is mentioned by Cardanus in his

50. dinner.] dinner. [he rises WIL.
 51.] As an aside: WIL.
 55.] As verse: KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SH.
 (CAP.)
 65. Bootless] Bootless RID. +. (Q2)
 68. here is] here's RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. (F1)
 69. tane. is'en? [the map is spread upon the
 table WIL.
 72. and] to WIL.
 87. Within] [To Glend.] Within KIT. WIL.
 ALEX. SH. (CAP.)
 94. Hot.] Hotspur [studying the map]. WIL.
 98. scandle] canille RID. +. (F1)
 105-108.] As verse: RID. +. (CAP.)
 113. He] I will KIT. (POPE)
 118.] As verse: SH. (POPE)
 125. Marry and] Marry, / And RID. KIT. NEIL.
 WIL. BALD, ALEX. (WALKER)
 130. an] on RID. +. (Q3)
 145. sometime] sometimes KIT. NEIL. (Q8, T. J.)

classification of earthquakes—it is Brasmaticus "cum attolitur: sic fiunt montes, et in mari insulae nascuntur." . . . If Shakespeare was aware of the Renaissance theory as distinguished from that of the Middle Ages, he may have been consciously ironic when he placed the obsolete theory in the speech of the young warrior who was mocking Glendower for his superstitious ideas.

30. enlargement] WILSON (ed. 1946): Hotspur hints that Grandam Earth brought forth a windbag. Compare *Isaiah*, xxvi, 17, 18.

35-39. giue . . . fields] BALDWIN (1944, II, 489-490), following O. ELTON, considers these lines to have their source of Virgil's *Aeneid*, IV, 151-155.

49. Welsh] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Hotspur suggests that ability to speak Welsh is a magical accomplishment.

54. But wil . . . them] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare Rabelais, 'Ils invoquent les Diables . . . Vray est que ces Diables ne viennent toujours a souhait sur l'instant' (*Œuvres*, bk. v, ch. 10, cit. W. F. Smith, 'Rabelais et Shakespeare,' *Rev. Études Rabelaisiennes*, 1903).

60. tel . . . deuil] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Truth shames the devil because he is 'the father of lies.' [Compare Nashe, ed. McKerrow, 1904-10, II, 258, III, 64.]

70. The Archdeacon] WILSON (ed. 1946): [Daniel's] *Civil Wars*, III. 91, implies a meeting between the principals.

70-79.] CLARKSON and WARREN (1942, pp. 121-123) examine in detail LORD CAMPBELL's interpretation [HEMINGWAY, pp. 181-182] of these lines and declare against it.

123-124. gaue . . . you] WILSON (ed. 1946): One of the chief duties of patriots in this age being to 'garnish' their native tongue especially in the realm of poetry, and the marrying of verse to music being an acknowledged means thereto, Glendower claims to be a better Englishman than Hotspur who hates both. Compare Sidney, *Apologie*, passim, and [W. L.] Renwick, *Edmund Spenser* [1925], pp. 109-116.

131. mincing poetry] PETTET (1950, p. 30 n.) compares William Vaughan's *Golden Grove* (1600): "Sundry times haue I beene conuersant with such as blasphemed Poetry, by calling it mincing and lying Poetry" (ed. G. G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* [1904], II, 326).—WILSON (ed. 1946): An affected way of walking upon 'feet.'

132. forc't gate . . . nag] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The mincing steps of a tricky horse whose legs have been confined in order to force him to take a regular gait. For *shuffling* in the sense of 'trickery' see *Hamlet*, III. iii. 61.—Ogilvy (1945, II, No. 4, 147-149): When a horse so tired or lazy that he does not pick up his feet (shuffles) is forced to a gait faster than he chooses to take, it is almost always a "hard" one: that is, he simply lets his feet slam into the ground without using the spring in his muscles to cushion the jar to himself and his rider. When the rider, too, is so tired that his own muscles have lost their resiliency, such a gait seems to be gradually shaking him to pieces. And the most memorable aspect of the whole experience is its rhythm—the squeak of saddle leather, reiterated with every step; the regular beat of the horse's feet; the feeling that every bone and fiber of the rider's body must soon disintegrate under recurring stresses not individually violent, but repeated with remorseless regularity. . . . What more devastating condemnation of meter could Hotspur have produced?

155. I cried hum] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1930 [December], p. 7): "Hum" is not, as usually explained, an expression of impatience, but rather—as the context shows, . . . of attention or interest.

162-166. In faith . . . India] McAvoy (1952, p. 69): Aphthonius' pattern of *laus* has supplied both form and matter for Shakespeare's praise [*Genus, educatio, res gestas animi, fortuna (divitias)*].

174. *wilfulblame*] *wilful-blame* RID. KIT. NEIL.
BALD, ALEX. SIS. (THEOB.) *wilfull blame* WIL.
(Q2) [See Appendix: The Text, p. 45.]

176. *beside*] *beside* RID. WIL. BALD. (Q2)

179. *you,*] *you.* SIS. (? a misprint)

183. *noble man*] *nobleman* KIT. NEIL. WIL.
BALD, ALEX. SIS. (Q5)

191. *sheele*] *she will* KIT. NEIL. BALD. (T.J.)

195-197.] As verse: KIT. (POPE)

197 s.d. The Ladie . . . Welsh.] She turns to
Mortimer and 'speaks in Welsh' WIL.

204. *truant loue,*] *truant, love,* RID. +. (F1)

222.] As verse: RID. +. (F1)

so,] *so,* [Mortimer sits, and she with him

WIL.

225-226.] As prose: KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX.
SIS. (POPE)

227. *goose.*] *goose.* [he catches her by the wrist;
she struggles; they sit upon the rushes, he with his
head in her lap; WIL.

228. *Welsh,*] Q1-3, Q5, Ff, ROWE, POPE, THEOB.

HAN. i, WIL. BALD, SIS. *Welsh* Q4. *Welsh.* Q6-8.
Welsh: WARB. JOHNS. VAR. '73, RID. *Welsh;* CAP.
et cet. [Om. Q9.]

229. *maruile*] *marvel*, KIT. WIL. (THEOB.)

humorous,] Q1-8, HAN. i, WARB. JOHNS. STA.

[See Critical Notes.] *humorous:* Ff, ROWE, POPE,
THEOB. *humorous;* HAN. ii. *humorous.*—KITLY. *hu-*
morous, CAP. et cet. [Om. Q9.]

231-233.] As prose: RID. +. (POPE)

234. *lady my brache*] *Lady, my brach*, RID. KIT.

NEIL. WIL. ALEX. (Q4) *Lady my brach* SIS.

238. *Neither,*] Q1-3, Q5-8, F2-4, ROWE, POPE,

THEOB. HAN. i, WARB. RID. SIS. *Neither* Q4, F1.
Neither. JOHNS. VAR. '73. *Neither*—WIL. *Neither!*
KIT. *Neither;* CAP. et cet. [Om. Q9.]

248-254.] As prose: SIS.

249. *newer*] *ne'er* KIT. (STREV. conj.)

253. *Sunday Citizens*] *Sunday-citizens* RID. NEIL.
ALEX. (F1)

260. *Hot.*] *hot* RID. +. (Q5, F1)

183-186. The least . . . commendation] WILSON (ed. 1946): The germ of Hamlet's soliloquy on 'particular faults' (*Hamlet*, I. iv. 23-38). [An intermediate step perhaps; see Nashe, ed. McKerrrow, 1904, I, 205.]

203. feeling] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 173): In one sense 'a feeling disputation' means 'a disputation by sense of touch,' . . . in another, 'feeling' means 'of language . . . indicating emotion' (*NED ppl. a. 2b*).

228-236. Now . . . Welsh] SHAAERER (*SAB*, 1938, XIII, 97-98): The reading of Q6 [see Textual Notes], . . . an emendation made so near Shakespeare's own time, by some one who surely had a keener sense of the connotation of the words involved than we have, deserves consideration. Furthermore, it is evident that this interpretation is the only one which accords with Lady Percy's retort. If her words are taken at face value, it is plain that she understands Hotspur to have associated humorousness and musical ability, not humorousness and the devil or Welshmen. . . . Lady Percy's words are surely the most trustworthy clue to Hotspur's meaning. It is true that, thus misunderstood, Hotspur's speech becomes slightly incoherent, but impulsive utterance, in which one thought trips over another, is quite characteristic of him, and here he has just been given a start by the musical manifestation of Glendower's supernatural powers. Indeed, it is perhaps more likely that at this moment his mind should run on the disconcerting supernatural music than on the Welsh national character.

234. in Irish] KITTREGE (ed. 1940): We may infer that Hotspur's hound was of Irish breed; or perhaps he is thinking of wolves, which were not extinct in Ireland until long after Shakespeare's time.

238. Neither . . . fault] KITTREGE (ed. 1940): No, I won't be still either! To hold one's tongue is a woman's fault, and I am a man. Hotspur jestingly reverses a time-honoured proposition. He had often been accused of being as talkative as a woman. See I. iii. 236-238.

239. God helpe thee] KITTREGE (ed. 1940): For I give thee up.

242 s.d. *welsh song*] DENT (1934, p. 154) calls attention to the Irish song ("Concolinel") sung by Moth in *Love's Labour's Lost* (III. i. 3) and suggests that the same boy played both Moth and Lady Mortimer.—DAVIES (1939, p. 90): [Lady Mortimer's] part may well have been played by Robert Goffe, who was a member of the Lord Chamberlain's company. His name is a common one in Wales, being derived from *goff*, a smith.

245-253. Not yours . . . Citizens] WILSON (ed. 1946): Puritans condemned swearing, and many citizens were puritans.

248. *sarcenet*] LINTHICUM (1936, p. 122): Used metaphorically to suggest contemptuous slightness.

III. ii.] KENNEDY (1942, pp. 28-29): The third type of set speech is that of rhetorical conversation. This rhetorical conversation may be carried on between only two persons, as in the "private conference" which Henry IV holds with the Prince. . . . In Henry's admonitions to the

- III. ii
 27. *wanderd*] *wander'd* RID. BALD, ?SIS. (POPE)
 33. *supplide*] *supplied* RID. KIT. ALEX. ?SIS. (STREV.)
 47, 57. *wonderd*] *wonder'd* RID. BALD, ?SIS. (I. 47, THEOB.; I. 57, POPE)
 58. *Seldome, but sumptuous*] *Seldom but sumptuous*, RID. +. (F1, Q2)
 shewd] *showed* RID. WIL. ?SIS. (Q2)
 59. *wan*] *won* RID. KIT. NEIL. ALEX. SIS. (F1)
 60. *ambled*] *ambled* WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (CAP. *ambld*)
 62. *kindled*] *kindled* WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (CAP. *kindl'd*)
 63. *capring*] *capring* RID. BALD, SIS. (MAL.)
 70. *swallowd*] *swallow'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (POPE)
 71. *to loath*] Begins line 72: RID. +. (T.J.)
 82. *rendred*] *render'd* RID. BALD, ?SIS. (CAP.)
 89. *desired*] *desir'd* RID. +. (?SIS.). (F1)
 98-99. *state / Then thou*] *state / Then thou*, KIT. NEIL. (F1)
 107. *renowned*] *renowned* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. ?SIS. (Q4)
 115. *Enlargd*] *Enlarged* RID. +. (?SIS.). (Q2)
 154. *performe*] *perform*, RID. +. (CAP.)
 156. *intemperance*] *intemperature* WIL. ALEX. SIS. (F1)

Prince . . . it is easy to recognize the "set" quality of the conversation, but sometimes it is difficult to say just where the usual conversation ceases and the "set" speech begins.

8-11. But . . . mistreadings] MROZ (1941, p. 123) notes these lines as illustrating Sh.'s "portrayal of the principle of divine vengeance in its application to the human agent of God's justice." Here in keeping with "medieval faith and philosophy" the "human agent of revenge for a father's sins" is his own son.

18-28. So . . . submission] BALDWIN (1944, II, 162): Some charges are false; those that are true should be extenuated under the sign of youth [illustrating a form of *diminutio* or *extenuatio* as explained by Susenbrotus].

39-69.] HANKINS (1953, p. 272) suggests here the influence of Barnabe Googe's translation of Palingenius' *Zodiacus Vitae* (*The Zodiac of Life* [1576], ed. Rosemond Tuve, 1947, pp. 58-59).

50-52. then . . . hearts] NOBLE (1935, p. 172) compares 2 *Samuel*, xv, 5-6.

50. I stole . . . heauen] KITREDGE (ed. 1940): I assumed in my bearing a courtesy like that of heaven. The King is thinking of the doctrine that all men are of equal rank in God's sight—that 'God is no respecter of persons' (*Acts*, x, 34). *Stole* expresses the hypocrisy of his conduct.

55-57. person . . . wonderd] TILLEY (1950), M20: A maid oft seen, a gown oft worn, are disesteemed and held in scorn.

55-59. Thus . . . solemnitic] BALDWIN (1950, p. 257): [These lines use] both octet and sestet of Sonnet LII. . . . Not only do the first three lines give the figure of the "robe pontifical" from the sestet of Sonnet LII, but the latter two also include the feast of the octet, and that in echoing words. . . . Significantly enough, the commonplace of the sestet . . . finds its answering commonplace in a speech of Prince Hal in . . . I. ii. 195-198. In the same speech of Hal, the preceding lines had been those concerning his intention to imitate the sun, I. ii. 188-194, which we found to be adapted from Sonnets XXXIII and XXXIV. It is evident that Sonnet LII has been adapted in the same way in the same play.

60. skipping] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 165): 'Ambled' and 'capring' give 'skipping' a literal sense, 'jesters' the sense 'wanton.'

61-62. rash . . . burnt] COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1932 [February]): Compare Sir John Harington, *Orlando Furioso* [1591], X, 7: "These beardless youthes, . . . / Whose fancies soone like strawen fire kindled are, / And sooner quencht."

65. countenance] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 176): He means 'gave his patronage (NED 8) to gibing boys' and 'with unkingly dignity abandoned his face (NED Countenance 5) to laughter at gibing boys.'

70-73. That . . . much] NOBLE (1935, p. 173) compares *Proverbs*, xxv, 15-16.

83. cloudy] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 166): The plain sense of 'cloudy' is 'sullen' (NED 6) but the literal sense 'full of clouds' maintains the metaphor in 'sun-like' and 'shines.'

93-117. For . . . throne] McAVOY (1952, p. 68): Not only are all the divisions except one (*locus*, *in quo transacto*) under *narratio* present, but they are all in the Aphthonian order despite a second group of *res gestas* inserted without disturbing the order of the other divisions.

116. fill . . . vp] KITREDGE (ed. 1940): In order to make his own power to defy us complete.—WILSON (ed. 1946): To add one last insult to his gross defiance. The mouth is thought of as (a) shouting, (b) being crammed with food.

156. intemperance] WILSON (ed. 1946) prefers the F reading "intemperature": A quibble,

162 s.d. Enter Blunt.] After line 161: RID. +.
(F1)

174-175.] Lines re-arranged: RID. SIR. (T.J.)

III. iii.

s.d.] A room at the Boar's Head Tavern in East-cheap; early morning WIL.

s.d. Falstaffe] *Falstaff* (a truncheon hanging at his girdle) WIL.

1. *faune*] *fallen* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. SIR. (VAR. '73)

14. *be, virtuous enough.*] Q1-8, RID. SIR. [Q4 may read *enough.*] *be; virtuous enough*, Ff, Q9, NEIL. WIL. *be; virtuous enough*; ROWE, POPE, THEOB. HAN. WARB. JOHNS. DYCE, HAL. i, CAM.

COLL. iii, HUDS. ii, WIL. ii. *be, virtuous enough*: KIT. *be: virtuous enough*, BALD. *be; virtuous enough*: CAP. et cet.

16. *quarter*] *quarter*—KIT. NEIL. ALEX. (HAN.)

17. *borrowed*] *borrowed*—KIT. NEIL. ALEX. (HAN.)

33. *that*] *that's* RID. +. (Q3)

36. *Gadshill*] *Gad's Hill* WIL.

44. *Chandlers*] *chandler's* RID. +. (POPE)

49 s.d. Enter host.] After line 48: RID. +. (F1)

54. *light*] *weight* RID. (VAUGHAN) *tithe* KIT.

NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX. SIR. (THEOB.) [DERING MS. *right*]

61. *Go to.*] *Go to*, RID. +. (Q3)

with a medical connotation (reflecting 'salve' and 'wounds') which 'intemperance,' of moral reference only, lacks.

161. *soueraine*] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 173): In one sense the King means 'supreme trust' (NED Sovereign a 2), in another 'trust from myself, the sovereign.'

173-178. Wednesday . . . meet] WILSON (ed. 1946): Two textual strata seem discernible: (i) 'our meeting Is Bridgenorth' (174-175) is repeated in line 178. (ii) Other repetitions are 'march' (174, 175), 'business' (177, 179). I suggest that 'by which account . . . meet' (176-178) was intended to be deleted, and that 'On Wednesday . . . Gloucestershire' is a prose passage written to replace it.

180. men] WILSON (ed. 1946): Moore Smith suggests 'we,' misread 'mē.'

III. iii. 1-2. last action] WILSON (ed. 1946): The tense moments at the end of II. iv.

5. in some liking] WILSON (ed. 1946): (a) In the mood, (b) relatively plump, in fairly good condition.

24. thou bearest] WILSON (ed. 1946): I conjecture 'that bears'; and suggest that 'thou' was repeated by the compositor, and 'beares' afterwards corrected to 'bearest.' This would give: you are our flagship, which carries its lantern at the stern, though you carry yours in your nose.

33-34. by this fire . . . Gods Angell] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): For the oath compare *Misogonus*, III. i. 240 (ed. [R. W.] Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* [1911, p. 231]: 'By this fier that bournez thats gods aungell I sweare a great oth.' [This early citation destroys Cowl's point that these lines are a parody of a speech in Chapman's *Blind Beggar*; see HEMINGWAY, p. 229.]

35-36. vttter darkenesse] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Falstaff often quotes Scripture or uses religious phraseology. But this does not indicate that Shakespeare is satirizing the Puritans of his day. Such quotations and allusions were by no means confined to the Puritans. Everybody knew his Bible. Nothing was commoner, for instance, than for a lawyer to appeal to scriptural authority in an argument in court.

38. wildfire] WILSON (ed. 1946): A quibble: (a) highly inflammable preparation of gun-powder; (b) erysipelas.

44-46. I . . . it] McPEEK (SAB, 1941, XVI, 237-242) links the salamander image with a poem by George Turberville in *Tragical Tales*, 1587 (ed. James Maidment, 1837, p. 298), which Sh. seems to know well enough to borrow from here and in *Henry V*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and possibly *Hamlet*.

47. I would . . . belly] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): A proverbial curse on a bore or an impertinent talker. 'I wish that word (or that subject) had been swallowed by you, so that I need hear no more of it.' There is an implication that the morsel would be indigestible. Compare the phrase 'to eat one's words.'

49. dame Partlet] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The Hostess's manner is that of a startled and flustered fowl. Note her agitated entrance at II. iv. 262.—BARCOCK (SQ, 1951, II, 216): When we recall that Dame Partlet was, according to Chaucer, Chanticleer's favorite among the "sevenne hennes, for to doon al his plesaunce, whiche were his sutores and his paramours," we can see how Shakespeare got his sexual association with Partlet.

56-57. shau'd . . . haire] WILSON (ed. 1946): A possible allusion to the 'French disease.'

63-64. owe . . . beguile me] TILLEY (1950), C579: Some complain to prevent complaint.

66. Doulas] LINTHICUM (1936, p. 97): Used by rich persons for cloak bags and cases, and by

81. *sneakup*] *sneak-up* RID. KIT. NEIL. ALEX.
 (Q3) *sneak-up* WIL. BALD. SIS. (VAUGHAN)
 83 s.d. prince . . . him] Prince and Peto, . . .
 them RID. NEIL. BALD. (CAP.) Prince [and Poins]
 . . . them KIT. SIS. (VAR. '78) Prince' and Poins,
 'marching,' single file; . . . them WIL. Prince march-
 ing, with Peto; . . . him ALEX.
 s.d. five.] five.' They march together round
 the room; *Bardolph* falling in beside Poins. WIL.
 88. *quickly*] *Quickly* RID. +. (F1; Q5-8 italicize,
 but do not capitalize.)
 112. *nothing*] *no thing* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD.,
 ALEX. SIS. (Q5)
 138. *Hal?*] *Hal* RID. *Hal*, KIT. NEIL. WIL.
 BALD., ALEX. SIS. (ROWE)
 164. *ghesse*] *guests* RID. +. (Q2, F1)
 165. *pacified still*] *pacified still*, RID. NEIL. WIL.
 BALD., ALEX. SIS. (F1) *pacified*.—*Still?*—KIT.
 (HAN.)
 166. *cours*] *court*; RID. WIL. BALD., ALEX. SIS.
 (THEOB.) *court*. KIT. NEIL. (KTLY.)
 173. *any thing*] *anything* KIT. NEIL. ALEX.
 (KNT.)

the poor for neckwear and clothing. Bakers made sieves of it; hence Falstaff's contemptuous: 'Doulas, filthie Doulas.'

68-69. holland . . . ell] LINTHICUM (1936, p. 98): [The price averaged] a shilling a yard for coarse and four for fine. In 1607 holland at thirteen shillings and fourpence an ell was purchased for Prince Henry. Mistress Quickly's price of eight shillings for that of Falstaff's shirts was high for one of her station, but not a royal price.—WILSON (ed. 1946): No doubt she exaggerates, and so raises a laugh.

75-76. make a yonker of mee] NOBLE (1935, p. 277): The alternative title for the "Prodigal" was the "younger," as the alternative for the good brother was the "elder."—WILSON (ed. 1946): I.e. am I to be robbed, like the Prodigal Son, by strumpets? Compare 3 *Henry VI*, II. i. 24.

84. winde] TILLEY (1950), W419: Is the wind in that door (corner)?

86. Newgate fashion] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare Dekker, *Satiromastix* [ed. F. Bowers, *Dramatic Works*, 1953, I], III. i. 235-236: "Why then come, we'll walke arme in arme, as tho we were leading one another to Newgate."

111. a thing to thanke God on] WILSON (ed. 1946): I.e. she is as God made her.

129-130. thousand pound . . . million . . . loue] JOSEPH (1947, p. 177): Falstaff, accused of declaring that Prince Hal owes him a thousand pounds, increases the amount and then exonerates himself by means of a syllogism.—TILLEY (1950), L553: Your love is a million. [Earliest citation.]

142-144. doest . . . girdle breake] TILLEY (1950), U10: Ungirt unblest.

151-152. peniworth of sugar-candie] WILSON (ed. 1946) notes Clarendon editors: Sugar was given to fighting-cocks to prolong their breath.

153. iniuries] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Things the loss of which would be an injury to thee. The Prince uses the word in this unusual sense for the sake of a pun on *wrong*.

156-158. state of innocencie . . . villanie] BETHELL (*Anglia*, 1952, LXXI, 95-96) considers these lines as a complex example of comedy arising from what he calls the "wit of inversion": Falstaff begins by excusing his sins. . . . There is no true parallel between "state of innocency" and "days of villainy." Falstaff could have been in a state of grace, for he lives in the "years of grace." His argument quietly inverts the medieval *O felix culpa*! . . . The argument here [ll. 158-159] depends on a confusion of the literal and tropological meanings of "flesh" (the Pauline metaphysical use signifies "passions directed to the purely temporal").

159. more frailty.] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Falstaff applies a well-worn proverb that seems to be of Biblical origin (see *Psalms*, xxxix, 4; *Matthew*, xxvi, 41). He appeals to it again in *Merry Wives*, III. v. 43-44: 'Bid her think what a man is. Let her consider his frailty.'

164. *ghesse*] The Q1 form is not uncommon as a plural of *guest* (see *NED*). Compare *The True Tragedie of Richard III* (Furness *Variorum* ed., p. 518): ". . . when all thy guesse have tane their chambers."

165. *pacified still*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare Derrick in *Famous Victories*, ii. 57, 'Nay, I am quickly pacified.'

174-175. Rob . . . too] BALDWIN (1944, I, 571-572) endorses COWL's suggestion (ed. 1914) that these lines owe something to W. Lilly's *Shorte Introduction to Grammar*.

177-180. I haue . . . vnprovided] KÖKERITZ (*Eng. and Germ. Studies*, 1949-50, III, 58-59): This brief passage has no less than three different homonymic puns, all hitherto unnoticed. . . . The first obvious pun is *horse—whores*. . . . A *whore* is a *stale*, who may either *steal* or *stale* (in either sense, probably) well, whereas a *horse* will, of course, *stale* but hardly *steal* well. Nor is a *horse* likely to be a *thief*, though a *whore* may be one. But, we may ask, why should such a *thief*

184-185.] As prose: WIL.
 184-189.] As prose: NEIL, BALD, SH. (WALKER)
 185. *Westmerland*.] *Westmoreland*. Exit Bardolph RID. KIT. NEIL, BALD, ALEX. (DYCE) *Westmerland*. [Exit Bardolph.] SH.
 186. *Peto*] *Poins* KIT. WIL. SH. (DERING MS. JOHN. con.)
 187. *time*.] *time*. Exit Peto RID. NEIL, BALD, ALEX. (CAM.) *time*. [Exit Poins.] KIT. SH. (DYCE)
 188-189.] As prose: WIL.
 189. *of clocke*] *o'clock* RID. +. (THEOB.)
 193. *we or they*] *they or we* KIT. (Q4)
lie.] *lie*. Exit RID. KIT. NEIL, BALD, ALEX.
 SH. (DYCE) *lie*. [he follows Bardolph and Poins

WIL.

195. *drum*.] *drum!* Exit RID. NEIL. (VAR. '73) *drum*. Exit KIT. BALD, ALEX. SH. (CAP.) *drum*. [he goes WIL.

IV. i.

s.d.] A tent in the rebel camp near Shrewsbury

WIL.

s.d.] Enter Hotspur, Worcester, and Douglas
 RID. +. (Q2)

1. *Scot*.] Q4, Ff, ROWE, THEOB. ii, iii, WARB.
Scot: POPE, HAN. i, THEOB. i, iv, STA. SH. *Scot*.
 JOHN. VAR. '73, DEL. KIT. KIT. BALD, ALEX.
Scot! NEIL. WIL. *Scot*: CAP. et cet.

necessarily be *two* and *twentie* or *thereabout*? Why this sudden fastidiousness on the part of Falstaff? . . . Besides the regular word *thief*, there existed in Shakespeare's time another, now spelled *theave* (a backformation from the plural *thieves* or *theaves*) and still current in the dialects, including Warwickshire. It meant 'a female sheep of a particular age: most generally . . . a ewe of the first or second year, that has not yet borne a lamb' (NED); in the dialects it is also used figuratively of a young woman (EDD). The drift of Falstaff's remark now becomes perfectly clear: his use of *two* and *twentie*, doubtless with a suggestive pause after *two*, would immediately have brought home to the contemporary audience that a young, innocent woman was the kind of *thief* he was hankering for. . . . Finally we have the obscene pun *stealer—staler*. . . . Our dictionaries do not record any noun *staler*, derived from the verb *stale* 'to urinate,' in the same way as the slang-term *pisser* is derived from *piss*.

178-182. I would . . . them] WILSON (1943, p. 84): 'I see this is the time that the unjust man doth thrive; and if only I had a horse and a nimble-fingered batman, I might thrive well enough.' War is his great opportunity, a heaven-sent palliative—cure was beyond even Heaven's power—for that consumption of the purse which ever afflicts him. He is the Old Soldier on the make.

178. I would . . . horse] LANGSAM (1951, pp. 87-88) notes that, aside from the question of physical comfort, Falstaff would "have had a more dignified military rank and higher profits" with a charge of horse. He also notes that as a captain of infantry Falstaff would have been allowed one or more horses for his personal use.

187. thirty . . . time] WILSON (ed. 1946): This fixes the time of the scene as early morning.

195. I could wish . . . my drum] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): I could wish this tavern were the only drum that I must follow—that I could come to this tavern instead of following the drum to the field of battle. This is not cowardice. It is simply the old soldier's desire for ease and comfort—WILSON (ed. 1946): Falstaff quibbles on 'tavern' (Lat. 'taberna') and 'tabern' or 'tabor' (see NED 'taborn'). Compare *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 2-3 for the same quibble. The drum is a martial instrument, the tabor not; compare *Much Ado*, II. iii. 12-13, "no music with him but the drum and fife, and now had he rather hear the tabor and the fife."

IV. i.] R. WATKINS (1950, pp. 74, 91-92): Sometimes for a number of scenes one door becomes associated with one group of characters and the other with another. Thus in the prelude to Shrewsbury Field one door will be Hotspur's tent (perhaps with his pennant hoisted on the corresponding stage-post) and the other the King's. A critical point is the transit of Worcester and Vernon back to Hotspur from their embassy: I fancy they must enter through the Study curtains, and make the tour outside the posts towards Hotspur's "tent." . . . Shrewsbury Field, the climax of *Henry IV*, is a notable *tour-de-force*. The preliminaries, as we have seen, give some geographical clarity to the narrative: it may be that one Stage-Post bears the pennant of *Esperance*, and the other the Royal pennant. Prefaced by the "match-card," the oration to the troops, and an elaborate and moving ceremonial fanfare, the battle itself is brilliantly enriched—first by Blunt's masquerade and the insatiate Douglas' cry, "Ile murder all his Wardrobe peece by peece, Vntill I meet the King"; then by the Prince's rescue of his father, and by the suspense so well sustained, as we wonder if the madcap Hal will rise to the great occasion; by Falstaff's ironical mumbling commentary; by the master-stroke of his "fight" with Douglas, simultaneous with the clash of Hal and Hotspur, so that while we are still laughing at Falstaff's swift demise, the inevitable death of Hotspur shocks us with all the sudden dismay of the unexpected; and again by the

6. *do defie*] *defy* Krr. (Q2)
 12 s.d.] After *uel.*, line 13: RID. WIL. BALD.
 ALEX. SH.
 13-14.] Lines rearranged: RID. +. (CAP.)
 21. *bears*] *bear* RID. WIL. (Q7)
my mind.] *my lord.* RID. Krr. NEIL. WIL.
 BALD, ALEX. (CAP.) [SH. is the first editor to retain
 the reading of Q1Q2.]
 34. *Could not*] Part of line 33: RID. +. (CAP.)
 53b-54. *should.* . . . *reversion.*] Q1-4, Q7Q8. [Q9
 reads *should*, but drops lines 54-55.] *should.* . . .
reversion. Q5Q6, FF, ROWE, BALD. *should.* . . . *re-*
version. POPE, +, KIT. NEIL. ALEX. *should.* . . .
reversion. CAP. SING. DTC II, iii, HAL. II, HUDS. II.

- should.* . . . *reversion.* VAR. '78, '85, RAN. MAL.
 STREV. VARR. KNT. DEL. DTC I, STA. HAL. I.
 CAM. RID. *should.* . . . *reversion.* COLL. HUDS. I.
should. . . . *reversion.* KTYL. WIL. SH. [See Critical
 Notes.] *should.* . . . *reversion.* WIL. I. *should.*
 . . . *reversion.* WIL. II.
 55.] As two lines: RID. +. (VAR. '73)
tic] *Is* RID. +. (F1)
 69. *offring*] *offering* RID. BALD, SH. (F3)
 96. *dafi*] *daff* WIL. (HAN.)
 98. *with*] *wing* WIL. (ROWE)
 99. *Bated*] *Bated* KIT. ALEX. SH. (HEATH)
Bated. NEIL. BALD. (SING.)

vastly funny anti-climax of Falstaff's resurrection and his last triumphant trick of "killing" Percy.

7. *brauer*] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 172): Hotspur means 'There is no braver man than you, so no one has a better place in my heart.'

54. *reuerion.*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Most editions 'reversion' (taking 'Where' as 'Whereas'). The Q comma gives the sense: When an heir has a fair inheritance in prospect, he may boldly spend in advance. [See Textual Notes; the Dering MS. seems to support Wilson's reading, but its punctuation is too erratic to carry any weight.]

84. *As hart can thinke*] ANDERSON (SAB, 1937, XII, 246-251) shows how this expression goes back to the Aristotelian view (as opposed to the theory of Plato and Galen) that "mental faculties reside in the heart" and that, as a result, "the heart may be the seat of mental processes."

94-110. *where . . . horsemanship*] McAVOY (1952, p. 66): At first glance it would seem that Vernon's speech was a *comparatio*; but Shakespeare made a distinction according to Aphthonius' directions and Hotspur says "No more, no more! Worse than the sun in March, this praise doth nourish agues." Whether Shakespeare acquired the knowledge of this fine rhetorical distinction from Aphthonius or not, or whether he consciously made the distinction between *comparatio* and *laus* does not alter the fact that it was made.

95. *nimble footed*] WILSON (ed. 1946): But Hotspur is sarcastic; 'nimble-footed' suggests cowardice.

96-97. *And . . . passe*] TILLEY (1950), W879: Let the world wag (slide, pass).—KITREDGE (ed. 1940): 'Let the world pass' was a common exclamation of careless revellers: 'Don't worry about anything. Enjoy the present moment and let the serious affairs of life take care of themselves.'

97-102.] LEA and SEATON (RES, 1945, XXI, 319-322), while noting the passage in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), call attention to Chapman's lines in *De Guiana, Carmen Epicum*, a poem prefixed to Lawrence Keymis' *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (1956), and add: The final paragraph depicts the Queen sending forth Raleigh to his venture, 'Dismissing him to conuoy of his starres,' and the nobles escorting him to his fleet: 'where round about / His bating Colours English valure swarmes / In haste, . . . / And now a wind as forward as their spirits, / Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast, . . . / And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fieldes, / There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse books, / Nor Valure Estridge-like his yron armes' [Poems, ed. P. B. Bartlett, 1941, ll. 154-170]. Bating, wind, estridge-like; within ten lines of heroic purport the words occur; and it is more than likely that Shakespeare read the poem, if only to see what Chapman was up to now. And this was in the year before that in which *Henry IV* was first acted. If Shakespeare looked further through the prose narrative (and Falstaff's later praise of Mistress Page (*Merry Wives*, I. iii. 65-66) suggests that he did: 'A region in Guiana, all gold and bounty'), then his eye might well be caught by scattered sentences such as these: 'the *Amapagotos* have images of gold of incredible bignesse, and gratee store of unmanned horses of the *Caracas* breed'; or, the Indians 'refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades'; or again, 'a Frier . . . brought with him Eagles, idols, and other jewels of golde' . . . The significance of the simile 'Glittering in golden coates like images' is undoubtedly given a new turn. It is more likely that just then the pagan idols of the New World were in Shakespeare's mind, rather than, as has been suggested, the images of saints in rich vestments. [But note Nashe (ed. McKerrow, 1910, III, 194): "No such *Iupiter*, no such golden coated image was there" (also II, 136, 238; III, 193) and John Bale's *King Johan* (ed. J. S. Farmer, 1907, p. 225):

"Of the pagans ye have your gilded images all."—COWL (*Sources* [continued], 1929, pp. 1-2) compares Suetonius' life of Vitellius: "Narcissi . . . et Pallantis *imagines aureas* inter Lores coluit." —BYRNE (*TLS*, June 1, 1946, p. 259) also denies the association with "gilded images of the saints . . . decked out in rich vestments": The answer, I suggest, is that by "images" Shakespeare means what we would call sepulchral effigies. "Image" is the word used throughout the sixteenth century (and earlier) for the portrait statues and statuettes of mourners on funeral monuments, as well as for incised and gilded flat brasses. . . . To intensify the goldenness of armour, so that what is basically russet-with-gold becomes to the eye of imagination all solid gleaming gold, what more suggestive comparison could be used? Further, the specifically metallic quality of the golden effigies jumps with the idea of armour in a way that neither the gilded plaster nor the wood nor the stone of the images of saints could possibly do.—WILSON (ed. 1946): Shakespeare was clearly inspired by Daniel's description of the Prince at Shrewsbury, *Civil Wars*, iii. 110.

97-109. All furnish . . . Pegasus] KNIGHT (1936, p. 62 n.) commenting on *Hamlet*, III. iv. 55-62, compares these lines: Observe its 'bird' and 'Mercury' images, and the way lightness of action is conveyed by light vowel sounds: *estrildges, wind, glittering, images, spirit, cuisses, thighs*, etc. Contrast with these lines from Hotspur's answer [II. 119-123]. . . . The difference between the 'characters' of Hotspur and Prince Hal is here a matter of vowel sounds.—CLEMEN (1951, p. 77): [See] Vernon's description of the approach of the enemy; here we have a sequence of nine images in thirteen lines. These images are generally not carried out, but are just hinted at. The image which is merely suggested is a further sign of the intensive penetration of the language by the "imagery-consciousness." The whole image has sunk beneath the surface, as it were, and has left behind it only one or two ideas connected with it.—W. B. WATKINS (1950, p. 102) considers these lines an unsuccessful attempt to "lift Prince Hal by his own bootstraps into a heroic figure."

98-99. All plumde . . . bathd] RIPLEY (ed. 1935): Another possibility . . . is that the *estrildges* were a first thought, rejected but inadequately cancelled, and that we should in fact read:—*All plum'd like eagles having lately bath'd*.—WILSON (ed. 1946): [Bathed] means 'refreshed' or 'renewed'; compare Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (1598), 39, 'Come sleep . . . The baiting-place of wit, the balm of woe,' and *Hamlet* III. iii. 79. [COWL, *King Henry IV and Other Plays*, n.d., p. 10, first advanced the meaning of "refreshed" for "bathed"; HEMINGWAY, pp. 256-257 quotes only from COWL's *Notes on Henry IV*, p. 3, where the meaning of "bathed" is more implied than stated.] If we accept 'wing' [Rowe's conjecture], the sense therefore is: The Prince and his comrades, with casques and chargers decked out in Prince of Wales's feathers, seem like ostriches sailing before the wind, or like fresh-plumed eagles newly risen from the sea. And that this is what Shakespeare intended is confirmed by the discovery of passages which furnished him with the two images involved; [he quotes the passage from Nashe (see HEMINGWAY, p. 257)]. . . . A close connexion is indisputable. In both we have plumes fanned by the wind, a horse like Pegasus, eagles as well as ostriches, while Nashe's 'wings . . . spread full saile' and 'saile-assisted race' give us the clue to Shakespeare's 'estrildges that wing the wind.' [He quotes the passage from Spenser (see HEMINGWAY, p. 256).] . . . Here is the source of 'bathed like eagles,' and of the introduction of the Prince of Wales's feathers, while the notion of moral regeneration is implicit in both Shakespeare and Spenser. [See also Nashe (ed. McKerrow, 1904, II, 68): "Heere lay they halfe dead, bayting and bathing in their wounds" where again "bait" and "bathe" are combined.] . . . Many gloss 'estrildge' as 'goshawk,' but the evidence for this is weak, while goshawks do not yield Prince of Wales's feathers. [For a conflicting view on the Prince of Wales's feathers, see below, V. iv. 96.]—SCHULTZ (Univ. of Texas *Stud. in Eng.*, 1938, XVIII, 187): The lines . . . contain a lively image of a cast of fine goshawks fluttering and "bating," their plumage ruffled by the wind, as imposing a sight as an eagle preening his still-damp feathers. If, thinking of ostriches, we emend to "wing the wind" or "wing with the wind" as some editors do, we must continue "Bated (adj.) like eagles," which is nonsense.—EAGLE (*N&Q*, 1951, CXCVI, 369): There is a letter from Bacon to Essex dated July, 1600 (see [Thomas] Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* [1754], II, 457), in which "estrildge" applies to the goshawk. This is the largest of the hawks and, for that reason, "estrildge" (or ostrich) was considered applicable. Similarly the largest of the horned owls is known as the "eagle owl."—NOWOTNY (in *Works*, 1953, ed. C. J. Sisson, p. xxiii): The relative "that" could express causal connexion; the sense of the passage is that the army seemed a moving mass of ostrich-plumes in that their plumes tossed and fluttered ("bathed") in the wind.

105. *cushes*] *cusses* RID. NEIL. SIS. (POPE)
 106. *feathered*] *feather'd* RID. WIL. BALD. ?SIS.
 (ROWE)
 108. *drop*] *dropp'd* RID. + (?SIS.). (Q2)
 116. *alters*] *altar* KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX.
 SIS. (Q4)
 122. *shal hot*] *shall, hot* RID. +. (JOHNS.)
 124b-125. *newes*. . . *along*.] Q1-8. *news*: . . .
along. VAR. *news*. . . *along*, KTLY. KIT. NEIL. WIL.
 ALEX. SIS. *news*; . . . *along*, BALD. *news*: . . . *along*,
 Ff, Q9, ROWE, et cet.
 126. *can*] *cannot* RID. +. (Q5)
 127. *it*.] *yet*. RID. +. (Q5)

IV. ii.

- s.d. Falstaffe, Bardoll.] *Falstaff*, in quilted
 leather jack-coat and with a pistol-case slung at his
 belt, talking with *Bardolph* WIL.
 2. *Sacke*.] *suck*. KIT. NEIL. ALEX. (JOHNS.; POPE,
suck:.) [Note, however, that BALD and SIS. read
Coventry; (ROWE) in line 1.]
 3. *cophill*] *Cop-hill* RID. *Co'fil'* KIT. WIL. ALEX.
 (CAM.) *Cophill* NEIL. BALD. -*Cofil* SIS.
to night.] *to-night*. [he gives him a bottle
 WIL.
 7. *and*] *an* RID. KIT.
 14-15. *Yeo-/ mans*] Q1, DERING MS. CAM. i,
 WH. ii, NEIL. *Yeomens* Q2, et cet.
 16. *banes*] *banns* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX.

- SIS. (THEOB. iv)
 17. *lieue*] *lief* ALEX. (Q7)
 27. *tapsters*, and *Outlers*, *trade-falne*.] *tapsters*, and
outlers, *trade-fallen*, RID. *tapsters*, and *outlers* *trade-*
fall'n; KIT. ALEX. (WARR.) *tapsters*, and *outlers*
trade-fallen, WIL. SIS. (POPE) *tapsters* and *outlers*
trade-fallen, NEIL. BALD. (Q4)
 29. *olde fasz'd*] *old fac'd* RID. KIT. (Q6) *old*
feaz'd NEIL. (TUD.) *old fazed* WIL. BALD. SIS. (Q3)
old-fac'd ALEX. (F1)
 30. *as*] *that* RID. KIT. BALD. (F1)
 32. *tottered*] *tatter'd* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ?SIS.
 (F3) *tattered* KIT. ALEX. (VAR. '03)
 39. *nor*] *but* KIT. NEIL. BALD. (ROWE)
 43. *stolne*] *stolen* RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. SIS.
 (VAR. '73)
Albones] *Alban's* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD.
 (CAP.) *Albans* ALEX. SIS. (Q8)
 45 s.d. Enter . . . Westmerland.] Prince Henry
 and Westmoreland come up from behind WIL.
 53. *all night*] *all, to-night* KIT. (F1, WIL. i)
 59. *Falst.*] *Falstaff*. [proud] WIL.
 70. *in the*] *on the* RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. SIS.
 (Q3)
 73. *long*.] *long*. [Exit.] KIT. ALEX. SIS. (CAP.)
long. [he hurries forward WIL.
 74-75.] As verse: RID. +. (POPE)
 75 s.d. *Exeunt*.] Exit. KIT. ALEX. SIS. (CAP.) [he
 follows WIL.

104-110.] BALDWIN (PQ, 1941, XX, 361-370) traces the schoolbook background, in Ovid, which causes Sh. to substitute Perseus for Bellerophon as the master of Pegasus.

106. feathered Mercury] WILSON (ed. 1946): Alluding to his winged cap.

112. *agues*] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 167): 'Worse than the March sun nourishes malaria (NED 2) your praise of the enemy gives me the shudders (NED 3).'

124-127. Oh that Glendower . . . it] WILSON (ed. 1946): Shakespeare seems to follow *Civil Wars* [1595], iii. 99 [rather than Hall or Holinshed], which relates that the King marched too quickly for the Welsh to arrive in time. This is historically correct (see J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* [1931], pp. 70-71); but whence did Daniel learn it?

135-136. out of feare . . . year] WILSON (ed. 1946): Is Douglas, Macbeth-like, relying on some soothsayer's prophecy?

IV. ii. 4-6. Will you . . . angel] LANGSAM (1951, p. 90) points out Falstaff does not "supply [Bardolph] with money for the necessary expenditures for moving his company. Bardolph must 'lay out' for him."

26. *vniust seruimgmen*] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare *Luke*, xvi, 8, 'the unjust (= dishonest) steward.'

39. out of prison] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): It was common to release convicts on condition of their enlisting.—WILSON (ed. 1946): The Privy Council emptied the London prisons in 1596 to furnish recruits for the Cadiz expedition.

40-41. two napkins] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, I. i. 36-38 (ed. Lucas [1927], II, 38): 'I fell into the Gallies in your service, where, for two yeares together, I wore two Towells in stead of a shirt, with a knot on the shoulder, after the fashion of a Romaine Mantle.'

54-57. Tut . . . butter] KÖKERITZ (Eng. and Germ. Studies, 1949-50, III, 57): *Steal cream* is merely one way of writing (ste:l kre:m). Another is *stale cream*, which the Prince is clearly implying with his reference to *butter*. For in those days, as still in many rural districts, butter was made from 'stale' or sour cream. . . . While this fully explains the otherwise rather inane use of *butter*, I suspect nevertheless that some uncomplimentary gibe at Falstaff is implied in the Prince's words. Falstaff's fatness, perhaps, or rather his skill in looking after his own interests at the expense of others.

70. bare] KÖKERITZ (1953, pp. 94-95) suggests a pun here on *bareness* and *leanness*.

IV. iii.

13.] As two lines: RID. +. (F₁)

17. I . . . much] As part of line 16: RID. +. (T.J.)

21. horses] horse RID. +. (Q₅)

24. of] Om. WIL. (STEEV.)

28. our] ours RID. +. (Q₆)72. heirs, as Pages] heirs as pages, KIT. NEIL.
WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (SING.)82. Country] country's RID. +. (Q₅)92-93. state, . . . worse,] Q₁, RID. state: . . .
worse Q₄. State. . . worse, FF, Q₉, ROWE, POPE,
THEOB. HAN. VARR. RAN. KITLY. NEIL. state: . . .
worse, Q₂, et cet.93. suffer'd] suffer'd RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ?SIS.
(F₁)99. mine] my SIS. (Q₅)107. a while] awhile KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS.
(VAR. '03)113b. do.] do. EXCURT RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD,
ALEX. SIS. (F₁) do. [they withdraw WIL.]

IV. iv.

s.d. Mighell] Michael RID. +. (Q₇) [So through-
out the scene.]

6.] As two lines: RID. +. (VAR. '73)

18. ouerrulde] o'er-ruled RID. (SING.) o'er-ru'd
NEIL. WIL. ALEX. (T.J. ii)

22. Douglas] the Douglas WIL. (CAP.)

34-35. fears, . . . worst,] Q₄, FF, ROWE, COLL.
DEL. BALD. fear. . . worst, POPE +, WIL. SIS.
fear; . . . worst, CAP. et cet. [Scene om. Q₉.]

V. i.

s.d. Prince of Wales] Prince Henry (his helm
fluttering with ostrich-feathers) WIL.s.d. Earle of Westmerland] Om. RID. +. (DER-
ING MS. HAN.)

IV. iii. 1. Weele fight . . . to night] WILSON (ed. 1946): Compare the dispute before Actium, Antony and Cleopatra, III. vii. 28-29, before Philippi, Julius Caesar, IV. iii. 196, and of the rebels in I. iii of 1 Henry IV.

2. then] RIDLEY (ed. 1935): I.e. 'if you wait' (The retort is to Worcester not to Hotspur.)

27. ours] WILSON (ed. 1946): Q is possibly correct; . . . see [O.] Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar* [1914], II, 16.27.

29 s.d.] WILSON (ed. 1946): 'The trumpet' = the trumpeter of the theatre.

81-84. Cries out . . . angle for] NOBLE (1935, p. 174): Compare Henry's own confession (III. ii. 50-52 and 2 Samuel, xv, 5, 6). See also 2 Samuel, xv, 2, 3, 4. . . . Shakespeare connected Bolingbroke's conduct in Richard II (I. iv. 23-28) with Absalom.

92. in the necke of that] KITTRIDGE (ed. 1940): Immediately after that. Compare Sonnet CXXXI: 'A thousand groans, . . . One on another's neck'; *A Warning for Faire Women* (ed. Simpson [1878], II, 267): 'In the neck of this I will devise Some stratagem.'

IV. iv. sir Mighell] WILSON (ed. 1946): The uncommon spelling 'Mighell,' not found elsewhere in Shakespeare, occurs twice in Nashe ([ed.] McKerrow [1910], III, 88, lines 17, 26). [The usual assumption that Sir Michael is a priest is I think at least questionable. The Archbishop addresses him more as he would a military man and Sir Michael himself shows obvious knowledge of the military situation and speaks more like a soldier than a priest (see II. 21-22, 24-26, 33). —HARRISON (ed. 1948) notes the possibility that he may be a knight.]

V. i. 1. How bloudily] KITTRIDGE (ed. 1940): A red sun at dawn is a traditional sign of stormy weather. An old rhyme, still current, runs thus: 'Red sky in the morning / Sailors take warning; / Red sky at night, / Sailors' delight. . . . See APPERSON, *English Proverbs* [1929], pp. 526, 527 [and TILLEY (1950), M1175]. —WILSON (ed. 1946): An appropriate opening for a battle-scene. —KNIGHT (1932, p. 38) discussing the tempest as symbol of disorder and tragedy: The problem is acute and interesting. If disorder is a 'tempest,' objectively, the tempest relates ultimately to neither party, but only to their antagonistic relation; and yet, without a subject to experience the sense of disorder, there is no proper tempest or, indeed, any real disorder. There will only be a sense of disorder and tragedy to the loser. This difficulty is at the root of the complex pattern of *Julius Caesar*.

2. busky] SHAAER (MLN, 1939, LIV, 276-278): [See HEMINGWAY, Textual Notes, p. 284.] The Cambridge editors unequivocally state that *bulky* is the reading of their copy and the word is *bulky* in the Ashbee and the Griggs facsimiles. A confirmation of Professor Hemingway's doubts may be found in the fact that it was not the custom of Elizabethan printers to set up a long-s before k. . . . I note two facts which may have some bearing on the likelihood that *bulky* is the word that Shakespeare chose. The first is that *bulk* is a word well known to him; it occurs sixteen times [used in line 63 below] in Bartlett's concordance and is sometimes used metaphorically of a thing of great size looming up before the speaker. . . . Secondly, if *bulky* is what Shakespeare wrote, the word is his own invention. The earliest example of it quoted by the NED is seventy-five years later. As a neologism, *bulky* would certainly have had for Shakespeare and his contemporaries none of those prosaic connotations which it has for us. [See The Text, p. 46, for further comment.]

3. *distemperature*] *distemperature* RID. NEIL. BALD. SIS. (Q3)
 6. *blustering*] *blustering* RID. BALD. SIS. (Q5)
 8 s.d. Worcester] Worcester and Vernon RID.
 KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (THEOB.)
 25. *I protest*] *I do protest* KIT. NEIL. BALD. (F1)
 42, 58. *Duncaster*] *Doncaster* RID. +. (F1)
 44. *new false*] *new-fall'n* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX. (Q7) *new-fallen* SIS.
 47. *showring*] *showering* RID. BALD. SIS. (VAR. '73)
 54. *dead*:] *dead*—KIT. (CAP.) *dead*, SIS. (Q4)
 56. *wood*] *wool'd* RID. + (?SIS.). (F1)
 76. *changlings*] *changelings* RID. +. (Q2)
 81. *time*:] *time* RID. +. (F1)
 83. *your*] *our* KIT. WIL. (F1)
 88. *off*] *off* RID. +. (F1)
 90. *active, valiant*] *active-valiant* KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS. (THEOB.)
valiant yong] *valiant-young* KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS. (THEOB.)
 113. *troubled*] *troubled* WIL. BALD. ?SIS. (CAP. *troub'd*)
 114 s.d. Worcester.] Worcester and Vernon RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS. (THEOB.)
 120. *iust*:] *just*] [they disperse to their commands; Falstaff plucks the Prince by the sleeve as he turns away WIL.
 121-124.] As prose: RID. +. (POPE)
 122. *me, so, his*] Q1-3. RID. WIL. SIS. *me, so, sis*
 Q4. *me so, sis* Q5-8. *me, so*] 'Tis KIT. *me, so*; 'tis Ff, Q9, ROWE, et cetera.
 126. *death*:] *death*. Exit RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS. (HAN.) *death*. [he hurries off WIL.
 131. *then*] *then*? RID. +. (Q2)
 133-134. *in . . . honour?*] *that word honor?* KIT. (Q4, Q5)
in that word honor?] *in that word?*
 Honour. ALEX. (Q2)
 135. *a Wednesday*] *o'Wednesday* RID. NEIL. BALD. ALEX. (HAN.) *a-Wednesday* WIL.
 137. *will not*] *will it not* RID. +. (Q2)

19. exhalde meteor] TILLYARD (1944, p. 293): Worcester is hidden cease being a disorderly thing, a meteor or comet, and become once again a planet revolving round the sun-king with orderly and predictable motion.—WILSON (ed. 1946): Not moving in an 'obedient orb,' comets were 'disastrous' and therefore ill-omened.

28. lay . . . found it] WILSON (ed. 1946): The thief's excuse when discovered in possession of stolen goods.

29. Peace chewet, peace] PALMER (1945, p. 194): Henry's rebuke is touchingly conveyed. He is human enough to realise that there is much to be said for the comic approach. His use of the familiar word 'chewet,' which to the Elizabethans carried a simultaneous suggestion of a magpie and of minced meat dressed with butter, is very companionable. He is not reproving an impertinence, but deprecating a levity with which he is secretly inclined to sympathise.

59-66.] BALDWIN (1935, pp. 157-163) argues that Sh. here and in *Lear* is using not Holland's translation but the original Pliny. He argues further (pp. 163-182) that Sh. cannot be shown to have used Holland's translation at all, even in *Othello*.

66-69. head . . . vsage] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Army, by means of which we now stand in opposition to you, induced by causes that you yourself have contrived against yourself by your unnatural treatment of us.

85-95. tell . . . too] BALDWIN (1944, II, 333), commenting also on V. ii. 56-65: These chivalric qualities, "the duties of a man," are that Hotspur is valiant, active, young, daring, bold, resulting in "noble deeds." So Hal praises Hotspur by the qualities of his mind and body, together with his noble deeds. These are such things as a "chronicle" would record. They are also such things as Aphthonius [Chapter VIII, *Laus*] taught a boy to look for; and it was Aphthonius, not the chronicles, who taught this system of procedure.

100. single fight] WILSON (ed. 1946): This challenge, Shakespeare's invention, is in keeping with Elizabethan ideas; compare Essex's challenge at Rouen, January, 1592 ([E. P.] Cheyney [*A History of England, 1588-1603*, 1914], I, 275).

123. Colossus] THOMPSON (1952, p. 101): A statue of Helios (the Sun), 280 feet high, which stood at the entrance to Rhodes harbour. It was brought down by an earthquake in 222 B.C. . . . The memory of it long survived and produced some false beliefs, particularly the belief that ships entering the harbour sailed between its legs. . . . The Colossus is described in Pliny, XXXIV. 7. 18.

125. I would . . . well] ELSON (*SP*, 1935, XXXII, 185), seeking to show Sh.'s indebtedness in Falstaff to Tresilian in *Richard II*, notes his comment [Malone Society ed. [1929], II. 2337-2338]: ". . . would all were well / a (1000) dangers round inclose o' state."

126. owest God a death] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): The origin of the phrase is indicated by the celebrated preacher, Henry Smith (died 1591) in *A Comfortable Speech (Sermons, 1609, p. 598)*: 'I owe God a death, as his Sonne died for me.'

127-128. I would . . . his day] TILLEY (1950), T290: He does not desire to die before his time.

127-139.] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Those critics who take Falstaff's 'catechism' as a serious con-

V. ii.

s.d. Enter . . . Vernon.] Worcester and Vernon
 approach, returning from the King Wil.

3. under one] andone RID. +. (Q5)

8.] As two lines, ending full / eyes: WIL.
 Supposition] Suspicion RID. KTT. BALD.
 (Rowe iii)

fession of faith, and therefore as proof of cowardice, lack a sense of humour. What it expresses is the half-cynical mood of a veteran soldier who has outlived the romance of warfare. The contrast with the Prince's untried eagerness for single combat with Percy is complete. No doubt Shakespeare remembered the soliloquy of Basilisco (see *King John*, I. i. 244: 'Knight, knight, good mother, Basilisco-like!'), the boastful coward in *Soliman and Perseda*, V. iii. 63 ff. (Kyd [*Works*], ed. [F. S.] Boas [1901], pp. 223-224), but Falstaff is no Basilisco. [This last important parallel was first pointed out by E. E. STOLL, *Shakespearean Studies*, 1927, p. 459.]—BORGES (Romanic Review, 1941, XXXII, 45-55) reviews treatments of the theme of the "dishonor of honor" from the *capitoli* of Giovanni Mauro (?1490-1536) through Tasso, particularly his chorus at the end of act one of the *Aminta*, and suggests, silently following COWL, that Falstaff's speech on honor is "a paraphrase of Tasso's words transmitted to Shakespeare through the channel" of Samuel Daniel's translation of this part of the *Aminta* in "A Pastorall," a poem appearing at the end of *Delia*, 1592. [See HEMINGWAY, p. 297.] He notes that the earlier translation of Tasso's chorus by Abraham Fraunce (*The Countesse of Pembroke's Iuychurch*, 1591, sig. C2^r) omits the most significant passage.—KENNEDY (1942, pp. 106, 211): In the two *Henry IV* plays, Shakespeare introduced a forensic, one in each [V. i and V. ii], very simple in structure but successfully argumentative in tone. . . . Falstaff's speech . . . , while not recalling any of the speeches of Wilson, suggests Wilson's method of "examining the circumstances," the end of the speech. Falstaff's [series of questions and answers] . . . recalls the series of the questions and answers appended by [Thomas] Wilson [*Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560, ed. G. H. Mair [1909], pp. 18-20] to his Example of commending King David.—WILSON (ed. 1946): It is difficult to believe that Falstaff's speech on Honour owes nothing to Montaigne's almost equally famous essay on Glory.—JOSEPH (1947, p. 214): Anthypophora is a reasoning with self, asking questions and answering them oneself, as Falstaff does in his catechism of honor.—CRAIG (ed. 1951): Falstaff's famous soliloquy on honor, though characteristic of him, is to be regarded, in some measure, as a speech inserted to amuse the audience.

129-130. prickes . . . prickie] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 174): The play 'prick on' (incite, NED 10 fig.) and 'prick off' is obvious. There is also play on senses of 'prick off': 'to tick off on a list' (NED 15) as condemned, compare 'prick down' . . . and 'to wound' (NED 1) 'to a finish' (NED Off adv 5). [See Prefatory Note, pp. i-ii.]

130. prickie me off] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Check my name off the list (of living men).—WILSON (ed. 1946): The idea of the little hole (made by a bullet or rapier as by the pin on the paper list) is probably also present.

131. can honor] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Here Falstaff begins to speak in the tone and manner of a person catechizing a boy; and, in the answers, he imitates the boy who speaks mechanically, having learned them by heart.

131-136.] LOTHIAN (MLR, 1930, XXV, 419) compares Aretino's *Hipocrito*, V. vii (pp. 273b-274, ed. 1588).

134. what . . . aire] BETHELL (*Anglia*, 1952, LXXI, 96): This is one of the oldest sophsistries, to confuse the notion signified with the signifying word. . . . *Flatus vocis*, the extreme Nominalists said. . . . It is the evacuation of all spiritual significance from life.

135-137. doth he feeble . . . dead] BALDWIN (1944, I, 679): If this passage in Palingenius ["Fama quid est, si nil delectat fama sepultos?" *Zodiacus Vitae*, 1574, p. 52] stood alone, we should be obliged simply to consider it as a parallel. But since it is in connection with a passage [*Tempest*, IV. i. 152-158] which Shakspeare is known to have used in detail, I believe we are entitled to feel certain that he got here at least part of his idea for Falstaff's catechism upon honor—the idea and some suggestion for the phraseology of the heart of the idea. It is true, of course, that the borrowing in the *Tempest* is much later than that in *Henry IV*, but the knowledge which enabled Shakspeare in both cases to borrow doubtless went back to grammar school days.

V. ii. 8. Supposition] WILSON (ed. 1946): 'Suspicion' (Rowe and most editors). But 'Supposition' (= Rumour = Virgil's Fama) is the sense required. Compare *2 Henry IV*, Induction, 'Enter Rumour painted full of tongues.'

10. *neuer*] *ne'er* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. (F1)
 19. *hair-brain'd*] *hare-brain'd* RID. +, (F2)
 25 s.d. Enter Percy.] After line 27: RID. NEIL.
 WIL. BALD, ALEX. (F1) After line 26: SIS.
 s.d. Percy.] Hotspur and Douglas RID. KIT.
 NEIL. BALD, ALEX. (ROWE) *Hotspur and Douglas*,
 with officers and soldiers come to meet them WIL.
Hotspur and Douglas with Officers and Soldiers. SIS.
 26-27.] As two lines: RID. +, (F1)
 51. *shewed*] *show'd* RID. + (?SIS.). (Q3)
 60. *valued*] *valued* WIL. BALD, ?SIS. (F1,
valetu'd)
 64. *master'd*] *master'd* RID. BALD, SIS. (ROWE)
 69. *misconstrued*] *misconstrued* WIL. BALD, ?SIS.
 (CAP. *misconstru'd*)
 71. On] Upon KIT. WIL. (POPE)
 72. *libertie*] *libertine* KIT. BALD. (CAP.)
 78. Then] Than RID. +, (F2)
 86. And] An RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS.
 (CAP.)
 89 s.d. Enter another.] Enter another Messenger
 RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (F1) Another mes-
 senger hurries up WIL.
 93. *a sword*] As part of line 94: RID. +, (POPE)
 95. *withall*.] *withal* RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD,
 ALEX. (CAP.) *withal*. RID. +, (Q2)
 96. *day*.] *day*. RID. +, (Q2)
 101 s.d. Here . . . sound.] The trumpets sound.
 They embrace, and exeunt RID. BALD. (HAN.) Here
 . . . sound. [EXEUNT.] KIT. ALEX. (ROWE) They
 embrace [and exeunt]. NEIL. (TUD.) 'The trumpets
 sound.' They embrace, and depart in haste to arm

WIL. Trumpets sound, EXEUNT SIS.

V. iii.

s.d.] New scene here: RID. +, (POPE) [RID. com-
 bines scenes iii, iv, and v into one long scene, but
 retains separate line numbering as in other editions.
 WIL. indicates no separate settings for scenes iii, iv,
 and v, but carries over his setting for scene ii: A
 plain near the rebel camp. SIS. places scene numbers
 for iv and v in square brackets.]

(101) s.d. the king . . . Blunt.] 'The king enters
 with his power' and marches past. 'Alarum to battle.
 Then enter Douglas and Sir Walter Blunt' (disguised
 as the king) fighting; they pause WIL. [NEIL. ALEX.
 SIS. also indicate exit of King and army, but only
 SIS. notes Blunt's disguise.]

1-2.] As two and one-half lines: RID. +, (HAN.)

1. in] in the RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD. (T.J.)

16. *won here*.] *won*; *here* RID. NEIL. BALD,
 ALEX. (Q2, CAP.) *won*. Here KIT. *won!* Here WIL.
won, here SIS.

22. *Ah foole*.] *A fool* RID. KIT. WIL. ALEX.
 (CAP.) *Ah!* "fool" NEIL. (VAUGHAN) [DERING MS.
 reads: *Ah: foole:*]

23. *borrowed*] *borrow'd* RID. WIL. BALD, ?SIS.
 (ROWE)

29. *day*.] *day*. EXEUNT RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD,
 ALEX. SIS. (F1) [they rejoin the forces WIL.

35-36. *rag of Muffins*] *ragamuffins* RID. NEIL.

WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (CAP.) *rag-of-muffins* KIT.

39. *stands*] *stand'st* RID. KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX.
 SIS. (Q2)

29. Deliuir . . . Westmerland] WILSON (ed. 1946): We have not yet been told that West-
 moreland is the 'paw'n' (IV. iii. 108); and this command can hardly be theatrically intelligible.
 The obscurity may be the result of revision.

56-65. He . . . instantly] BALDWIN (1944, II, 332) [see also V. i. 85-95]: Shakspeare's technical
 term for the Aphthonian type [Chapter IX, *Vituperatio*] is dispraise. . . Prince Hal follows proper
 procedure in praising Hotspur and dispraising himself. . . In this double spirit of teaching and
 learning, Prince Hal has bestowed on Hotspur "all the duties of a man" in his praises; and in
 comparison he has dispraised himself.

70. *enamored*] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 182): 'Enamored' means 'charmed' (NED 2), but
 the stronger sense 'in love with' is present in the background, forming a link in the association-
 train 'sweete-wantonnesse-enamored-follies-libertie-night-imbrace.'

72. *a libertie*] WILSON (ed. 1946): A licence (compare *Measure for Measure*, I. iii. 29).

V. iii. 22. *Ah foole . . . soule*] BARCOCK (SQ, 1951, II, 214): Shakspeare's use of "soul" in an
 equivocal is most interesting. . . Douglas says to the dead Blount, whom he has slain in the
 likeness of the king, as the Quarto gives it: "Ah foole, goe with thy soule whither it goes." Here the
 fool-fowl association suggests that "soul" is used [to mean a part of the viscera of a cooked fowl]
 . . . and I suspect that the pronunciation of "goes" in Elizabethan days was enough like that of
 "goose" to allow us to see a conscious pun.

30-31. *shot-free . . . shot*] KÖKERITZ (1953, p. 146): An audience, familiar with *shot-free* and
scot-free (for which see NED), would have caught the subtle play on *shot-Scot*, even if the actor
 said *shot*.

33. *heres no vanitie*] TAYLOR (SAB, 1937, XII, 166): If . . . "no" is used ironically, Shakspeare
 would have written, not "here," but, as in the preceding lines, "there." The meaning is much
 simpler if "here" refers to Falstaff, pointing to himself, in contrast to Sir Walter Blount. Falstaff
 goes on to say that he (Falstaff) is not empty but heavy. . . "Here's no vanity" means "I am
 not light."

39-54. What . . . dally now?] WILSON (ed. 1946): This seems to me a clear example of verse
 prosified in revision.

40. *noble man*] *nobleman* KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (F1)

42-43.] As one and one-half lines: KIT. SIS. (DYCE II) [WIL. adheres exactly to Q1; ALEX.'s arrangement is ambiguous; RID. NEIL. BALD give as a single line of verse.]

44. *a while*] *awhile* KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (?F1, ?F2, KNT.)

46. *I haue paid . . . sure.*] As a line of verse: WIL.

47-48.] As prose: NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (CAM.)
49. *gets*] *get'st* RID. KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. (Q2)

51. *me, what?*] *me: what?* Q2-8. *me. What,* JOHNS. VAR. '73, COLL. DEL. WH. I, KIT. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. SIS. *me: What!* HUDS. I. *me: What!* KTYL. *me; what* BALD. *me: What,* FF, Q9, ROWE, et cel.

55. *if*] [*aside*] *If* WIL.

60. *end.*] *end.* Exit RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (F1) *end.* [he goes WIL.

V. iv.

s.d. Prince,] *Prince,* wounded in the cheek, WIL. 1-2.] As verse: RID. KIT. NEIL. WIL. BALD, ALEX. (STEEV.); SIS. (MAL.)

bleedes] *bleed'st* RID. BALD, SIS. (CAP.)

5. *I*] *I do* KIT. (POPE)

7-8.] As verse: RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (F1)

9. *ile*] *I will* SIS. (CAP.)

16. *come.*] *come.* Exeunt Prince John and Westmoreland RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, ALEX. *come.* [Lancaster and Westmoreland hurry forward WIL. *come.* Exeunt Prince John and Westmoreland. SIS.

24. As two half-lines: RID. +. (POPE)

s.d. Exit.] Exit Enter Douglas RID. +. (F1)

34. *thee and*] *thee,* and RID. *thee.* So KIT. (F1, *thee: so*) *thee;* [so.] NEIL. WIL. ALEX. *thee; so* BALD. *thee, so* SIS. (Q2, F1)

36. *bearest*] *bear'st* RID. NEIL. WIL. (Q6)

47. *breath*] *breathe* RID. +. (Q2)

a while] *awhile* RID. KIT. WIL. BALD, ALEX. SIS. (?F1, ?F2, VAR. '73, *a-while*)

48. *redeemed*] *redeem'd* RID. +. (?SIS.). (Q5)

52. *harkned*] *harken'd* RID. BALD, ?SIS. (POPE)

62.] As half-line and full line: RID. +. (ROWE III)

68. *Now*] *Nor* RID. +. (F1)

76 s.d. he falls] who falls RID. +. (F1)
dead,] dead, and exit Douglas. RID. KIT. NEIL. BALD, SIS. (CAP.) dead; he passes on. WIL. dead; Douglas withdraws. ALEX.

the Prince . . . Percy.] Hotspur is wounded and falls. NEIL. WIL. ALEX. (MAL.)

81. *thoughts the slauer*] *thoughts, the slauer* NEIL. ALEX. *thought's the slauer* WIL. BALD, SIS. (Q2) [Note that the 1930 ARD. restores the Q1 reading.]

86. *for.*] *for—* Dies RID. +. (F1)

45. Turke Gregorie] WILSON (ed. 1946): The context demands a bloodthirsty tyrant, credited with some great massacre, such as Falstaff pretends to have executed upon the rebels. Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85), inveterate foe of England, who blessed if he did not instigate the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and promised plenary indulgence to anyone who would murder Elizabeth, fills the bill. And in 1579 he was figuring with Nero and the Grand Turk as one of 'The Three Tyrants of the World' in coloured prints sold on the streets of London (see [J. E.] Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* [1934], pp. 225, 248; [J. B.] Black, *Reign of Elizabeth* [1936], pp. 144, 304).—CRAIG (ed. 1951): A sort of combined allusion to the famous pope Gregory the Great, and to the Grand Turk.

46. paid Percy] WILSON (ed. 1946): Killed Percy. Falstaff's imagination is already playing with the idea.

51. *what? . . . case?*] WILSON (ed. 1946): It should have been primed for instant use and not in the holster. Falstaff pretends he has put it up to cool after much firing.

59-60. an end] WILSON (ed. 1946): Of (a) my words, and (b) my life.

V. iv. 13. staid] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 165): 'Scratch' and 'massacres' suggest 'discoloured with blood' for 'stained' (NED 1), the antithesis with 'triumphe' . . . gives 'disgraced' (NED fig.).

51-57. O God . . . sonne] WILSON (ed. 1946): This is the only direct reference in the play to suspicions, explicit in *Famous Victories* and the chronicles, that the Prince had designs upon his father's life.

74. vanities] WILSON (ed. 1946): Empty boasts.

75. Well said] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): With regard to the question whether Falstaff is a coward or not, we should note that he has been in the thick of the fight (V. iii. 35-38) and that he makes his appearance (as here) in the most dangerous possible places.

75-76. Nay . . . tel you] TULLEY (1950), C324: It is no child's play.

76 s.d.] KNIGHTS (1934, p. 130): It is important to realise . . . that when Falstaff feigns death, he is meant to appear actually dead in the eyes of the audience.

77-86.] EMPSON (1951, p. 121): Hotspur means chiefly that life is cheated by time, because our apparently great opportunities all end in death; but this might be a comfort, since the same end would come even if he were not defeated. Life is made ridiculous by time; we are clowns because our pretensions make such a contrast with our end. But if time keeps us as clowns we

92. *the*] *thee* RID. +. (Q7)
 95-96. *zeale*, . . . *face*.] Q1, RID. *Sn. zeale*: (or
zeal). . . *face* Q2-6, BALD. *zeale*; . . . *face*, Q7Q8,
 JOHNS. ALEX. *Zeale*. (or *zeal*). . . *face*, Ff, ROWE,
 POPE, THEOB. HAN. i, WARB. STA. *zeal*. . . *face*:
 HAN. ii. *zeal*:— . . . *face*: CAP. *zeal*:— . . . *face*,
 VAR. '73, COLL. DEL. WH. i. *zeal*:— (or *zeal*). . .

face: VAR. '78, '85, RAN. MAL. STEEV. VARR. SING.
 KNT. HUDS. i, DYCE, HAL. KIT. NEEL. *zeal*: . . .
face: CAM. HUDS. ii, WH. ii. *zeal*:— . . . *face*; KELY.
zeal— . . . *face*! WIL. [Om. Q9.]
 96. *mangled*] *mangled* WIL. BALD, ?SIB. (CAP.
mangl'd)

in our turn mock at time; we criticise it, and know better. There was room here for a prophecy; he dies still ready to gibe at the House of Lancaster.—DUNN (1939, pp. 278-279): Lincoln thought 'the dying speech of Hotspur an unnatural and unworthy thing.' 'As who does not?' asks young Hay in recording the incident in his diary.—HALLIDAY (1954, p. 108) considers Hotspur as the "tragic hero" of the play: The Prince of Wales was never to speak such poignant poetry as that of the dying Percy: . . . Life ebbs with the lines, with the modulation of the labials from the proud and brilliant *b*'s and *p*'s to the softer *f*'s and *w*'s, and of the liquids from the fierce *r*'s to the gentle *f*'s. The flame leaps for the last time in 'prophecy' and Percy—then brightness falls from the air.

78. brittle life] HANKINS (1953, pp. 141-142) links this phrase with a passage in Barnabe Googe's translation of Palingenius' *The Zodiake of Life* (ed. R. Tuve, 1947, p. 28). He also links (pp. 150-151) "vilest earth" (l. 91) with the same poem (p. 111).

81-83.] DEUTSCHBEIN (1947, pp. 23-24): Man's thoughts and actions are dependent on life; they are defined and limited by life. . . . Life itself is, however, subjugated to time, indeed it is even degraded to time's toy. We humans are thus the fools of time. But what does the following sentence mean: Time, which measures the whole world, must have an end? Time is thought of here as the surveyor of human life, who metes out to each individual his share. . . . Thus time gives us our share of life, and this function of time must eventually come to an end. This interpretation is confirmed by the designation of time as the "clocksetter" [*King John*, III. i. 324] (a neologism of Shakespeare) which implies that time winds the clocks, i.e., the life clocks of individuals. When time has completed its work, death appears after the life clock runs out.

83. Must haue a stop] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): 'And the angel . . . sware by him that liveth for ever and ever . . . That there should be time no longer' (*Revelation*, x, 5-6).

85-92.] BALDWIN (1944, II, 539-541), basing his findings on THEOBALD and COWL, offers this passage as evidence that Sh. probably knew Juvenal's Satire X (here ll. 168-173) even before its first "certain use" in *Hamlet*: In life, neither Alexander nor Hotspur found his world large enough; in death two paces suffice each. [He cites evidence from other plays to show Sh.'s general knowledge of the whole satire.] I . . . am convinced . . . that Shakspeare knew Juvenal's tenth satire well.

85-86.] FLATTER (1948, pp. 41-42), under his discussion of metrical gaps: Percy is forced to break off, interrupted by the "fell sergeant, death." During the long pause, as indicated by the gap, Percy breathes his last gasp. The Prince finishes the broken-off sentence: "—for worms, brave Percy." Then, either sinking his sword or making some other gesture of reverence, he bids his noble foe farewell: "Farewell, great heart." It seems to be in keeping with Shakespeare's diction that before these words, in order to allow for that short gesture, there should be a small pause—and there it is: one syllable is missing. (The editors, however, thought it their duty to regularize what they regarded as a "faulty line": silently they inserted the missing syllable, and thus it is that in all modern editions the words: "Farewell, great heart" have been exchanged for: "Fare thee well, great heart.") [FLATTER ignores the fact that all the Qq read "Fare thee well."]]

86-87. food . . . worms] TILLEY (1950), M253: A man is nothing but worms' meat.

87-100.] See EMPSON, p. 64.

88. Ill weaud ambition] WILSON (ed. 1946): Such is the quality of Hotspur's ambitions . . . and such the language of Shakespeare, the wool-dealer's son, who well knew that cloth loosely woven was specially apt to shrink.

96. fauours] SCOTT-GILES (1950, pp. 90-91): It is an anachronism to speak of 'the Prince of Wales's feathers' in connection with Henry of Monmouth. [See HEMINGWAY, p. 327.] He shared the feathers with too many people for them to be particularly associated with him. Furthermore, the Plantagenet ostrich feather was not used as a crest, but as a badge on clothing, furnishings, seals, etc. Quite likely Prince Henry did wear plumes on his helm, but the fashion was so common among armoured knights that it was merely decorative and had no heraldic or distinctive

face.] *face* [he covers Hotspur's eyes with a plume from his helm WIL.

98. *rights*] *rites* RID. +. (Q2)

100. *ignomy*] *ignomy* SH. (Q4)

101. *remembred*] *remember'd* RID. WIL. BALD,

?SH. (POPE)

109, 111. *inboweld*] *Embowell'd* RID. + (?SH.).

(Q4, *Imbowlede*) [RID. reads *Embowelled* in line 111.]

125. *no body*] *nobody* RID. +. (CAP.)

purpose. I do not think the Prince would regard the feathers on his helm as his personal and intimate 'favours'. . . . In Tudor times the ostrich feathers formed a badge of the heir apparent (not necessarily Prince of Wales) for two periods, the latter ending fifty years before Shakespeare wrote *Henry IV*. The badge can scarcely have been familiar to Shakespeare's audiences. It had not become an inn-sign, or the badge of a famous regiment, or a sign over shops boasting royal custom. In fact, it was only in Stuart times that the feathers began to be used definitely and consistently as the badge of the heir apparent. I do not think Shakespeare or his public can have associated the feathers particularly with the Prince of Wales, and I suppose that what Shakespeare intended the Prince to lay on dead Hotspur's face was not a feather, such as any armed man might wear, but a torse of silk of his own colours—white and blue—which he unbound from his helm for the purpose.

101. Epitaph] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): Compare Dekker and Webster, *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, 1607 [ed. F. Bowers, Dekker, *Dramatic Works*, 1953, I; III. iii. 40-42]: "Peace rest his soule / His sinnes be buried in his graue, / And not remembred in his Epitaph."

102-110. What old . . . Percy lie] WILSON (1943, pp. 67-68): The tone, which may be compared with Hamlet's when confronted with Yorick's skull, is that of a prince speaking of his dead jester, not of friend taking leave of familiar friend; and what there is of affection is mainly retrospective. . . . The epitaph on Hotspur contains not a word of triumph; its theme is the greatness of the slain man's spirit, the tragedy of his fall, and what may be done to reverence him in death. With such solemn thoughts does Shakespeare's hero turn to Falstaff. Is it surprising that he should be out of love with Vanity at a moment like this? The point is of interest technically, since the moment balances and adumbrates a still more solemn moment at the end of Part II in which he also encounters Falstaff and has by then come to be even less in love with what he represents.

110. in blood] This phrase carries on the "deer" imagery of lines 107-108; compare *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 48. DRAKE (HEMINGWAY, p. 328) notes the obvious relationship between lines 107-108 and *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 53-54.

110. s.d. Falstaff riseth vp] SPRAGUE (1935, p. 158): Falstaff should, I believe, seem actually to breathe his last. How great, then, will be our joy and relief when, after a long pause to be sure that there is no one about, the mountain stirs!

115-118. counterfeit . . . indeed] BETHELL (*Anglia*, 1952, LXXI, 96-97): Falstaff . . . achieves a materialistic inversion by rhetorical fallacy: . . . This subtle defence of military "discretion" depends on two linguistic tricks. First, the word "counterfeit" is used properly as a verb—"to counterfeit dying" = "to simulate dying"—but as a noun it is used as the mere equivalent of "copy" or "imitation," whereas it ought to imply the intent to deceive: . . . Secondly, Falstaff juggles with two opposite concepts: imitating life (as he says the corpse does, "the counterfeit of a man") and imitating death ("to counterfeit dying"). He illegitimately uses the noun "counterfeit" absolutely ("is to be no counterfeit") in order to produce the pseudo-paradox that to counterfeit dying is not to counterfeit. All he really says . . . is that to counterfeit dying is not to counterfeit living. Thus a false argument transfers the opprobrium of forgery and deceit from the living coward to the guiltless corpse.

119. better parte . . . discretion] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): *Part* is 'quality'—not 'portion': 'Bravery that is not directed by good judgment is not true valour: it is mere foolhardiness.' Such is the serious meaning of the maxim that Falstaff applies in witty defence of his stratagem. Compare APPERSON, *English Proverbs* [1929], p. 153.—WILSON (ed. 1946): Falstaff's cynical misinterpretation of a wise maxim is now generally accepted as its true meaning!

125. confutes . . . cies] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 177): The not quite expected verb 'confutes' and the presence of 'no' make it likely that there is homonymic play 'eyes—ayes' here. . . . But if only 'ayes' confute Falstaff, then he is not confuted, for it is 'noes' that would confute him.

125. no body] KING (SN, 1941-42, XIV, 173): Falstaff means nobody is there to see him: Hotspur's body is there, but no body sees him, for dead bodies cannot see.

126. *sirra*] *sirrah* (stabbing him) RID. +. (MAL.)

127 a.d. Prince / John] Prince of Wales and Lord John RID. NEIL. (CAM.) Prince, and John KIT. BALD. (Q2) Prince and Lord John WIL. Prince of Wales and Prince John ALEX. Prince Henry and Prince John SIS. (MAL.)

132-136.] Re-arranged: SIS. (DEL.)

137. *double man*] *double-man* WIL.

139. *Percy*] *Percy* [throwing the body down]

RID. NEIL. WIL. BALD. ALEX. SIS. (CAP. VAR. '73)

152. *euer*] *e'er* SIS. (F1)

154. *backe*] *back*. [aside, to Falstaff WIL.

157. *our*] *ours* RID. +. (Q2)

158. *let vs*] *let's* KIT. (Q4)

159 a.d. *Exeunt*] *Exeunt* Prince of Wales 'and

Lancaster RID. NEIL. BALD. (CAM.) *Exeunt* [Prince Henry and Prince John]. KIT. (MAL.) [they go WIL. *Exeunt* the Prince and Prince John of Lancaster. ALEX. *Exeunt* *Princes*. SIS.

163. *noble man*] *nobleman* RID. +. (CAP.)

a.d. *Exit*.] *Exit* [bearing off the body]. KIT. SIS. (CAP.) [he follows, dragging off the body WIL.

V. v.

15. *upon*.] *upon*. *Exeunt* Worcester and Vernon, guarded RID. +. (THEOB.)

26. *To you*] As part of line 25: RID. +. (POPE)

29-30. *valours* . . . *Haue*] *valour* . . . *Hath* RID.

KIT. BALD. (Q4)

36. *bend*, *you*] *bend* *you* KIT. NEIL. BALD. ALEX.

SIS. (Q4)

126. new wound] Compare Coningsby's *Journal of the Siege of Rouen* (ed. J. G. Nichols, 1847, Camden Society, XXXIX, 50), written in 1591: "... you might have discerned a cowardlye creweltie, for there were not so fewe as xl. [French] that thrust their swords into the bodies being dead, and thus they gloried." It is also, I think, arguable that Achilles wounds the dead body of Hector in *Troilus and Cressida* (V. viii. 19-20). Compare Heywood's treatment of the incident in *The Iron Age, Part 1* (*Dramatic Works*, Pearson ed., 1874, III, 322).

155-156. For my part . . . haue] WILSON (ed. 1946) marks these lines as an aside: Had the promise been given in Prince John's hearing it would have lost all point. Lines 153-154 seem carefully phrased to support Falstaff's 'strangest tale.'

155. do . . . grace] WILSON (ed. 1946): Get thee favour. There is irony here and 'grace' has a double meaning. . . . Falstaff's lie is his undoing.

160. follow . . . reward] KITTREDGE (ed. 1940): There is a slight pun on *follow* in the sense of 'be one's follower.'—WILSON (ed. 1946): In hunting, the hounds 'follow' and are given 'reward,' i.e. portions assigned to them at the 'breaking-up of the deer' (see Turberville [*The Noble Arte of Venerie*], 1576, pp. 135, 244-245). Falstaff claims to have brought the great quarry down; apparently his 'reward' is a 'pension.'

161-163. If I do . . . should do] CRAIG (ed. 1951): Note the recurrence of Falstaff's repentance. It is part of the ancient conception of Falstaff as a hypocritical Lollard.

V. v. 29-30. *valours* . . . *Haue*] WILSON (ed. 1946): F 'valour . . . Hath' which all editions read. [NEILSON, ALEXANDER, and Sisson read as in Q.] But as [W.] FRANZ [*Die Sprache Sh.'s*, 4th ed., 1939], § 196 notes, 'Older Modern English shows a strong tendency to express abstractions in a plural form.'

APPENDIX

THE TEXT

The detailed criticism of HEMINGWAY's Variorum text made by A. M. CLARK (*MLR*, 1937, XXXIII, 66) and S. A. TANNENBAUM (*SAB*, 1937, XII, 64) was based on a comparison with the Griggs "facsimile"; in every case HEMINGWAY's text has been vindicated by a comparison with the three extant copies of Q1 (1598).

It has been noticed that in his discussion of the known copies of Q1 HEMINGWAY makes two apparently contradictory statements: "... of the many variant readings in these three copies of the same edition, I have recorded in the Textual Notes only those that throw some light on the meaning of the text" (p. ix); and "I have collated [the three extant copies of Q1] ... and have found only the following variants" (p. 349). He then lists the variants at II. iv. 277 and 388. The impossibility of my consulting the actual copies makes it impracticable here to attempt a complete bibliographical account of the several states of the Q1 text, but a study of the copies on microfilm leads me to think that HEMINGWAY's second statement is substantially correct, particularly if we add a third variant noted by him in the Textual Notes at IV. iii. 13. A few other possible variants are noted below.

The Variorum text of *1 Henry IV* does not distinguish italic, roman, and black-letter question marks, or the roman and black-letter period, nor is swash italic type distinguished from regular italic. Making allowance for such differences, however, it is an accurate reprint. The following few errors or ambiguities may be noted. [The lemmas are from HEMINGWAY's Variorum text. Q(H) = Duke of Devonshire's copy, Huntington Library; Q(C) = Capell's copy, Trinity College Library, Cambridge; Q(G) = Garrick's copy, British Museum. The usual roman-italic reverse scheme of the Variorum Textual Notes is not followed here. Long s has been modernized.]

I. ii. 39. tauerne] taucerne ?Q(H), ?Q(C), ?Q(G)

122. al:] al; Q(C), Q(G) [Q(H) appears to read al:]

126. tarie] tarie, ?Q(H)

157. there:] there: Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

198. accidents:] accidents: Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

I. iii. 122. Northumberland:] Northumberland: Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

II. ii. 35. ye] ye, ?Q(H), ?Q(C), ?Q(G) [No comma in Qo; comma in Q2.]

II. iv. 59. Frances:] Frances: Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

63. not-pated] not- / pated Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

72. [lo]oke] looke Q(C), Q(G)

96. fourteene] foureteene Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

103. long] long, Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

131. would] woulde Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

190. alone]alone, Q(C), Q(G) [No comma to be seen in Q(H), but space for one.]

208. clay- / braind] clay-braind Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

225. elfskin] elskin Q(H), Q(C), Q(G) [See Textual and Critical Notes.]

225-226. neats- / tong] neatstong Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

429-430. wherein / worthy] where in worthy Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

III. i. 2.] HEMINGWAY's note is misleading: the line is not missing in Q(H), but the upper half has been trimmed off by a binder; the line is missing in Q(G), but only because the whole leaf (sig. E[4]) has been torn out

26. often times] oftentimes Q(H), Q(C) [HEMINGWAY's spacing ambiguous; leaf missing in Q(G).]

65. weatherbeaten] Questionable as one word in Q(H), Q(C), Q(G); Q2 reads weather-beaten

115. No] No, Q(H), Q(C), Q(G) [Comma very faint in Q(H).]

156. word] word, Q(C), Q(G) [No period to be seen in Q(H).]

174. wilfullblame] Very questionable as one word in Q(H), Q(C), Q(G); Q2 reads wilfull blame

196. selfewild] Questionable as one word in Q(H), Q(C), Q(G); Q2 reads selfe wilde

III. ii. 3 s.d. Exeunt] Exennt Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

135. I] I Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

III. iii. 79. Ho.] Ho. Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

173. thing] Lack of period result of crowding in line

IV. i. 134. diemerely] Very questionable as

one word in Q(H), Q(C), Q(G); Q₂ reads die merrily

IV. ii. 3. cophill] cop- / hill Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

22. Ancients.] Comma very faint in HEMINGWAY; clear in Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

IV. iii. 13. scene . . . fcares:] scene . . . fcares. Q(C) [HEMINGWAY notes the colon-period variant; the c-e variant is questionable.]

IV. iv. 5. haste] hafte ?Q(H), ?Q(C), ?Q(G)

V. i. s.d. Westmerland.] Possible comma in Q(H); very doubtful in Q(C), Q(G)

2. busky] Both Q(C) and Q(G) favor the reading bulky; the reading busky seems just possible in Q(H) [See Critical Notes.]

120 s.d. Execunt:] Execunt: Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

V. ii. 34 s.d. Exit] Exit. Q(H), Q(C), Q(G) 70. Hotsp] Hotsp. Q(H), Q(C), Q(G)

V. iv. 125. as well] aswell ?Q(H), ?Q(C), ?Q(G) [Compositor's use of long s suggests single word.]

V. v. 24. King] King. Q(H), Q(C) [Leaf missing in Q(G).]

30. deeds] doeds ?Q(H), ?Q(C) [Leaf missing in Q(G).]

34. we] we, ?Q(H) [Nothing to be seen in Q(C); leaf missing in Q(G).]

BARTLETT (1939) adds 3 copies of Q₅ (1613) to those listed in the earlier *Census* (1916) and in HEMINGWAY (nos. 239*, 241, 243); 1 copy of Q₆ (1622), no. 254; 2 copies of Q₇ (1632), nos. 266, 268; 7 copies of Q₈ (1639), nos. 273, 277, 280, 284, 292, 293, 294; 14 copies of Q₉ (1700), nos. 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 319, 321, 323 (nos. 205* and 209, listed in her first edition (1916), seem to have dropped out of the new *Census*). A copy of Q₁ (1598) listed by B. R. LEWIS (*Shakespeare Documents* [1940], I, 275) as being in the Folger does not exist. Information on early eighteenth-century editions may be found in H. L. FORD, *Shakespeare 1700-1740*, 1935, pp. 82-84.

McKerrow (*MLN*, 1938, LIII, 208) points out the editorial problem raised by the existence of the so-called "Halliwell fragment" or Q₀ (see HEMINGWAY, pp. 344-349) and suggests that "an editor wishing to produce a text as close as possible to the author's original would . . . print from A [Q₀], making good from B [Q₁] where necessary." McKerrow's suggestion is in accord with the most recent views on copy-text (see W. W. GREG, *Studies in Bibliography*, 1950-51, III, 19-36), but no editor has followed his suggestion, except in the reading at II. ii. 102.

The following list contains a few corrections and additions to HEMINGWAY's otherwise very full collation of Q₀ (pp. 345-349); line references are to HEMINGWAY's Variorum text:

	Q ₀	Q ₁
I. iii. 209.	Wor.	Wor
II. i. 56.	Saine	Saint [H. reads Sainc for Q ₀ .]
II. ii. 1.	Po.	Po.
3.	Pr.	Prin. [H. reads Pr. for Q ₀ .]
8.	Pr.	Prin. [H. reads Pr. for Q ₀ .]
23.	tooth:	tooth:
47.	Po.	Po.
62.	Pr.	Prin. [H. reads Pr. for Q ₀ .]
63.	Indeed	In deed [Q ₀ is badly blotted here.]
65.	Pr.	Prin. [H. reads Pr. for Q ₀ .]
66.	Po.	Po.
76.	Trauel.	Trauel.
89 s.d.	Enter	Enter
94.	Pr.	Prin. [H. reads Pr. for Q ₀ .]
95.	Po.	Poin. [H. reads Po. for Q ₀ .]

WILSON (ed. 1946, pp. 103-107): This sheet of an otherwise lost quarto, now labelled Q₀, furnishes only one variant of any importance (II. ii. 102); but it demonstrates that in reprinting Q₀ as Q₁ the printer was trying to save paper, and for this purpose resorted to various devices, such as the dovetailing of speeches. This, for instance, is how he saves a line at III. ii. 92-94:

Prin. I shall hereafter my thrice gracious Lord,

Be more my selfe. King. For all the world, As thou art to this houre was Richard then. And the economy, as is not surprising, has led to a misplacement of a speech-heading at I. i. 75-77, which lines Q₁ (and F) prints thus:

A gallant prize? Ha coosen, is it not? In faith it is.

West. A conquest for a Prince to boast of. [104] And seeing that 1 *Henry IV* Q₁ is one of the cleanest and best printed of all Shakespearean quartos, we may suspect that there was tidying up as well as tightening up at the time of reprinting. I find it hard, for example, to believe that Shakespeare intended Falstaff to say 'all is one' and not 'all's one' (II. iv. 139) or 'rag of Muffins' and not 'ragamuffins' (V. iii. 35-36). Such sedate expansions, which are a special feature of Q₁, retarding the pace of the dialogue, muffling the voice of the speakers, and at times even impairing the metre, suggest the interference of a compositor or master-printer concerned rather with standards of orthography than with the reproduction of a highly colloquial play. On the other hand, Q₁ is full of little irregularities in stage-direction, speech-heading, and verse-lining, which would undoubtedly have been smoothed out in a prompt-book transcript, and are yet just what we should expect in an author's MS. or 'foul papers.' Even the spelling, though, thanks I take it to Short's tidying up, far more normal than that for example of *Hamlet* Q₂ or *Love's Labour's Lost* Q₁, preserves a Shakespearian

flavour here and there. We have every encouragement to believe, in short, that the 'copy' used for Qo and entered on 25 February 1598 was Shakespeare's own manuscript. Nor need we doubt that it reached Wise's hands from those of the players themselves. . . . ¶ [105] When . . . the F compositors came to set it up in type, they made use of Q5 (1613) as 'copy'; . . . In other cases, however, the quarto they reprinted had first been collated with the prompt-book at the theatre, so that the text thus produced generally possessed an authority, inferior indeed to that of Q1, but to some extent independent of it. The main textual problem of *1 Henry IV* is whether its F text is an exception to this rule. Sir Edmund Chambers and Dr. Greg think it is. . . . ¶ [106] The foregoing diagnosis would leave us with the comforting assurance that Q1 is the only text an editor need consider, did it not overlook a reading in the F dialogue which is indubitably Shakespearian, cannot have been arrived at without access to the true text, and must therefore be accepted, as it always has been by editors, in preference to its Q variant, which is not only nonsense but proves, upon examination, to be a palpable misprint of the reading F gives us. [II. iv. 30: Q, present; F, President] . . . Here 'President', the ordinary Elizabethan spelling of 'precedent', suits the context perfectly and is most unlikely to have occurred to the unaided intelligence of a printer or scrivener. . . . The reading in short may be claimed as impregnable; and, being so, forges a firm link between the F *1 Henry IV* and the Globe prompt-book. [J. G. McMANAWAY (*Sh. Survey*, 1948, I, 128) disagrees.] . . . ¶ [107] The duty of an editor of the present text is plain: so far from being able to ignore F, he must carefully weigh every variant therein before rejecting it in favour of the more generally authoritative Q1. Fortunately, the latter is so good on the whole, and the significant variants so few, that the burden of choice is lighter than might at first sight appear. Beyond a number of readings in which F corrects obvious Q misprints, a handful of adjustments in punctuation, and the restoration of certain colloquialisms . . . there are in point of fact only four readings apart from 'precedent' that I have felt obliged to adopt from the F (see I. iii. 242; II. ii. 41 [earlier in Q3], III. i. 98; III. ii. 156).

GREG (1951, pp. 128-129): Q has normal author's directions and may go back to his manuscript, though other evidence is slight. A few textual confusions might come from foul copy: for instance in the first scene (I. 76) the words 'In faith it is' printed after a space at the end of one speech should properly [129] begin the next. The stage directions needed to mark the break between what became Acts III and IV are absent. If the source was a playhouse tran-

script it preserved the original directions with unexpected fidelity. ¶ F was printed from Q5, 1613 (Q6, 1622, had probably not yet appeared when F was set up). The stage directions have been slightly edited, but in a literary rather than a theatrical sense. The apparent massing of entries for the second scene may be due merely to careless editing. The omission of a direction in V. iv may be accidental, that of two lines in the next scene due to the second being unintelligible. A division into acts and scenes is introduced, and the necessary directions between Acts III and IV supplied. Occasionally F returns to a reading of Q1 that later quartos had corrupted, but nowhere does the correction appear beyond reasonable conjecture. There is no evidence whatever of the use of a playhouse manuscript or of a copy of the quarto that had served as a prompt-book. The fact therefore that profanity has been very thoroughly removed once again suggests that this was sometimes at least done by the editor. [See also W. W. GREG, *The Sh. First Folio*, 1955, pp. 262-265.]

WILLOUGHBY (1932, pp. 41-44) on the printing of *1 Henry IV* in F1: Jaggard, it will be remembered, had completed the Comedies (except *The Winter's Tale*) and of the Histories had printed the first play, *King John*, and the first leaf of the second play, *Richard II* (quires A-Z, a-b). On resuming work he naturally proceeded with the printing of *Richard II*. After he had completed one quire (c), however, he again suspended work upon the play, and the peculiar manner in which the printing proceeded leaves no room for doubt that Matthew Law was raising difficulties about the inclusion of *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, and *Richard III*. ¶ Jaggard, therefore, broke off the printing of *Richard II* and turned his attention to *The Winter's Tale*. . . . ¶ [43] After Jaggard had finished the printing of *The Winter's Tale* (Aa-Bb⁶, Cc²), he once more addressed himself to the Histories. It had been determined to arrange these plays in historical order. The completed *King John* and the unfinished *Richard II* therefore would be followed by *1* and *2 Henry IV* and *Henry V*. *1 Henry IV*, like *Richard II*, was a copy owned by the recalcitrant Law, so Jaggard could not yet include this play, and he naturally hesitated to print the second part without the first. He determined, therefore, to start afresh with *Henry V*. . . . ¶ [44] *Henry V* is followed by *1*, *2*, and *3 Henry VI*. The printing of these plays went on without interruption, as the rules and headlines show, to the end of quire o. At this point, two quires short of the point where Matthew Law's third copy, *Richard III*, now begins, a break-up of the rules and running titles warns us that the course of the printing was again interrupted. ¶ An agreement had evidently been patched up between Law on the one side and the Players

and the publishers of the Folio on the other. To judge from the inherent strength of his position and the later opposition of Walley, who probably followed his example, we may suppose that Law found his opposition profitable. Be that as it may, Jaggard was now evidently in a position to print *1 Henry IV* and *Richard III* as well as to complete *Richard II*.

BLACK and SHAAVER (1937, *passim*) examine carefully the kinds of changes made in the transmission of the text from F1 through Ff 2, 3, and 4 (each one printed from the immediately preceding) and give the following totals for *1 Henry IV*: F2, 30 changes; F3, 37; F4, 12.

CRUNDELL (*N&O*, 1939, CLXXVII, 347-349) offers a study of the punctuation of Q1, Q5, and F to support the view that the F reviser amended: Selected pages of Q1 and Q5 show that an average of eleven commas has been added to the later print, and a number of heavier stops substituted, ranging from one or two per page up to a dozen in one of the prose scenes. F adds three or four on each Quarto page, and as usual substitutes a few colons, etc. for lighter stops. In Q1 there are forty hyphenated words, in Q5 one hundred, and in F two hundred. Many of the punctuation changes are already present in Q4.

SHAAVER (*English Institute Essays* (1947), 1948, pp. 112-113), commenting on the variants between F and Q5 of *1 Henry IV*: Changes like these cannot be the result of chance or accident; they are deliberate. But who made them? All things considered, I think it is more likely than not that they were made at the time the Folio was printed. In other words, they are editorial; they were made to prepare the text of the play for readers. The only alternative is to suppose that they were made in the theater and this seems to me much less credible. The changes which repair the errors of earlier Quartos are not in the least likely to have been made in the theater, [113] for presumably the actors for many years had acted the play from a prompt-book derived from the manuscript on which Q1 is based. The other changes, or at least most of them, are such as I think would not commend themselves to the actors, would not seem to them worth while. It looks then, as if the Folio text was edited for printing in somewhat the same manner as the later Folios and the eighteenth-century texts were edited.

HART (1934, pp. 184-185): The substitution of the original word *Oldcastle* would restore this verse [II. ii. 99] to normality. Evidently Shakespeare did not revise *1 Henry IV* for the press. I think the change was made before much of part two was written. . . . [185] The name Falstaff occurs in six blank verse lines [in Part Two]; in each the substitution of *Oldcastle* for Falstaff would render the blank verse irregular. The verses are probably as the poet wrote them.

WALKER (1953, pp. 109-111): The text with which this Folio play [*2 Henry IV*] appears to me to have most in common is the *1 Henry IV* quarto, which similarly seems to preserve a full score of the play, has speech prefixes and stage directions very different from the chaotic variations of the *2 Henry IV* quarto and suffers noticeably from the same pedantry in the language as the Folio *2 Henry IV*. Falstaff's first words . . . have not, to my ears, the unbuttoned ease they [110] should have; nor have his words over the dead Percy (V. iv. 120-127). . . . Hotspur's language similarly suggests an improver's hand (I. iii. 49-55). . . . 'He should, or he should not, for he made me mad' has not the ring of an angry Hotspur objecting to 'waiting gentlewoman' terms and his inquiries and comments later in the scene are not merely pedantic in language but unmetrical in consequence of the suppression of elisions (I. iii. 239-243; 265-271). ¶ [111] Unfortunately, the 1598 *1 Henry IV* was not the first of this quarto series but was a reprint of an earlier edition of which only four leaves survive, but the readings of this fragment . . . make it clear that the lost earlier edition suffered from the same linguistic refinement as its successor and we must therefore conclude that the transcript from which this quarto was printed was not autograph. . . . It [the MS. from which Qo was printed] was, I think, a fair copy of the foul papers and probably therefore a predecessor of the prompt-book.

WALKER (*Studies in Bibliography*, 1954, VI, 45-59) offers a detailed compositor study of the F1 text of *1 Henry IV*, dividing the play between compositor A and compositor B as follows [46]:

B d5*-e3*	(pp. 46-56) I. i.	—II. iv. 134
A e4'-f1*	(pp. 57-64) II. iv. 134	—III. iii. 105
B f2*	(p. 65) III. iii. 106	—IV. i. 20
A f2'-f3*	(pp. 66-68) IV. i. 21	—IV. iv. 26
B f4'-f6*	(pp. 69-73) IV. iv. 27	—end

She then gives seven lists of readings comparing A and B, from which she is able to compile the following summary [53]:

	A (11 pp.)	B (14½ pp.)
List (a) Errors of Q5		
corrected	9	17
(b) Errors of Q1-5		
corrected	3	5
(c) Literal errors	2	24
(d) Words omitted	2	30
(e) Words interpolated	6	28
(f) Words altered	7	23
(g) Transpositions	1	8
[Totals]	30	135

In addition WALKER compares the handling of stage directions by A and B, recording [55-56] 8 variants in the pages set by A and 35 variants

in B's pages. From these data she draws certain conclusions: (1) Compositor A is normally accurate and conservative in handling his copy, a position borne out by what we know of his characteristics in other plays (see WALKER, *Textual Problems*, 1953, *passim*). (2) Compositor B is habitually careless and [55] "unusually prone to take liberties with his copy." (3) There is evidence in lists (a) and (b) that the Q5 copy-text had been editorially revised before the compositors began their work on it, but [54] "the number of Q5 errors that escaped correction, as well as the Folio's failure to elucidate cruxes common to all known quartos, precludes our postulating even a desultory attempt at collation with a playhouse manuscript, and the Folio stage directions provide no warrant for supposing that the quarto had been used as prompt-copy." Nevertheless WALKER feels that the copy-text came originally from the theatre. (4) [58] "The only reasonable interpretation of the hundred and thirteen errors in B's pages . . . , as against eighteen only in A's, is that they were for the most part due to the compositor's negligence; and even if we assumed that they included a liberal contribution of conjectural improvements [by an irresponsible editor], . . . editorially the position is no better."

McMANAWAY (*Library*, 1954, 5th Ser., IX, 129-133) calls attention to a unique copy of the Third Folio (Kern-Neylan copy) containing a duplicate setting of the first three pages (here unsigned, but pagged as 350, 351, 352) set up from a copy of Q8 (1639).

DATE OF COMPOSITION

McMANAWAY (*Sh. Survey*, III, 1950, p. 27) offers a useful summary of the various findings on the date of composition of 1 and 2 *Henry IV*.

CRUNDELL (*N&Q*, 1935, CLXVIII, 424), answering PURCELL (*N&Q*, 1935, CLXVIII, 383-384; quoted by HEMINGWAY, p. 393), denies that the reference in Harvey (1592) to "old Lads of the Castell" need have any particular reference to Oldcastle (he notes medieval uses of the castle-tavern symbol) and queries the necessity of any connection with Oldcastle even in 1 *Henry IV*. In a second comment (*N&Q*, 1935, CLXIX, 68) CRUNDELL notes that Harvey later uses the phrase "a lusty ladd of the Castell" (*Pierce's Supplication*, 1593, ed. Grosart, 1884, II, 44) without the qualifying "old." He also connects "buckram Giants" with Greene's attack on the actors as "buckram gentlemen . . . painted monsters" (*Groatsworth of Wit*, 1592, ed. Grosart, XII, 144-145) and shows that Harvey's reference to "hypocritical hoat spurres" is actually borrowed from his opponent Nashe, who in *Pierce Pennilesse* (1592, ed. McKerrow, 1904, I, 161), writes of "a number of hypocritical hot-spurres, that haue God alwayes in their mouthes, will giue nothing for Gods sake." [See also Nashe's *Four Letters Coniuncted*, 1592 (ed. McKerrow, I, 1904, 320).]

He concludes: "What Mr. J. M. Purcell has noticed, then, is an accidental collocation of phrases drawn from various sources."

DODDS (*N&Q*, 1935, CLXIX, 32-33), answering PURCELL (*N&Q*, 1935, CLXVIII, 383-384; quoted by HEMINGWAY, p. 393), suggests that "buckram Giants" in the Harvey passage refers most likely to "the giants in pageants and May games so popular with the Elizabethans." He questions also the reference to 1 *Henry IV* in Harvey's phrase "hypocritical hoat spurres," pointing out the longstanding tradition behind the name as applied to Harry Percy, as well as the fact that Harvey, as a result of his association with Barnabe Barnes, who was cultivating the patronage of the Percy family, would have heard a good deal about its famous ancestors.

McNEAL (*SAB*, 1946, XXI, 87-93) tries to show that between the writing of 1 and 2 *Henry IV* Shakespeare became familiar with Speght's newly published edition of Chaucer (1598).

DRAFER (*Neophilologus*, 1954, XXXVIII, 41-44) argues that the reference to Amurath in Part II (V. ii. 48) must have been written before February, 1596, at which time news may be supposed to have reached London of the fact that an Amurath did not succeed an Amurath. This, together with Cobham's death and the open scandal over empressment abuses, both occurring in 1596, suggests a date for Part II during the winter of 1595-96 and for Part I "a few months earlier in 1595."

[See also HOTSON, p. 89.]

SOURCES

I. COMMENTS ON SH.'S USE OF HALL, ETC.

ZEEVELD (*ELH*, 1936, III, 317-353) collects the following passages from Hall's *Chronicle*, 1550 (all occurring likewise in Grafton's *Chronicle*, 1568), which show, he believes, Sh.'s indebtedness to that source in 1 *Henry IV*. (See HEMINGWAY, p. 364: "I have found no passage in 1 *Henry IV* which is taken directly from Hall.") I. iii. 29, 77; compare Hall (ed. Ellis, 1809), p. 27: "[Percies' prisoners] and to deliuer theym vtterly denaied." III. i. 147; compare Hall, p. 28: "[Moldwarp prophecy] by the deuiacon and not deuinao of that mawmet Merlin." [Noted also by WILSON (ed. 1946, p. 160).] II. iii. 11-14; compare Hall, p. 28: "[Percies' adherents withdraw] whether it wer for feare, ether for that thei would be lokers on and no dede doers, nether promise by worde or by writyng was performed." V. i. 41-45; compare Hall, p. 29: "thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles bodely touched and kissed by thee at Doncastre that thou wouldest neuer claime the croune, kyngdom or state royall but only thyne owne propre inheritance, and the inheritance of thy wife." ZEEVELD also adds a passage which he suggests shows independent use of Grafton's *Chronicle* (ed. 1809, I, 489): I. iii. 15-22; compare Grafton: "and

thys answered pleased nothing the Erle of Worcester, but put him in a great Choler and chafe, and departed in a great rage and fume."

BRAUN (*Die Szenenführung in dem Sh'n. Historien*, 1935, pp. 111-124) resurveys the relationship of *Henry IV* to Holinshed, with some references to Hall, Hardyng, Walsingham, Stowe, and Fabyan.

GREER (*N&Q*, 1953, CXCIII, 424-426) offers a detailed and useful account of how Sh., in creating the figure of Prince Hal, manipulated his several sources, "selecting only that material . . . which would make Hal ideal."

II. THE PRINCE HAL LEGEND AND THE OLDCASTLE-FALSTAFF LEGEND

WILSON (*Library*, 1945, 4th Ser., XXVI, 6-9, 12-14): The myth of Henry of Monmouth . . . comprised a whole cycle of legends. . . . Some of the cycle, the tale for instance of the Dauphin's present of a tun of tennis balls, are connected with the conquest of France; but the majority belong to Henry's youth as Prince of Wales. I distinguish no fewer than seven of these: a general envelope-legend of riot and repentance, [7] together with two subsidiary groups, each consisting of three legends: the one group illustrating the Prince's wildness, playing the highwayman 'in disguised array,' revelling in Eastcheap, and striking the Lord Chief Justice; and the other illustrating his relations with the King, his father, in tales of an interview at which he clears himself of false charges, of his removing the crown from the dying King's pillow, and of the last advice he receives from him. All seven stories seem to be rooted, however obscurely and remotely, in historical fact, though the original fact has generally been so transmuted as to be hardly if at all recognizable at the end of the process. . . .

¶ While the origin and growth of these minor legends can be determined without difficulty, matters are otherwise with the main legend of wildness and repentance. . . . At his accession Henry of Monmouth experienced a change of heart, and shortly after discarded his old friend Sir John Oldcastle: such is the essence of the story both in contemporary chroniclers and in Shakespeare's first draft. Yet the two events were not even explicitly connected by the former, while in the interval between them and Shakespeare all the circumstances—the significance of the change, [8] the character of the friend, the reasons for his rejection—have changed. The historical Oldcastle was a good soldier, a distinguished courtier, a lofty spirit who laid down his life for his religious principles; the Oldcastle whom Shakespeare inherited he renamed—Falstaff! But, though the process of this remarkable metamorphosis is hidden from us, its initial cause cannot be doubted. The historical Oldcastle was also a heretic, in the end burnt as a heretic during the reign of Henry V himself, and as such could be allowed

no good qualities. . . . ¶ As for the written sources of the play itself, we may roughly distinguish between the ultimate and the intermediate, meaning by the former the earliest accounts now known, . . . and by the latter the Tudor chroniclers, chiefly Stow and Holinshed. In a brief abstract like the present I can only summarize my ascriptions in tabular form, omitting the steps by which they have been reached.

The main legend. (a) Tudor chroniclers: Stow and Holinshed (brief references); others, e.g. Fabyan, offer details and were almost certainly drawn upon. (b) Ultimate sources: Walsingham and other chroniclers, contemporary with or immediately subsequent to Henry V, in particular versions of *The Brut* which seem to have been directly utilized by the dramatists. The first trace of Oldcastle as a moral misleader is to be found in *Famous Victories*.

The Prince as highwayman. (a) Tudor chroniclers: Stow only. (b) Ultimate sources: *The First English Life of Henry V*, 1513 (a translation of the *Vita Henrici Quinti* by Titus Livius, incorporating a 'report' of the Earl of Ormonde, who was knighted by Henry V at Agincourt). The name Gadshill for one of the thieves first appears in *Famous Victories*.

Revelry in Eastcheap. (a) Tudor chroniclers: Stow only. (b) Ultimate sources: London chronicles. Stow draws from a 'Register of Mayors' which is no longer extant. The original 'hurling' is retained in *Famous Victories* but dropped by Shakespeare. On the other hand, it is in *Famous Victories* that Prince Henry first takes the place of his brothers in the story.

The story of the Lord Chief Justice. (a) Tudor chroniclers: Stow and Holinshed; the former drawing from Elyot, the latter from Redmayne. (b) Ultimate sources (also Tudor): Elyot's *Book of the Governor*, 1531, and Robert Redmayne's *Chronicle*, c. 1540. The 'box on the ear' is first heard of in *Famous Victories*.

First interview with the King. (a) Tudor chroniclers: Stow and Holinshed; the latter a paraphrase of the former, which is itself a transcription of Otterbourne and Ormonde. (b) Ultimate sources: Thomas Otterbourne, *Chronicle*, c. 1420, and Ormonde's 'report' in *The First Life of Henry V*. From the latter is derived the remarkable account of a strange disguise assumed by the Prince at the interview, which is utilized by *Famous Victories* but not by Shakespeare.

The story of the crown and the pillow. (a) Tudor chroniclers: Holinshed only. (b) Ultimate source: *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet*, 1400-53. It is noteworthy that neither Stow nor *The First Life of Henry V* countenances this legend, though Monstrelet is elsewhere used by both. *Famous Victories* on the other hand makes full use of it.

The dying King's advice. (a) Tudor chroni-

clers: Stow only. (b) Ultimate source: 'The First Life of Henry V' (Ormonde's 'report'), from which Stow transcribes it. No trace of it in *Famous Victories* though its influence upon Shakespeare is very evident.

Two points among others emerge from the foregoing table: first, that while the military scenes in *Henry IV* are for the most part based upon Holinshed, Stow's *Annals* is a far more important source for all the rest of the play; and second, that at almost but not quite every point *Famous Victories* appears to stand between Shakespeare and the chroniclers. . . .

¶ [12] That Shakespeare had to change the name of his fat knight from Oldcastle to Falstaff (after Sir John Fastolfe who 'played the coward' in *Henry VI*, I. i), in deference to protests from the Brooke family . . . is the only thing known for certain, and always known, about the history of the text of *Henry IV*. . . . Yet there is no evidence enabling us to establish the precise date of the protest or the identity of the protester. All we can say is that, to judge by the references, the affair seems on the one hand to have aroused considerable and enduring interest, and on the other to have caused only temporary inconvenience to Shakespeare and his fellows. . . . Moreover, I cannot bring myself to believe that the situation was still serious when Shakespeare allowed himself the jesting allusion to [13] Oldcastle in the Epilogue to 2 *Henry IV*, which, speaking as it does of a forthcoming *Henry V* with a Falstaff in it, must have been penned in 1598 or early in 1599 at latest. . . . ¶ Which of the two Lord Cobhams was it who took irate objection to the slur upon his house, William the father or Henry the son? That is the crucial problem. All modern critics have fastened upon Henry as the more likely candidate, and I am confident that they are wrong. . . . The office of Lord Chamberlain was on 8 August 1596 transferred to William Brooke, Lord Cobham, a man puritanically inclined and inimical to the theatre. There followed, as all authorities agree, the most dangerous and uncomfortable period for the playhouses in general and Shakespeare's company in particular between the plague years of 1592-4 and the death of Elizabeth. Writing in September 1596, Nashe speaks of the players being 'piteously persecuted by the L. Maior and the aldermen,' and continues 'however in their old lord's time they thought their state settled, it is now so uncertain they cannot build upon it.' Fortunately the period was short, since on 5 March 1597 their enemy, the old Lord Cobham, followed their 'old lord' to the grave, and the office of Lord Chamberlain passed twelve days later into the hands of their new patron, George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon; after which all was well. ¶ Of Henry Brooke's personality we know little; but he lacked his father's authority, being neither Lord Chamberlain nor a member of the Coun-

cil, while his political and religious tendencies appear to have been very different. . . . [14] We cannot prove that it was William and not Henry who took exception to Shakespeare's Oldcastle. But I for my part find it difficult to reconcile the circumstances of Henry's exit [life imprisonment for implication in a Catholic plot] with a supposed concern for the good name of a Lollard who perished at the beginning of the fifteenth century . . . and very easy indeed to believe that Shakespeare, ignorant of the early history of the Brooke family, incurred their wrath between August 1596 and March 1597 when the head of the clan was a man who as puritan would be especially proud of his connexion with the famous Lollard and as Lord Chamberlain would be in the strongest position possible to give effect to his prejudices.

CLARK (1937, pp. 52-58) discusses the identification of Falstaff with Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham: Lord Cobham's relation to the Essex group was from first to last one of rivalry and hostility. Only loosely associated with the Cecil faction at court, he was nevertheless sufficiently identified with the Raleigh circle to be an anathema to Essex and his protégés. He was, as a matter of slander, the third member of the notorious 'triplicity that denies the Trinity,' Raleigh and Northumberland being the other two. . . . Falstaff's crew gaily dub themselves "squires of the night's body" and "gentlemen of the shade" and "minions of the moon"; and they admit that they "that take purses go by the moon and the seven stars and not by Phoebus," and they boast that it is under the countenance of their "noble and chaste mistress the moon" that they steal. . . . [53] Cobham's friends and associates were almost exclusively members of the anti-Essex faction or Cecil party. . . . ¶ [55] Politically speaking, therefore—at least from the point of view of the Essex faction, with which Shakespeare undoubtedly allied himself—Cobham would not have been an impossible prototype for Falstaff, the unworthy recipient of the King's offices through the patronage of his "great" friends, the man who "waits at court for obtaining of suits" (I. ii. 66-68), the scandalous soldier whose military incompetence is evidenced in all his undertakings, but in nothing so outrageous as his levying of soldiers. . . . ¶ [56] The parallel between the mercenary amours of Falstaff and those of Lord Cobham is, however, striking. . . . ¶ [58] Just before the final bitter scene on Tower Hill, Essex wrote the Queen, "The prating tavern haunter speaks of me what he lists; the frantic libeller writes of me what he lists; they print me and make me speak to the world, and shortly they will play me upon the stage." These words describe, of course, the methods of Essex's political rivals; but there is ample proof that Essex was playing the same game of literary and stage propaganda against his enemies. . . . Could the character of Oldcastle-

Falstaff have been a part of that anti-Cobham propaganda which set out to inform the Queen how worthless a man it was to whom she entrusted the levying of soldiers, on whom she was willing to bestow offices and lands and titles—indeed, honours of every sort, no matter how absurdly inappropriate?

OLIVER (*Library*, 1946, 5th Ser., I, 179-183): How did the brave, honourable, cultured gentleman, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, friend of Henry V and follower of Wyclif, Catholic heretic and Protestant martyr, suffer a change into the shadowy figure of a highwayman who briefly walks the stage in *The Famous Victories*? . . . There were two Sir John Oldcastles, each purporting to be an historical figure. One was the creation of the Catholic chroniclers, most of them churchmen, some of them contemporaries of the living man himself. . . . Walsingham appears to have been the source used chiefly by the later chroniclers. Among these, Capgrave, Fabyan, Hardyng, Polydore Vergil, and even to some extent Holinshed, reflect the religious bias of their source. . . . ¶ [180] The other Oldcastle was the man as he was seen through the eyes of Protestant apologists, and this version of the story appears to spring chiefly from John Bale . . . [who] wrote a life of Oldcastle that presents him as a Protestant hero. . . . His book went through two editions, 1544 in Antwerp and 1548 in London. For anyone of the period except a scholar willing to dig the original documents laboriously out of the records, this was the source of the Protestant version of Oldcastle. By the time of the Henry plays, however, it is not probable that this little octavo would be commonly known or readily available. That Bale's work had any direct influence on the plays we are considering I seriously doubt. That it had other and equally important effects cannot be doubted at all. Its influence on Hall is certified by Foxe. . . . Bale's greatest and farthest-reaching influence, however, was on Foxe himself. Foxe copied Bale's *Brief Chronicle* almost verbatim into his first English edition of the *Acts and Monuments*. . . . He also wrote and inserted a long 'Defense of the Lord Cobham,' an exhaustive polemical treatise intended to [181] meet Harpsfield's accusation that Oldcastle was a traitor. . . . ¶ It should now be clear that the problem of the origin of the dramatic Oldcastle is not as simple as some earlier discussions have made it seem. Some writers have assumed the existence of a popular legend about Oldcastle. But the evidence to support the assumption is most unsatisfactory. It rests chiefly on the plays themselves, and on Fuller, who wrote long after the fact. It requires the postulation of ballads or of some other means of transmitting the legend—none of which have been preserved for our examination. It ignores the probability that the Protestant version of Oldcastle must have been well

known to almost everyone by means of the widely disseminated and almost universally available *Acts and Monuments*, where the story is emphasized by a large and exciting woodcut of Oldcastle's burning. It ignores the fact that Walsingham's account also was available to any reader of Latin (and hence, presumably, to the authors of *The Famous Victories*), through the editions of his chronicles printed by Day and Binneman in 1574. ¶ In fact the suggestion of Oldcastle as an outlaw may well have come from Walsingham. He goes much farther than other chroniclers, including Foxe and Bale, in providing specific details of Oldcastle's outlawry which might have given the dramatists their suggestion. . . . ¶ [182] The notion of Oldcastle as a wild and undisciplined figure might have arisen, also, from the Walsingham-Bale-Foxe report of Oldcastle's public confession during his examination. . . . ¶ Fabyan's *Chronicle* may also have given a suggestion to the playwright, for it covers in one paragraph [ed. Ellis, 1811, p. 583] the capture and end of two well-known outlaws. . . . ¶ [183] The main point I wish to make is that we may have assumed a little too easily and on too flimsy evidence the existence of a folk-legend about Oldcastle, and may have been overlooking material in the easily available literature of the period from which the playwright could have gathered the suggestion he used. We must still consider, however, the possibility that the legends may have existed though we have no real evidence of them.

FIEHLER (*MLQ*, 1949, X, 364-366): Cowardice, poaching, and thievery are associated with service to the "good duke of Norfolk." . . . ¶ [365] On the stage . . . Falstaff, Fastolf, and Oldcastle together were comics, alike associated with cowardice and buffoonery. What is remarkable . . . is that Fastolf and Oldcastle, like Falstaff, are recorded to have served the duke of Norfolk. Shakespeare scholarship calls attention to a letter written in 1749 to Fastolf's biographer Oldys, asserting that Fastolf passed his boyhood in the household of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. Likewise, it is noted that in "The Mirror of Martyrs," by John Weever, first published in 1601, Oldcastle says of himself, "I was made Sir Thomas Mobraies page." It seems hardly likely that both Fastolf and Oldcastle were in fact pages to Thomas Mowbray. With respect to Sir John Fastolf, the earliest printed evidence of the tradition seems to occur in the article [366] on Fastolf which the antiquarian William Oldys contributed to the third volume of *Biographia Britannica*, published in 1750. . . . The earliest reference directly connecting Oldcastle with service to the duke of Norfolk is found in John Weever's poem. . . . ¶ A hint that the tradition attached originally to Oldcastle is found in Blague's consistent reference [in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*] to the "good duke of Norfolk." Besides the

"personages descended from his title," as Richard James noted, there were others who wished to hold the memory of Oldcastle in esteem. These were the militant Protestants, represented by the martyrologist John Foxe, who never forgot that Oldcastle had been burnt as a heretic, and who referred to him as "the good Lord Cobham." Thus it is that Blague . . . serves the "good" duke of Norfolk. Oldcastle, the "good Lord Cobham," was said to have been page to Thomas Mowbray, and when he became a stock comic of the stage, this service to the duke of Norfolk was associated with cowardice, poaching, and thievery.

TAYLOR (Abstract of dissertation, *Univ. of Iowa Bulletin*, 1st Ser., 1931, No. 220): New light is thrown on Falstaff by an examination of the little studied Admiral's play, *Sir John Oldcastle*, a counterblast to 2 *Henry IV*. . . . In *Oldcastle* the role of "pampered glutton" was bestowed upon a priest; Falstaff, as originally presented, slandered a Lollard martyr. Falstaff's army recruits are pitifully inadequate, while those in *Oldcastle* show excellent fighting spirit. Therefore, Falstaff, to all appearances, comments on problems of local government, army scandals and protestantism.

R. FIEHLER (*MLQ*, 1955, XVI, 16-28) re-surveys the Oldcastle-Falstaff relationship.

III. COMMENT ON THE SH-NASHE PROBLEM

WILSON (*Library*, 1945, 4th Ser., XXVI, 11-12): Nashe's evident interest in the performances of *Henry V* in 1592 raises curious speculation, when viewed in conjunction with a large number of parallels between *Henry IV* and his authenticated writings which I have brought together in a table at the end of a forthcoming edition of 1 *Henry IV* [see below]. In the year of Tarlton's death Nashe was only twenty-one, still apparently a scholar at Cambridge, and therefore too young probably to have been in any way concerned with the preparation of the old Queen's company plays. But he might conceivably have taken a hand in these comic scenes for revival performances in 1592 by the Lord Strange's men, a company for which in its reconstituted form as the Lord Chamberlain's men he is known to have been writing in 1596. . . . Furthermore, the fact that most of the parallels which I have observed are to be found in Part I falls in with an impression that, if *Famous Victories* be any guide to the old play at all, Shakespeare leaned much more heavily upon it for his first part than he did for the second. Nevertheless, the [12] latter furnishes one of the most remarkable parallels of all, that between Falstaff's praise of sack and Bacchus's praise of wine in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*. There, however, I must leave the matter, an unsolved, perhaps insoluble, puzzle.

WILSON (ed. 1946, pp. 191-196) gives a list of

parallels between the writings of Nashe and the two parts of *Henry IV*. The parallels for Part One, much larger in number than those for Part Two (six only), are listed below. Over half of the parallels were pointed out by Cowl. (ed. 1914); those in brackets have been added to WILSON's list by the present editor. All references to Nashe are to McKERROW's ed., 5 vols., 1904-1910.

I. ii. 6-12 (Nashe, vol. III, p. 247, ll. 425-430); [I. ii. 41 (Nashe, III, 216, 31-32)]; I. ii. 101-102 (Nashe, II, 64, 9-12); I. ii. 104-105 and II. ii. 81 (Nashe, III, 35, 24-28); II. i. 91 (Nashe, I, 187-188, marginal note); II. ii. 10-34 (Nashe, I, 201, 1-10); II. ii. 42-43 (Nashe, II, 103-104, 36); II. ii. 81-82 (Nashe, I, 162-163, 31-33; II, 107, 16; II, 163, 7-8; III, 35, 24-25); II. ii. 98-99 (Nashe, II, 319, 21-22); II. iii. 107 (Nashe, I, 14, 10-12); II. iv. 34-70 (Nashe, II, 212, 9-24; II, 214, 11-18; [III, 259, ll. 822-823]); II. iv. 290 (Nashe, II, 247, 15); II. iv. 418-419 (Nashe, I, 220, 5-8); II. iv. 423-424 (Nashe, II, 180, 32-35); III. i. 54 (Nashe, II, 259, 13-15); [III. i. 60 (Nashe, II, 258, 31; III, 64, 28-29)]; III. ii. 61-62 (Nashe, II, 136, 24-27); III. iii. 42-46, 73-75 (Nashe, II, 230, 25-31); IV. i. 98-99 (Nashe, II, 272, 3-21; [II, 68, 2-3]); [IV. i. 100 (Nashe, III, 194, 4-5; also II, 136, 13-16; II, 238, 17; III, 193, 10)]; IV. ii. 27-28, 61 (Nashe, I, 211, 23-25; I, 213, 23); IV. ii. 32-33 (Nashe, II, 250, 2-7). See the Index for other references to Nashe in the Critical Notes.

IV. COMMENT ON SH.'S USE OF DANIEL

WILSON (*Library*, 1945, 4th Ser., XXVI, 5-6): It is of course conceivable that Daniel may have witnessed performances of a pre-Shakespearean *Henry IV* and taken some of these particulars [i.e. points of agreement with *Henry IV*] therefrom. But I have shown that Shakespeare certainly read the *Civil Wars* before writing *Richard II* (Introduction to *Richard II*, pp. xl-xliv, lxii-lxiv), and another link (*Civil Wars*, iii, 116) . . . proves . . . his obligations to Daniel in the composition of *Henry IV* also. . . . The lines (2 *Henry IV*, IV. iv. 117-120) not only echo Daniel's very words, but compress a whole stanza of the *Civil Wars* into one pregnant metaphor. It is an excellent illustration of Shakespeare's lordly way with his tributaries. ¶ Observe, too, how he develops other points he takes from Daniel. In *Henry IV* Hotspur is not only 'young,' he is Hal's exact contemporary; he not only encounters Hal in the field, he is slain by him. Yet these new [6] 'facts,' so serviceable to the drama, are themselves little more than precipitations of the atmosphere which invests the battle of Shrewsbury in the poem. There shall young Hotspur, with a fury led, / Meet with thy forward son, as fierce as he' [*Civil Wars*, iii, 97], Daniel writes, apostrophizing the King; and in another passage, from which Shakespeare obviously

caught the spirit of his famous description of the Prince riding forth to war, he exclaims: 'There, lo, that new-appearing glorious star, / Wonder of arms, the terror of the field, / Young Henry, labouring where the stoutest are, / And even the stoutest forces back to yield' [*Civil Wars*, iii, 110]. That such a Henry was destined to vanquish such a Hotspur can almost be seen in Daniel's thought; it only remained for Shakespeare to make the thought dramatically explicit. Above all, perhaps, Daniel furnished his great disciple with his interpretation of the character of King Henry IV, as he had done in the case of the same man as Bolingbroke in the earlier play.

V. A POSSIBLE EARLIER METRICAL PLAY ON HENRY IV

WILSON (*Library*, 1945, 4th Ser., XXVI, 14-15): When I came to edit the play I found that two of my major problems, at any rate in *1 Henry IV*, were lineation and the discrimination between verse and prose. . . . Generations of editors since the days of Pope had been busy carving lines of blank verse from passages printed as prose in the quarto; and I reckon that in Part I close upon 60 lines of verse have been thus recovered and accepted by all. Yet, on the one hand, I was compelled to reverse the process in not a few instances, which I feel tolerably sure were not finally intended by Shakespeare to be spoken as verse at all; and, on the other, I saw that had the will been there I might with a little ingenuity have added a good deal more to the total of verse-lines so far 'recovered.' In a word, as I think, we are confronted in the lineation of the Q text of *1 Henry IV*, not, as editors have assumed, with the aberrations of incompetent compositors, but with a lack of system, often even of decision, on the part of the author who, in the rehandling of a play which he had originally composed in verse throughout, rewrote certain scenes as prose, in which there still remained a number of verse-scrapes from the first draft, while in other scenes he touched up the verse by the addition of brief patches of prose. . . . The two extremes may be illustrated by scenes II. ii and III. i. The Gad's Hill scene is printed as prose by both Q and F, and was evidently so written in the manuscript from which Q was set up. Yet all editors since Pope have rearranged the last seven lines as verse, though line 97 [15] is a syllable too long and line 100 a syllable too short, while it seems clear to me that parts of the rest of the scene were at one time also verse. Omit for instance the words 'O' in line 80 and 'ye' in line 83, and the fourteen lines after the entry of the travellers (including two speeches by Falstaff!) are indubitable verse. Yet the presence of those two little words and the metrical irregularity of lines 97 and 100, taken together with the prose lineation of the whole scene in

Q, which was almost certainly printed from Shakespeare's manuscript, show I think that his final decision was here for prose throughout, and I have followed Q in printing it as such. On the other hand, in III. i, where we first see Hotspur and Glendower together, though the scene is manifestly verse, many of Hotspur's speeches, and one of his wife's, have in my opinion been deliberately prosified in order to break down or roughen the smooth contours of the verse in which they were first written; the two elements being glaringly combined in his penultimate speech. [See Critical Notes, III. ii. 173-178 for Wilson's note on another instance in a different scene.] The effect is to add bluntness and rudeness to the ardour and impetuosity of the original character. . . . ¶ In fine, though by a rather different route, I have come to much the same conclusions as Dr. A. E. Morgan. [See HEMINGWAY, pp. 384-393.] . . . I believe that the 'Oldcastle' *Henry IV* was mainly if not wholly in verse, like its immediate predecessor *Richard II*, and probably a one-part play like its Queen's company original; that it was laid aside when it incurred the wrath of old Lord Cobham in 1596, and not taken out again until after his death in March 1597; that then, determined to run no more risks, Shakespeare altered Oldcastle to Falstaff, changed two other names the use of which might conceivably have given offence in high quarters, and gave orders that copies of the two parts should be sent to the printers at an early moment by way of advertising the purge; and that at the same time, his conception of Oldcastle-Falstaff and to a lesser degree of Hotspur having developed during the interval, he revised considerable portions of the play, so that in the end Falstaff, grown 'out of all compass,' needed a double drama to contain him.

CRAIG (1948, pp. 138-139) accepts MORGAN'S theory of an earlier verse source play (see HEMINGWAY, pp. 384-393).

GREER (*N&Q*, 1954, CXCIX, 53-55) accepts MORGAN'S theory of a lost source play for *1, 2 Henry IV* and *Henry V* (see HEMINGWAY, pp. 384-393) but takes issue with most of MORGAN'S evidence. He feels that "the best piece of evidence . . . lies in the fact that there is not a great amount of similarity in phraseology between Shakespeare's plays and the *Famous Victories*. . . . However the eighteen points of phrasal similarity . . . are sufficient in number . . . to be accounted for by their having come separately to Shakespeare and the anonymous author of the *Famous Victories* from an older play or plays." GREER develops his view (*N&Q*, 1954, CXCIX, 238-241) by listing 15 parallels between the three Henry plays and the *Famous Victories* in General Plot and Order; 42 parallels in Specific Details; and 18 in Phraseology. The majority of these parallels are not found to have a common source in the chronicles; indeed the chronicles have left very little direct

mark on Sh.'s Henry plays, except for the "idea of Hal's ideal nature." In fact did Sh. even consult the chronicles at first hand or "could it be that these few parallels came to Shakespeare from some source that he, Holinshed, and the author of the *Victories* had in common but which no longer exists?"

VI. THE *Famous Victories* AND SH.

WILSON (*Library*, 1945, 4th Ser., XXVI, 3-4, 9-11): "Without any doubt whatever a very intimate connexion of some kind exists between Shakespeare's three plays and this old text [*The Famous Victories*], though what the connexion is has never been established. Two points, however, may here be made. First, *The Famous Victories* . . . is nearer to the chronicles than Shakespeare. . . . Holinshed, like Shakespeare, places the 'old saying' about Scotland in the mouth of Westmoreland, but unlike Shakespeare makes Exeter in his reply turn the saying round, 'affirming rather than he which would Scotland win, he with France must first begin.' Clearly, the person responsible for the *Famous Victories* text has confused the 'saying' with Exeter's retort to it; yet this very fact shows that *Famous Victories* is somehow closer to Holinshed than Shakespeare is. And the second point lends support to the first; for since the *Henry V* we know was produced in 1599, *Famous Victories* cannot possibly be derived from it, by 'report' or otherwise, even if 1598, the date of the extant copy, be taken as the date of publication. ¶ Up to the present, as is well known, critics have almost universally assumed that the obligation is the other way about; and the accepted theory . . . is thus expressed by Sir Edmund Chambers (*William Sh.*, 1930, I, 383): "The historical source of *Henry IV* was Holinshed's *Chronicle*. This only touches lightly [4] upon the Prince's youthful wantonness, and for the elaboration of the theme, the introduction of Oldcastle, and the naming of a minor character Gadshill after the scene of his exploits, Shakespeare probably drew upon *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, an old play of the Queen's men." I believe this to be an inadequate and misleading statement of the situation. It ignores the poet Daniel, an important source; . . . it ignores other chroniclers, above all John Stow, from whose writings, and in particular his *Annals*, most of the stories of Prince Hal's wild youth passed into dramatic currency and so reached Shakespeare; . . . and in my view it misapprehends both the character of *Famous Victories* and its relationship to Shakespeare's work. . . . ¶ [9] Alfred Pollard and I threw out the suggestion in 1919 that *Famous Victories* was neither a source of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and *Henry V* nor the original Queen's company play about Prince Hal in [10] which Tarlton acted, but a much abridged and debased version of *two* plays be-

longing to that company, which eventually reached Shakespeare's hands and after revision by him became the three plays the world now rejoices in. . . . That *Famous Victories* is a 'bad' quarto there cannot now be any reasonable doubt. . . . That is to say, it is a memorial reconstruction, by a touring troupe attached, as the title-page shows, to the Queen's men, of a full-length play or plays, which that unhappy company had been forced to sell during the disastrous plague years of 1592-4. . . . And if *Famous Victories*, which is probably the worst dramatic text that has survived from that period, sinks to lower depths of degeneration than *Orlando*, the explanation is, I believe, that it compresses what were originally two full-length plays within the limits of 1,530 lines, whereas in the other text a single play has been reduced to over 1,600. . . . ¶ But Tarlton, dying in 1588, can have had nothing to do with a text produced by the plague years; and the play in which he acted, according to *Tarlton's jests* 'at the Bull at Bishopsgate,' must therefore have been a complete *Henry IV* belonging to the London repertory of the Queen's company before it fell on evil days, while the second half of *Famous Victories* indicates that with such a *Henry IV* went a *Henry V* also. What happened to the prompt-books of these plays? Nashe's reference to the performances of a *Henry V* in 1592 suggests a possibility that the second of them was being acted on the London stage before the closing of the theatres that year; though whether by the Queen's or some other company is unknown. We do know, however, that the Queen's had sold *Orlando* before 21 February, 1592, since it was being acted on that date by their rivals, the Lord Strange's men, and if the two cases were analogous in this as in other particulars, they may have sold the 'books' of their *Henry IV* and *Henry V* at the same time and to the same company. In any event, the close connexion already noted between *Famous Victories* and Shakespeare's three history plays would be [11] explained if we supposed (i) that his company acquired the old 'books' directly or indirectly from the Queen's men, who then proceeded to act them in the provinces as best they could from memory; (ii) that the memorized text was first compressed into the limits required for a single provincial performance and further adapted, corrupted, and vulgarized as time went on; and (iii) that a member or members of the troupe made a few shillings by writing down what remained of the original, together with the accretions, after three years' degradation, and selling it to the printer in 1594.

[See also GREER, pp. 54-55.]

VII. THE NON-SH'-N. *Richard II* AND SH.

ELSON (*SP*, 1935, XXXII, 177-188) discusses Sh.'s debt to the earlier, anonymous, 1 *Richard II* (or *Woodstock*) in 1 *Henry IV*: [181] Tres-

lian is bound to recall to our minds the rigidly moral Lord Chief Justice of Shakespeare's 2 *Henry IV*. But in his character, behavior, and dramatic effect he bears a far more striking resemblance to Sir John Falstaff. . . . ¶ [182] [The] links and resemblances . . . may be summarized as follows:

- (1) A similar policy in seeking out persons to exploit is followed by Tresilian and Falstaff.
- (2) In fleeing and intimidating innocent people, an identical attitude of mind—individual, unexpected, going beyond the usual portrayal of such villainy—is shown by Tresilian and his satellites in the one play, and by Falstaff in the other. This attitude is seen in analogous situations and expressed in identical phraseology.
- (3) Tresilian's timidity in the face of armed conflict anticipates the cowardice (or "instinct," . . .) of Sir John.
- (4) Both Tresilian and Falstaff have, among their acquaintance, a reputation for trickery and mental adroitness, which, in tight places, they are challenged to employ. [Elson compares Tresilian's tag-word "trick" at various points, especially at lines 2700-2701 (Malone Society ed., 1929), with 1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 242-245.]
- (5) There are several miscellaneous verbal parallels which are not related to the points given above. [The more important parallels for all five heads are included in the Critical Notes; see II. ii. 40-44, 74-84; II. iv. 415-416 (see note to II. ii. 40-44); V. i. 125.]

ROSSITER (ed., *Woodstock*, 1946) shows no knowledge of ELSON's article (see above) and misses all the links there pointed out except that in lines 1659-1660 (Malone Society ed., 1929). He adds one link, however, at lines 344-347 with 1 *Henry IV*, I. ii. 60-64. [In view of the other points of contact with 1 *Henry IV*, it is worth adding that the behavior of Hotspur in I. iii. 125 ff. (without any basis in the historical sources) bears considerable resemblance to the behavior of Lancaster in the opening scene of 1 *Richard II* (lines 33-102).]

GENERAL CRITICISM

I. HISTORICAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

CAMPBELL (1947, pp. 214-218, 228-337): The problem of rebellion was, indeed, the chief concern of *Henry IV*, as it was the chief problem faced by the Tudors, and for the same reasons. . . . ¶ [216] But the situation under *Henry IV* was similar to that under the Tudors, for the same uncertainty of the right of the king to reign, the same conflict over the succession, the same threat of foreign interference, and the same need for a strong central authority existed

at the beginning of the Wars of the Roses as at their close. . . . ¶ [218] The prime threat of rebellion was, however, the threat of anarchy and disruption brought by civil war, and it too was regularly discussed in connection with one great figure of English history, *Henry IV*. A history play dealing with the political problem of rebellion would, then, most properly be built about this unhappy king, who, himself a successful rebel, knew only, in the words of Halle, "an unquiet time." . . . ¶ Two . . . significant changes [in the historical source material] have been made by Shakespeare [229] that have not, I think, been accorded their full significance by critics. First, Shakespeare represents *Henry* as vowing after the death of King Richard to make a voyage to the Holy Land to wash away the blood of the murdered king. In Holinshed the pilgrimage is proposed only in the last year of the king's life and is not connected with the death of Richard or with *Henry*'s desire to make expiation. Daniel had, however, anticipated Shakespeare in making this change. . . . Second, the king's worry over Prince Hal is much exaggerated by Shakespeare, and the acceptance by the king of his son's misdeeds as divine retribution for his own sins is a new interpretation. . . . ¶ Making *Henry*, the rebel, to be plagued by rebellion; showing *Henry*, the regicide, as hoping vainly to placate an avenging King of kings by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; picturing *Henry*, the usurper, as sorrowing over his disobedient son and fearful that he may try to supplant him: these changes indicate the moral universe in which Shakespeare set his characters and give meaning to the plot. . . . ¶ In *Henry IV* . . . if Shakespeare was using an Elizabethan rebellion to focus the Elizabethan teachings concerning rebellion, it would have to be the Northern Rebellion. . . . [231] There are certain striking parallels between the rebellion that Shakespeare drew and the rebellion of 1569, and it was the Northern Rebellion that furnished the occasion for the homily that was the familiar and official pronouncement on rebellion. . . . ¶ The first and most obvious likeness between the two rebellions is to be found in the group of rebels who center the opposition to the king. . . . Against Elizabeth stood Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland; and Christopher Neville, uncle to Westmoreland. Christopher Neville has come down in history as a man of violent temper who was said to have [232] been largely responsible for the actions of his nephew. . . . Also, as the leader of the last phase of the rebellion, in the second part of the play, there is the Archbishop of York, whose role during the Northern Rebellion was played by the Catholic Bishop of Ross, one of Mary's most powerful agents. . . . ¶ In the places of these two [Mortimer and Archibald, Earl of Douglas] stands Mary of Scotland, pretender to the

throne of England. . . [233] The combined wrath of the Percies over Henry's failure to ransom Mortimer, the pretender, and over his demand that they hand over the Scotch prisoners may well be patterned by the demands of the northern lords that Mary, the pretender, be released, and that Mary, the Scotch prisoner, be left in the keeping of the Elizabethan Percy. . . ¶ [234] The rebellion which Shakespeare showed spent itself at Shrewsbury. . . The picture is not a true picture of the rebellions against Henry IV, but it is a true picture of the rebellion of 1569 against Elizabeth. . . ¶ In addition to these likenesses, it must be remembered that as Worcester justified the rebellion against Henry IV as a necessity because of the oppressions and wrongs which the king was heaping upon the ancient nobility which had been the ladder by which he ascended the throne, so the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland proclaimed that they intended to do no harm to the queen or her good subjects but only to amend and redress the wrongs [offered to the old nobility by "divers newe sette upp nobbles"]. . . ¶ [237] While Shakespeare was writing of Henry IV, Essex was frequently displaying his Hotspur qualities, and it is quite possible, as has been suggested, that Shakespeare was thinking of him when he wrote of Hotspur. [For further discussion of the polemical literature relating to the Northern Rebellion, 1569, see J. K. LOWERS, *Mirrors for Rebels*, 1953.]

RIBNER (*SP*, 1952, XLIX, 174, 181-184) argues from the view that in *Richard II* Sh. accepted the deposition of Richard as a historical *fait accompli* which . . . in its immediate effects was good for England. . . [181] In the *Henry IV* plays Shakespeare shows us an unlawful king, one who in Elizabethan eyes would not have the protection of hereditary right, faced with precisely the same problem that had faced Richard in the preceding play. But Henry has the public virtues which Richard lacks, and these make him successful in spite of the illegality of his title. ¶ [182] In the final acts of *Richard II*, Shakespeare had already contrasted Richard and Bolingbroke by two significant parallels of action. In the *Henry IV* plays he continues this deliberate contrast on a larger scale. It is significant that Shakespeare chose to build his plays around the rebellion of the Percies. . . The problem is again brought sharply into focus: which is more important, the divine sanction of hereditary right, or proven ability to govern. The parallel between *Richard II* and *Henry IV* is perfectly expressed in King Henry's speech to Prince Hal [III. ii. 93-96]. . . ¶ The rebellion against Henry IV, as Shakespeare repeats throughout both plays, is carried on in the name of Richard II. . . It is a holy war, waged in the name of the injured agent of God. If Shakespeare, in *Richard II*, had favored the cause of the de-

posed king, it is difficult to believe that he could be so inconsistent as to deliberately select for condemnation in the following plays uprisings [183] specifically carried on in the dead king's cause. And condemn them he does, in unmistakable terms, even condoning the shameful perfidy of Prince John of Lancaster because it is directed against rebel forces. . . ¶ Shakespeare does not absolve him [Bolingbroke] from the guilt of Richard's murder. . . But his reign, it must be emphasized, is not therefore condemned. It has manifestly succeeded where Richard's had failed, and Henry's success in maintaining order goes far to compensate for the illegality of his title. . . In Bolingbroke's ability to hold his throne and promote the good of England lies the right of his son to rule as England's greatest king. . . ¶ [184] [Sh.] accepted the doctrines of absolutism and passive obedience, but the plays are not mere caveats against rebellion. If he was concerned with any political problem it was with the qualities which make for efficient kingship, and if he was concerned with any immediate political situation, it was that of the type of ruler who should succeed Elizabeth. He believed in the doctrine of degree, but he concluded that if the demands of the divinely sanctioned social hierarchy conflicted with the obvious good of England, the latter must take preference.

WILSON (1943, pp. 17-25): The mainspring of the dramatic action is the choice . . . between Vanity and Government, taking the latter in its accepted Tudor meaning, which includes Chivalry or prowess in the field, the theme of Part I, and Justice, which is the theme of Part II. . . Falstaff typif[ies] Vanity in every sense of the word, Hotspur Chivalry, of the old anarchic kind, and the Lord Chief Justice the Rule of Law or the new ideal of service to the state. . . [18] Riot [in *Youth*], like Falstaff, escapes from tight corners with a quick dexterity; [19] like Falstaff, commits robbery on the highway; like Falstaff, jests immediately afterwards with his young friend on the subject of hanging; and like Falstaff, invites him to spend the stolen money at a tavern, where, he promises, 'We will drink diuers wine' and 'Thou shalt haue a wench to kysse Whansoeuer thou wilt'; allurements which prefigure the Boar's Head and Mistress Doll Tearsheet. . . ¶ [20] All this, and much more of a like character, gave the pattern for Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. Hal associates Falstaff in turn with the Devil of the miracle play, the Vice of the morality, and the Riot of the interlude, when he calls him 'that villainous abominable misleader of Youth, that old white-bearded Satan,' 'that reverend Vice, that grey Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity in years,' and 'the tutor and the feeder of my riots.' 'Riot,' again, is the word that comes most readily to King Henry's lips when speak-

ing of his prodigal son's misconduct. And, as heir to the Vice, Falstaff inherits by reversion the functions and attributes of the Lord of Misrule, the fool, the Buffoon, and the Jester. . . . We shall find that Falstaff possesses a strain, and more than a strain, of the classical *miles gloriosus* as well. In short, the Falstaff-Hal plot embodies a composite myth which had been centuries amaking, and was for the Elizabethans full of meaning that has largely disappeared since then: which is one reason why we have come so seriously to misunderstand the play. . . . ¶ [22] Prince Hal is the prodigal, and his repentance is not only to be taken seriously, it is to be admired and commended. Moreover, the story of the prodigal, secularized and modernized as it might be, ran the same course as ever and contained the same three principal characters: the tempter, the younker, and the father with property to bequeath and counsel to give. It followed also the fashion set by miracle, morality and the Christian Terence by devoting much attention to the doings of the first named. . . . They knew, from the beginning, that the reign of this marvellous Lord of Misrule must have an end, that Falstaff must be rejected by the Prodigal Prince, when the time for reformation came. And they no more thought of questioning or disapproving of that finale, than their ancestors would have thought of protesting against the Vice being carried off to Hell at the end of the interlude. ¶ The main theme, therefore, of Shakespeare's morality play is the growing-up of a madcap prince into the ideal king, who was Henry V; and the play was made primarily—already made by some dramatist before Shakespeare took it over—in order to exhibit his conversion and to reveal his character unfolding towards that end, as he finds himself faced more and more directly by his responsibilities. It is that which determines its very shape. . . . ¶ [23] First, Hal is not only youth or the prodigal, he is the young prodigal prince, the youthful heir to the throne. . . . [24] If Hal had sinned, it was not against God, but against chivalry, against justice, against his father, against the interests of the crown, which was the keystone of England's political and social stability. . . . In a word, a word that Shakespeare applies no less than six times to his conduct, he is guilty of Vanity. And Vanity, though not in the theological category of the Seven Deadly Sins, was a cardinal iniquity in a young prince or nobleman of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; . . . ¶ [25] He gave them something much more than a couple of semi-mythical figures from the early fifteenth century, brought up to date politically. He presented persons and situations at once fresh and actual. Both Hal and Falstaff are denizens of Elizabethan London. Hal thinks, acts, comports himself as an heir to the Queen might have done, . . . while Falstaff symbolizes, on the one hand, all the feasting and good cheer for which

Eastcheap stood, and reflects, on the other, the shifts, subterfuges, and shady tricks that decayed gentlemen and soldiers were put to if they wished to keep afloat and gratify their appetites in the London underworld of the late sixteenth century.

[For further discussion of the morality pattern see TILLYARD, pp. 66-67. I. RIBNER (*Tulane Studies in English*, 1954, IV, 21-43) traces the rise of the history play out of the morality and endorses the morality pattern in 1 and 2 Henry IV.]

CHAPMAN (*RES*, 1950, n.s., I, 1-7): Perhaps the tendency to regard Shakespeare's histories as politico-social documents has obscured an older tradition which lies behind them. These plays are in fact dramatic versions of the medieval theme of the fall of kings. . . . ¶ [2] The uncertainty of kingly state is sometimes described in medieval literature by the Latin formula, *regnabo, regno, regnavi, sum sine regno*. . . . The four states of the king correspond to the four positions on the Wheel of Fortune—rising, ruling, falling, and cast off. It is often maintained by medieval writers that the act of getting on the Wheel at all is voluntary, and that those who aspire to greatness expose themselves wilfully to the vicissitudes of Fortune. . . . [3] Throughout *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, he had the *regnabo* formula in mind. As well as direct references to Fortune, there are metaphors of rising and falling to describe the changing luck of the chief protagonists. . . . ¶ [5] At the end of *Richard II*, Bolingbroke is securely enthroned at the top of the Wheel. When the next play begins, his position is already threatened. Two rivals contest for the *regnabo* place. The Prince holds it as his right by natural succession; some may doubt his power to hold it, but his first soliloquy proves that he is conscious of the heights to which he must rise. He is challenged by Hotspur, 'sweet Fortune's minion and her pride,' who vows to set his own hand to the Wheel and to 'Lift the down-trod Mortimer As high in the air as this unthankful King' (I. iii. 135). . . . The rebels know [IV. i. 38-39] that their success depends on the whim of Fortune. . . . Worcester directly accuses Henry of owing his throne only to 'Fortune showering on your head' (V. i. 47). After the victory at Shrewsbury, insecurity is not relieved. . . . ¶ [7] Shakespeare had in mind a literary convention much older than the chronicle-histories of his dramatic predecessors. . . . There is no condemnation of those who choose to mount the Wheel.

ROSSITER (1950, pp. 154-155): It remained for Shakespeare to maintain and transform the 'tragic-comedy' tradition by compelling the divergent tones to yield a new and greater unity. In 1 *Henry IV* he triumphs in this kind (1597). The irresponsible and irrepressible spectator, Falstaff, is no more 'The Vice' than was the

Bastard Falconbridge in *King John*. . . Yet both have hereditary genes from equivocal figures in straightforward moral interludes. By accredited critical theory among the Elizabethans, both plays should have been condemned. The terms are given in a dialogue by Florio, printed in 1591. One speaker says that the plays played in England are 'neither right comedies, nor right tragedies,' and when the other asks: 'How would you name them then?' he is answered with: 'Representations of histories, without any decorum.' The playgoers were unmoved by such theoretic stuff. They agreed with Lodge [155] that the dramatists 'dilucidate and well explain many darke obscure histories, imprinting them in men's minds in such indelible characters that they can hardly be obliterated.' The suggestion of an allegoric shadow-show behind the historic characters, on another plane than the clash of transient personalities, was an essential part of that 'dilucidation.' Shakespeare was a great and original writer in seeing what untapped resources of irony lay in the comi-tragic history-play where 'many times (to make mirth) they make a clowne companion with a kinge' and 'in theyr grave counsels, they allow the advice of fooles.'

II. STRUCTURE OF THE PLAY

A. The Debate on the Dramatic Unity of 1 and 2 Henry IV

WILSON (1943, pp. 4-5, 88-91): Scarcely less absurd are those, and they are in the majority, who, whatever their professions, in practice treat the two Parts as two separate plays. First things first, of course: Shakespeare must have finished Part I before Part II. It is probable also, since he was an actor-dramatist writing for a successful company, always eager for copy, that Part I was put on the stage directly it was ready and enjoyed a run before the 'book' for Part II could be completed and rehearsed. Part I possesses, indeed, a kind of unity, lacking in Part II, which seems to bear this out. . . . I do not believe that anyone who has edited the two parts together can fail to perceive (1) that Shakespeare must have kept his intentions for Part II steadily in mind all the time he was writing Part I, and (2) that Part II, so far from being as one critic [C. F. TUCKER BROOKE] has called it 'an unpremeditated sequel' to Part I, is a continuation of the same play, which is no less incomplete without it than Part II is itself unintelligible without Part I. . . . ¶ The two parts are more than one, however: they are together complete in themselves; an important point, which once grasped frees us from a serious misunderstanding. . . . [5] No spectator of *Henry IV* could possibly anticipate what was to happen to Falstaff in *Henry V*. . . . [88] There is indeed nothing whatever in Part I to indicate that Falstaff possesses a military reputation of any kind. . . . It is from Part II that Morgann

draws his evidence, such as it is. And the 'why' for this is plain as way to parish church, though, owing to the habit of knowing and judging by what is going to happen, all the critics seem to have missed it. Falstaff only becomes what Bradley calls 'a person [89] of consideration in the army' after the battle of Shrewsbury, after, that is, he has slain, or helped to slay, the mighty Hotspur, chief of the rebels. In Part I he is Jack Falstaff with his familiars; in Part II he is Sir John with all Europe. . . . [90] [Falstaff's] claim to the honours of the field, though jestingly phrased, is seriously advanced, and an ample reward demanded. . . . [Law (SP, 1953, L, 181) questions WILSON's interpretation here.] ¶ As far as I am aware, no one has ever asked what reward, if any, he receives, or whether he ever attempts to make good this hint [V. iv. 160-163] of adjusting his behaviour to his increased importance in the public eye. Yet Shakespeare develops both points in the very next Falstaff scene. Why have they been overlooked? Because that scene, being the second scene of Part II, has been thought of as *belonging to another play*, only distantly connected with words and events at Shrewsbury, of which we read in the penultimate scene of Part I. On the other hand, once the connection is made, it becomes obvious that Falstaff's conduct at the beginning of Part II will be [91] inexplicable to an audience, unless they have his exact situation and actual words at Shrewsbury fresh in mind. In short, Part II was written to be played immediately, or at not more than twenty-four hours' interval, after Part I. It is the most telling proof among many of the theatrical and dramatic unity of the two parts.

[For other views on the singleness of the two parts see MUIR and O'LOUGHLIN, p. 65; TILLYARD, pp. 66-67; J. W. MACKAIL (*The Approach to Sh.*, 1933, p. 56); O. J. CAMPBELL (ed., *The Living Sh.*, 1949, p. 411); G. I. DUTHIE (*Shakespeare*, 1951, p. 118); and J. MASEFIELD (*William Sh.*, 1954, pp. 77-78).]

HARRISON (ed. 1948, pp. 655-656): 2 *Henry IV* . . . shows many signs of being an afterthought. . . . When the two parts are compared, it is clear that several of the persons and episodes in Part II are expansions of persons or ideas which were more slightly sketched in Part I. The Hostess, who made only a brief appearance in Part I, has developed into Mistress Quickly; the parodies of Allevyn's tragic style in the play scene are embodied in a complete character in Ancient Pistol; Falstaff's account of how he had collected [656] recruits for his company is expanded into a long scene with Justice Shallow. Indeed Falstaff, who began as the stooge of Prince Hal . . . has become the major and dominating character. ¶ These developments are signs that to meet popular demand Shakespeare sacrificed history to fiction. In Part I 1,501 lines were given to the historical scenes, and 1,539 lines to the comic plot; in Part II

1,370 lines were given to history, but 1,991 lines to the Falstaff story. The historical plot in Part I is a coherent whole; in Part II it consists simply of nine scenes from history.

SHAABER (*Adams Mem. Studies*, 1948, pp. 218-226): The incompleteness assumed by both interpreters [WILSON and TILLYARD] is not apparent to me. Of course, the reign of Henry IV is incomplete; as long as [219] Shakespeare chose to make the Battle of Shrewsbury the climax of his play it could not be otherwise. The rebels, to be sure, are not completely quelled, but then they never are. The announcement that they have been thoroughly scotched a moment before Henry IV dies is an invention of Shakespeare's intended, I think, to add a poignant irony to the king's death. . . . If the theme of *1 Henry IV* is what Dr. Tillyard says it is, I do not understand how the play can be called incomplete. . . . Fully reconciled with his father, he [Hal] seems to have set the issue between them completely at rest. . . . ¶ *1 Henry IV*, IV. iv is very commonly pointed out as a reason for taking the two plays as a unit. It has even been said that this appearance of the archbishop "has no meaning unless his conspiracy was to follow." On the contrary, the scene has an obvious meaning in the [220] dramatic scheme of *1 Henry IV* and is not "almost irrelevant" to it. Its business is to foreshadow the outcome of the Battle of Shrewsbury. There the rebels are to meet with a decisive check, and Shakespeare, after his usual fashion, anticipates what is to come. This scene signifies that the rebel cause is in a bad way indeed if one of its ringleaders has grave misgivings about it. . . . If *1 Henry IV* had never had a sequel, Shakespeare, judged by his practice elsewhere, might well have put this scene in his play. . . . ¶ The idea that the relations of the prince and the king, "eased by the interview in III. ii and his brilliant conduct in battle," still await "final clarification" is adroitly stated. Much virtue in *eased*. Is there really the slightest hint in *1 Henry IV* that the king and the prince are not completely and triumphantly reconciled? Does "Thou hast redeem'd thy lost opinion" (V. iv. 48) really mean "I feel a bit easier about you than I did before, but the final showdown is still to come"? I cannot think that the impression left by *1 Henry IV* is anything but that of a complete vindication of the prince in his father's eyes. . . . ¶ In another sense, however, Professor Wilson and Dr. Tillyard have a point here. There is no doubt that, from the first, Shakespeare knew that the scene at the death-bed of Henry IV and the rejection of Falstaff were parts of the legend of Prince Hal with high dramatic possibilities. [221] But this is really no argument that *2 Henry IV* was conceived and planned with its predecessor. No one thinks that, as he wrote *1 Henry IV*, Shakespeare did not have a sequel in mind—a sequel approximately like the play we know as *Henry*

V. . . . Therefore, since Shakespeare certainly had a play on Henry V in mind when he wrote *1 Henry IV*, the anticipations in the latter of the death of Henry IV and the rejection of Falstaff cannot be used to prove that he also had *2 Henry IV* in mind. . . . ¶ I cannot say much against Professor Wilson's idea that the appearance of the Chief Justice in *2 Henry IV* is a proof of a unified plan for both plays, for I do not know how an idea of this kind can be proved or disproved. Professor Wilson thinks that the late appearance of the Chief Justice must be the result of planning; I think it could equally well be the result of a search for new material to make a play not contemplated until Falstaff became a tremendous hit. . . . ¶ Besides imputing weakness to the arguments in favor of a unified play, I submit that there are other reasons for viewing the idea skeptically. The first is the similarity of the structure of the two plays. Structurally *2 Henry IV* is almost a carbon copy of the first play. . . . [222] The sequence of scenes developing the historical plot and that of the comic scenes is almost exactly the same. . . . The question is, then, would Shakespeare be more likely to plan the plays in this fashion if he were working out, in a single fit of creation, a play of ten acts or if, after *1 Henry IV* proved a resounding success, he aimed at repeating it? To me the latter view is the more probable. ¶ Another reason for hesitating to see the two plays as one is, I think, the fact that in the second the clock is turned back most flagrantly. At the end of *1 Henry IV* the king and the prince are *en rapport* and united against the Welsh; in *2 Henry IV* we find them estranged all over again so that they must be reconciled a second time. No new cause of misunderstanding is shown; the situation simply reverts to what it was [223] in the beginning. . . . It is hard for me to believe that an experienced playwright who from the first contemplated making the death-bed scene the climax of his picture of the relations of father and son would have anticipated their reconciliation in his version of the Battle of Shrewsbury and the events leading up to it. . . . [SHAABER points out that he knows of no other examples among extant Elizabethan plays of the sort of unity postulated by WILSON and TILLYARD.] ¶ It would seem then that, if *Henry IV* is a fully integrated unit, it is [225] virtually unique. . . . But one may still ask what Shakespeare would have gained by it, what advantage a highly integrated scheme gave him in attracting audiences to the theater. From a purely practical point of view, surely none at all; successive performances, separated by an interval of not more than twenty-four hours, require a degree of cooperation of the audience difficult to obtain. . . . ¶ [226] This is not to say that there are no links between the two parts of *Henry IV* or that the experience of seeing *2 Henry IV* is not the richer for having seen the first part.

It is only to say that I cannot square what I think a knowledgeable playwright would do in writing two linked plays with Professor Wilson's description of *Henry IV*, and that therefore I am suspicious of his description. The unity which he attributes to the two plays seems to me to be a theatrical impossibility.

CARV (SQ, 1952, III, 23-38) sides with SHAABER, against WILSON and TILLYARD: All the available evidence indicates that it was usual to refer to *The First Part* pretty much throughout 1598 as if it were regarded as a play complete in itself. . . . ¶ [24] It does not seem to have been observed, in this connection, that *The First Part* was entered in the Stationers' Register a second time, namely, on June 25, 1603. This time, however, it was called *Henry the. 4 the firste part*. Thus in the official records when the distinction had become necessary, the distinctive title appeared. . . . ¶ [25] If one surveys all the materials which Holinshed presents in the fourteen years of the reign of King Henry IV, one finds considerable reason to think that Shakespeare approached those materials when he began to compose *The First Part* as if he were about to treat them once and for all and without any thought of reserving a portion of them for subsequent dramatic treatment. . . . To an Englishman, . . . the battle of Shrewsbury loomed large, . . . as one of the more memorable battles of English history. . . . It was therefore . . . [27] only natural that Shakespeare should fashion his dramatization of that battle as if it were the vortex about which all the remaining history of the reign wheeled and eddied, and toward which it was irresistibly drawn. . . . He depicted Hal as the heroic conqueror of the all-praised Hotspur at Shrewsbury; and, reaching up almost to the end of Holinshed's chronicle of Henry IV, he drew the reconciliation between Henry and Prince Hal back from 1412 to a date shortly before the great battle in 1403, a detail which more than any other lends an air of finality to his handling of these materials. For this not only brought the Prince's reformation within the scope of *The First Part*, but it linked it inextricably with "the royal field of Shrewsbury." . . . ¶ On the other hand, if we look at Shakespeare's treatment of his historical materials in *The Second Part*, we find no such dynamic boldness in the treatment as we do in *The First Part*. . . . [To demonstrate, CARV considers the characters of Glendower and the Archbishop of York.] ¶ [28] Holinshed, who obviously takes a hostile view of Glendower, depicts him as a thorn in the side of Henry throughout the greater part of his reign. . . . But it is Shakespeare alone who gives us the full-length portrait of Glendower which we get in *Henry IV*, the most striking colors of which are brushed on in III. i. . . . ¶ Although [Holinshed] is well aware that Glendower was a courtly and highly educated gentleman (sig.

Ddd5^r-6), he seems determined to play down his virtues and to depict him as a shadowy and lurking iniquity, cruel, ruthless, barbarous, full of tricky guile and menacing cunning, the leader of a savage and wanton people. . . . [29] Holinshed's final touch is his most significant. Glendower is robbed of the last shred of honor, and is not even allowed in the solitary circumstances of abject misery to die like a hunted beast, but is depicted as a victim of despair and starvation. . . . Shakespeare so treats this phase of Glendower's character [his knowledge of necromancy and the supernatural] as to stress his knowledge and refinement rather than this savagery and craftiness, as Holinshed does. Moreover, Shakespeare's Glendower is a linguist of some ability. . . . Likewise he is a lover of poetry and apparently also of music. . . . ¶ [30] This conception of Glendower, so altered from that in Holinshed, so much Shakespeare's own artistic conception, so complete, so self-sufficient, suggests a finality which makes the scanty and scattered allusions to him in *The Second Part* superfluous strokes in the portrait. . . . ¶ According to Holinshed, . . . things were much different after the battle of Shrewsbury. . . . ¶ [31] Shakespeare had ample materials with which to continue his account in *The Second Part* had he so desired. He chose on the other hand not to add in any substantial way to the account he had already given of the activities of Glendower, adding merely the statement that he died. . . . ¶ Shakespeare evidently intended to treat of [the Archbishop of York] as he had of Glendower in *The First Part*—once and for all. Wishing to draw him into the rebellion of the Percies, he found it again necessary to alter extensively the facts which Holinshed offered. Holinshed mentions York only once before Shrewsbury, and then in such a context as to indicate he had no active part in the rebellion (sig. Eee^r). In Shakespeare he is one of the confederates of the Percies, a fact which both Wilson and Tillyard appear to overlook in evaluating and explaining *Henry IV*, IV. iv. . . . ¶ [In II. iii] Hotspur comments, in accord with Holinshed, "Why my Lord of York commends the plot," but he goes on to enumerate the confederates and explicitly says, contrary to Holinshed, that the Archbishop agreed to put an army in the field. [Thus IV. iv is necessary to explain] why he was to be absent from the field of Shrewsbury, a fact which they would not otherwise be able to understand; and at the same time it serves as a point of dramatic recapitulation. . . . ¶ [32] The dramatic assumptions of *The Second Part*, far from according with the views of Wilson, demand that we forget much that has been demonstrated in *The First Part* concerning such major figures as Prince Hal and the King. . . . ¶ [33] In *The Second Part* no mention is made by any important character of any previous action on the Prince's part which is anything but reprehensi-

ble or wanton. In other words, the dramatic assumption of *The Second Part* is that the audience will or must forget that the Prince's reformation has already taken place in *The First Part*, for it is obviously here presented with another version of the same thing. . . . ¶ With Wilson's [hypothesis] in mind . . . one may reasonably assume that there is unity and continuity in each of the dramatic characters whose activities are spread out upon the larger pattern of a ten-act structure; moreover, [34] it would only be natural that the portraiture of character on such a scale should seem a more gradual and detailed process than that within the conventional five-act structure. . . . But in an examination of the texts themselves, what one finds is not a gradual development spread over ten acts, indicating how by stages "The Prince Grows Up"; what one finds is not one but two distinct, abrupt, and marked changes, one in each play. . . . ¶ In *The First Part* his reformation occurs in III. ii and in *The Second Part* in IV. v; in each case the final proof is given later, in the one at Shrewsbury and in the other outside Westminster Abbey. . . . ¶ [35] When we come to *The Second Part*, however, all this [the promise of reform in *1 Henry IV*, III. ii and the proof of it in IV. v] is forgotten. One finds it extremely difficult to apply any hypothesis of a continuation in the development of these dramatic characters, since neither the King nor the Prince appears to remember what happened in *The First Part*. . . . ¶ [36] Continuing the same line of reasoning, let us consider the treatment of a theme common to *The Famous Victories* and to Holinshed, namely, that the Prince desired the death of his father so that he might have the crown at once, and that the King feared his son might do him violence. . . . This theme is treated in both plays under consideration. [37] In *The First Part* it is treated with great brevity but nonetheless recognizably [V. iv. 47-57]. . . . ¶ [38] In this case again . . . all that was accomplished in *The First Part* is forgotten in *The Second Part*. Though the King in *The First Part* is convinced that the Prince has a care for his father's life and has seen his son prove it by risking his own in defence of his father's, the Prince and the King of *The Second Part* are entirely unaware that any such matters need to be remembered.

LAW (SP, 1953, L, 178-182) discusses the various linking devices which Sh. employs to connect *1 Henry IV* with Part Two and concludes: [182] All this repetition of events that are carefully set forth in the last scene of the earlier play would be superfluous if the audience had just witnessed the several events, as Dover Wilson seems to think [i.e., the day before]. But Shakespeare carefully links them with the outbreak of the new rebellion, into which he immediately enters.

HUNTER (RES, 1954, n.s., V, 236-248) believes that Sh. composed *1 Henry IV* "without any

intention of composing its sequel," but that nevertheless the two parts do present a kind of unity distinct from mere continuity: [237] The unity of the play is that of a diptych, in which repetition of shape and design focuses attention on what is common to the two parts. [He shows how this kind of unity may be found in Chapman's *Byron* plays, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays, and, in an inferior form, in Marston's two parts of *Antonio and Mellida*.] . . . ¶ [245] Here [in the two parts of *Henry IV*] we find, . . . a structure which shows the relationship between two incompatibles—Rebellion and Order, in the state and in the mind of the prince; the first is subordinated to the second at the end of Part One, but by showing us the preparations of the Archbishop of York and by resurrecting Falstaff from his sham death, Shakespeare keeps his conclusion from being irretrievably final. The incompatibles clash again in Part Two and a final conclusion is only produced when one is destroyed by the other. Both parts have the same design, but in the second we have a change of direction and a different atmosphere. In Part One the prince seems to be fighting through his environment . . . so that the process of self-education and self-revelation is a genuine and dramatic struggle. Part Two is more than a feeble repetition of this: though the design is the same, the focus of interest is different. In Part Two the chance of victory by Disorder, either in the state or in the prince's mind, is much more remote; the misunderstandings are less deep-seated and more easily dispelled. [He compares IV. ii in each play to illustrate the point.] . . . ¶ [246] The struggle of Part Two is not the struggle of coming-of-age, nor indeed a personal struggle of this kind at all. Its interest is that it draws from the interaction of Rebellion and Order in court and country (the same framework as in Part One) a more abstract and meditative view of kingship. The first part may be said to deal with the question: "What is the relationship between the princely mind and the common disorder of experience?"; the second part raises a rather different question: "What is the cost of kingliness in a world of duties rather than achievements?" . . . ¶ Falstaff's career also follows the two-part play's normal design of rise and fall: . . . [247] Very different though Byron and Falstaff may be, the comic presumption of the *miles gloriosus* can be treated structurally in much the same way as the *tyrannus* of the overgreat servant. Byron and Falstaff are alike in their inability to change their ways, and both proceed directly and blindly through a repetition of the acts of Part One to a purgation by death or dismissal at the end of Part Two.

TILLYARD (SP, 1954, LI, 34-39) defends his position that the two parts of *Henry IV* are an "organism" rather than a mere "compilation," but denies that he follows WILSON in believing

that "Shakespeare had settled all the details of the second part before beginning to write the first"; and admits that he thinks "it probable that the success of Falstaff in the first part influenced the share Falstaff had in the second." [See R. A. LAW's "Rejoinder," *SP*, 1954, LI, 40-41.]

[See also W. G. ZEEVELD (*SO*, 1952, III, 249-251) for further criticism of the WILSON-TILL-YARD view, F. P. WILSON (*Marlowe and the Early Sh.*, 1953, p. 129) and M. M. REESE (*Shakespeare*, 1953, pp. 534-535) also seem to question the pre-planned continuity of the two parts.]

B. Thematic Ideas and Patterns

ALEXANDER (*Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 1933, II, 595-601): The symbolic depth of this episode [Falstaff's stabbing of Hotspur] has a strong dramatic effect. The principle represented by Falstaff is incompatible with the principle personified by Hotspur. The childish, irresponsible hedonism of Falstaff has no greater enemy than the self-sacrificing masculine heroism of Hotspur who leaves his beautiful young wife to fight for his ideals and for the honor of his friend. ¶ [596] How is it then that our sympathy is still with Falstaff? The plot of the entire drama concerns the metamorphosis of Prince Henry from a hopeless ne'er-do-well into a hero, but Shakespeare makes us feel throughout that this change from the irresponsible and harmless enjoyment of life to the assumption of responsibilities and duties is by no means an unambiguous gain. . . . One may reasonably doubt whether Falstaff's adventures and drinking bouts are not relatively harmless in comparison with the high politics of his country. . . . ¶ The double structure of the drama permanently forces us to look alternately at two different aspects of life which are in steady contradiction to each other. Our social self admires [597] the heroism of Hotspur, and it also identifies itself with the patriotic endeavors of the king, but the next moment another part of our personality is only too ready to accept Falstaff's philosophy of life, with its hedonism and its disrespect for the absoluteness of social values. Prince Hal stands between these two philosophies of life. His social self gradually gains the upper hand, but even at the end of the drama [Part I], . . . he expresses his inner conflict more clearly than ever before. . . . ¶ [598] The banishment of Falstaff to ten miles from the king's body in order to eliminate temptation is nothing else than a dramatic presentation of what in psychoanalysis we call repression.

Falstaff's effect on an audience is comprehensible now. He represents the deep infantile layers of the personality, the simple innocent wish to live and enjoy life. He has no taste for abstract values like honor or duty and no ambition. . . . ¶ [599] Hotspur is the exponent of destruction, but destruction which serves not

entirely selfish but also collective, that is, caste, interests. Falstaff is the personification of the wholly self-centered pleasure-seeking principle. . . . ¶ Prince Henry in the process of maturing must overcome both of these principles. When he kills Hotspur on the battlefield, he overcomes symbolically his own destructive tendency [his patricidal tendencies]. In killing Hotspur, the arch-enemy of his father, he overcomes his own aggressions against his parent. But he must overcome also the Falstaff in himself if he is to become a fully balanced adult. . . .

¶ [601] We are inclined to say that in Prince Henry, Shakespeare gave, if not the expression of his actual self, then the most idealized expression of his own personality or in other words the most successful solution of his inner problems. [See KRIS, p. 93.]

KNIGHTS (1934, pp. 121-129): *Henry IV* does not fit easily into any of the critical schemata, though 'incongruity' has served the critics in good stead. . . . Actually each play is a unity, sub-plot and main plot co-operating to express the vision which is projected into the form of the play. And this vision, like that of all the great writers of comedy, is preeminently serious. . . . [122] The first speech of the King deserves careful attention. The brittle verse suggests the precarious poise of the usurper. . . . The violence of the negative which follows [l. 5] suggests its opposite. 'Thirsty' contains the implication that the earth is eager for more blood; and when the prophecy of peace ends with the lisp line 'Shall now, in mutual well-beseeming ranks,' we do not need a previous knowledge of the plot or of history to realize that Henry is actually describing what is to come. The account of the proposed crusade is satiric. . . . Throughout we are never allowed to forget that Henry is a usurper. . . . [123] The rebels of course are no better. The hilarious scene in which the plot is hatched (l. iii. 187-302) does not engage much sympathy for the plotters, who later squabble over the expected booty like any long-staff sixpenny strikers. . . . [124] The satire is general, directed against statecraft and warfare. Hotspur is the chief representative of chivalry, and we have only to read his speeches to understand Shakespeare's attitude towards 'honour'; there is no need to turn to Falstaff's famous soliloquy. The description of the Mortimer-Glendower fight has just that degree of exaggeration that is necessary for not too obvious burlesque, though oddly enough it has been used to show that Hotspur 'has the imagination of a poet'. . . . ¶ [126] The reverberations of the sub-plot also help to determine our attitude towards the main action [compare ULRICH, HEMINGWAY, p. 396]. The conspiracy of the Percys is sandwiched between the preparation for the Gadshill plot and counter-plot and its execution. Pains has 'lost much honour' that he did not see the 'action' of the Prince with the drawers. When we see the

Court we remember Falstaff's jointstool throne and his account of Henry's hanging lip. Hotspur's pride in himself and his associates ('Is there not my father, my uncle and myself?') is parodied by Gadshill (II. i. 69-73). The nobles, like the roasters, prey on the commonwealth, 'for they ride up and down on her and make her their boots.' The Falstaff attitude is therefore in solution, as it were, throughout the play, even when he is not on the stage; but it takes explicit form in the person and speeches of Sir John. We see an heroic legend in process of growth in the account of his fight with the men in buckram. . . . His realism easily reduces Honour to 'a mere scutcheon.' Prince Henry's duel with Hotspur is accompanied by the mockery of the Douglas-Falstaff fight, which ends with the dead and the counterfeit dead lying side by side. If we can rid ourselves of our realistic illusions and their accompanying moral qualms we realize how appropriate it is that Falstaff should rise to stab Hotspur's body and carry him off as his luggage on his back. . . . The satire on warfare, the Falstaff attitude, implies an axis of reference, which is of course found in the gross and vigorous life of the body. We find throughout the play a peculiar insistence on imagery deriving from the body, on descriptions of death in its more gruesome forms, on stabbing, cutting, bruising and the like. We expect to find references to blood and death in a play dealing with civil war, but such references in *Henry IV* are of a kind not found in a war play such as *Henry V*. In the first scene we hear of 'trenching,' it 'channels' the fields and 'bruises' the flowers. 'The edge of war' is 'like an ill-sheathed knife' which 'cuts his master.' Civil war is an 'intestine shock,' and battles are 'butchery.' We learn that the defeated Scots lay 'balk'd in their own blood,' and that 'bestly shameless transformation' was done by the Welsh upon the corpses of Mortimer's soldiers. Later Hotspur mentions the smell of 'a slovenly unhandsome corpse,' and we hear of Mortimer's 'mouthed wounds.' So throughout the play. The dead Blunt lies 'grinning,' Hotspur's face is 'mangled,' and Falstaff lies by him 'in blood.' Falstaff's 'honour' soliloquy insists on surgery, on broken legs and arms. To all this Falstaff, a walking symbol, is of course opposed. . . . [127] The whole of the . . . play is impregnated with satire which crystallizes in Falstaff. Now satire implies a standard, and in *Henry IV*, the validity of the standard itself is questioned; hence the peculiar coherence and universality of the play. 'Honour' and 'state-craft' are set in opposition to the natural life of the body, but the chief body of the play is, explicitly, 'a bolting-hutch of beastliness.'—'A pox on this gout! or a gout on this pox, I should say.' Other speeches reinforce the age and disease theme which, it has not been observed, is a significant part of the Falstaff theme.

EMPSON (1935, pp. 43-46), discussing "Double Plots": 1 *Henry IV* is a plain case of 'tragic king—comic people'; . . . But what is obvious about it on the stage is true of the ideas let loose by the double plot; the parts tend to separate. There are three worlds each with its own hero; rebel camp, tavern, and court; chivalric idealism, natural gusto, the cautious politician. The force and irony of the thing depends on making us sympathize with all three sides so that we are baffled when they meet; this makes an unmanageable play, and I think is only possible because the prince belongs to all three parties. Obviously he belongs both to Falstaff's and the King's—he is very like his father; the same arguments, supported by the same metaphors, make the one pretend friendship with Falstaff, the other adopt a dignified seclusion. But when he meets Hotspur the two seem alike, and probably Ernest Jones would call their scenes a 'decomposition' of one person; . . . The prince is the go-between who can talk their own language to each; . . . he is absorbed into the world of Hotspur as parasitically as into that of Falstaff, and as finally destroys his host there. ¶ Something very curious is going on when Falstaff and Hotspur meet. The great scene in which their ideals are opposed to one another shows Douglas, . . . searching the battlefield for Henry, and meeting (it is [44] the chronicle series in little) innumerable simula-cra, a non-personal budding of kings. . . . Among these falling and phantom kings the clown Falstaff takes his tumble; the stage directions insist that he is 'killed' by Douglas at the same moment as the prince kills Hotspur. Like inseparable twins the hero's two chief rivals fall together; Harry has both parts in his wardrobe. The reigning house are usurpers, the clothes of kings only . . . and that is why the world is crawling with false authorities like Falstaff. . . . ¶ [45] We see him [Falstaff] wandering about the battlefield, cheering on, with obscene approval, the groups of fighters. The main effect is to take the dignity out of the rebels; 'war is only another lust; Hotspur is as wicked as Falstaff.' . . . Hotspur dies after being allowed a few grand lines. The prince's remarks about the two rival heroes [Hotspur and Falstaff] stretched before him are then arranged to apply to both, by a series of puns applying both to fatness and greatness. . . . [46] We are forced to feel seriously here about lines that this hideously clever author writes frankly as a parody; the joke turns back from Falstaff against Hotspur. For Falstaff has already made this joke his own [V. i. 121-124]. . . . Falstaff hands the prince the joke ready-made; what he means is that he is too great for the prince not to betray him. Indeed the prince implies that he is a traitor like Hotspur (in the joke about the 'deer' being disembowelled) as he leaves the bodies together. ¶ Falstaff then jumps up and proceeds to pluck bright

honour from the pale-faced moon; wounds the dead Hotspur euphemistically in the 'high' (again the punishment of a traitor) and claims the reward for having killed him. The words of the prince to his brother, as he comes back, again apply to John Falstaff as well as another hero. "Come, brother John, full bravely hast thou fleshed / Thy maiden sword."

MUIR and O'LOUGHLIN (1937, pp. 107-112): The two parts of *Henry IV* may be regarded in two ways, as a ten-act play on the theme of rebellion, or as two satirical comedies on war and policy. . . . ¶ [108] In *Henry IV*, the underplot is a parody of the noble heroics of the main plot. Falstaff, with his army and his views on honour, is the reality: King and rebels, with their statcraft and honour, the fiction he explodes. Shakespeare, with his usual fairness, has left it to the audience's judgment to decide between Falstaff and his betters, but he leaves us in no doubt of his own views. . . . ¶ [111] Falstaff alone is left, whose massive body bestrides the two plays like a colossus. He is the flesh, graced only with an unparalleled store of wit and humour. What we recognize as disgusting in humanity [112] and in ourselves is in Falstaff made amusing and lovable. He has the courage to admit his vices, even the vice of cowardice. He believes in the survival of the fittest, and the fittest are those who survive. The rest are brave because they dare not be cowards, or because, in his view, they are too stupid to realize that to live is more important than anything else.

CADOUX (1938, pp. 36-38): These three plays give prominence to 'honour,' a hybrid ideal, partly of high place and power, partly of reputation for fearlessness and prowess in fight. It would make a man active, but its connexion with public good was accidental: it might provoke to rebellion or the killing of rebels. It would make a man true to his word and to his friends, but for reputation rather than for truth's or love's sake. It was essentially a form of self-love and found its consummation in an unshared glory. . . . ¶ [37] Royalty and nobility are self-seekers with no ideal above an essentially self-concerned 'honour.' ¶ Falstaff's wit provides a more glorious triumph of spirit than that which 'honour' boasts, and the comparison is structural to the play. With property Falstaff is dishonest, and the two parts of *Henry IV* [38] show how a stolen crown was held—in court the big thieves, and the little thieves in the tavern; and the advantage is with the tavern. Against the companionableness of laughter stands the solitary exaltation sought by 'honour.' The King's treatment of Mortimer and Hotspur is meaner than any of Falstaff's rogueries.

GLUNZ (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1939, LXXV, 66-71): The other king dramas are related to *Richard III* in their picture of the state. . . . A new conception of the king, that which is

in conformance with the character of the state, evolves with Bolingbroke. Even on the march he receives reinforcements from all sides. His friendly words and entertaining, interested conversation characterize the man who, unlike Richard [II], is one with the members of the state who are intent on the welfare of the whole. . . . ¶ [67] The two parts of *Henry IV* still show to some extent the typical situation of this phase of the tragic in Shakespeare. The concept of the state in the nobles and in the king is not one which stems from the heart. The seditious nobles speak and act in the name of the state to which, according to them, the king is doing violence. Henry is a usurper who, by means of friendliness and deceit, has won the state for himself and now plays the part of despot. . . . ¶ [68] In *Henry IV* there is already in part a new glimpse of the state. For when noble representatives of the state [69] believe they have grounds to revolt against the king, they—a Percy Hotspur, an Owen Glendower, a Mortimer—do not bear in them the ethical determination and the unity with which a Richmond or a Bolingbroke turned against a king who was inadequate, injurious and constricting to them and the state. The rebels are now not so much representatives of pure, ethical humanity as querulants, each of whom is entangled in his peculiar egocentricity. Men who esteem the ethic of the state are not those who dismember their own country. And to the state belongs also the pack of drunks, brigands, pimps, and whores which is here depicted with so much love. No single person here represents wholly the federal ethic of the self-sufficing, good man. Whereas hitherto the concept of state in the frame of the play could be summed up in one term (the state as suprahuman, arbitrarily-devastating fate, or the state as good human nature become intuitive), this is no longer possible in *Henry IV*. To be sure, the king is still preoccupied with the thought that the state could be made the treasury of a single struggle toward good and toward the self-development of all citizens. He is still seeking unanimity between king and state, but he does not find it. He runs aground and is at last overtaken in his quest by death. On the other hand, a new concept of kingship develops with Prince Henry. ¶ The kingship, which always hovers before Prince Hal's eyes, is no longer the concrete manifestation of the state. It cannot be because the state is no longer a simple, uniform entity. Rather it is depicted as so finely graduated that all its representatives who appear in the play, from the heroic Hotspur to the cowardly drunk and liar Falstaff, fall into the total compass of the potential manifestation of humanity. There are here no universal, perfect, exalted representatives of the species man. Rather the human potential of the state is now filled up by a multiplicity of realistically depicted, better or worse, individuals. . . . The

state encompasses the totality of all possible manifestations of man. . . . ¶ [71] The state, which comprises individuals from the common, superstitious man to the self-confident, good man, and over the whole of which the hero towers and triumphs, is to be met in all the tragedies from this time on.

WILSON (1943, pp. 70-72): Hal's acquiescence in Falstaff's false claim to Hotspur's overthrow is connected with the attitude of all three men towards Honour, which has not, I think, been rightly understood. To Hotspur . . . Honour is a divinity; he grows ecstatic at the thought; . . . The glory to be shared with others is not worth having. In a word, the honour of which he dreams is personal renown and nothing else; . . . a purely selfish [conception]. The famous soliloquy on Honour shows that Falstaff also puts this meaning upon it, while at the same time declaring that the game is not worth the candle. . . . [71] Yet, though he scornfully refuses to risk life and limb in playing for such a hazard, he is as willing as anyone else to make capital out of it when he finds it in his way by chance; and it is not an accident that Shakespeare shows this contemner of 'honour' bearing off the highest honours of the field. For grant Hotspur's assumptions, which were no doubt those of most Elizabethan gentlemen, and Falstaff's catchism is unanswerable, and his luck an illustration of its truth. . . . And behind the soliloquy, and the fraudulent claim that follows, may be detected Shakespeare's own comment upon Hotspur. This personal glory, for which Percy gives his life, distracts the realm with civil war, and is willing to carve it up into three separate kingdoms, is an illusion; . . . Certainly, Hotspur gains nothing; his corpse lies bleeding and grinning on the ground, to be dishonourably stabbed by the same old scoundrel, who hoists it on his back and pitches it about like so much luggage. As for renown, what chance has a defeated rebel of that? ¶ Harry Monmouth too has his speeches upon Honour: the speech at the first meeting with his father, in which he vows by overthrowing Hotspur to wipe out the dishonour the King attributes to him; and the speech on St. Crispin's Eve. . . . [72] Both sound at first like Hotspur's sentiments, and many critics have failed to detect the difference. Yet when he speaks of robbing Percy of his glory, he is thinking, not of personal reputation, but of regaining his father's good opinion, while his conduct at Shrewsbury shows him coveting, not the renown of glorious deeds, but the deeds themselves: once having set himself right with his conscience, he unconcernedly passes on the credit to another. . . . The honour he covets is to add to the honour of England. It is a conception peculiar to himself. The old King has not a notion of it. [See below, p. 91.]

TILLYARD (1944, pp. 264-269, 295-304) considers the two parts of *Henry IV* as a single or-

ganic ten act play: One of the most striking anticipations, pointing to Shakespeare's having planned ahead with much thought, is the talk between Falstaff and the Prince on justice in the scene that first brings them in. The Prince has slipped into the talk of robberies by moonlight an unpleasant reference to the gallows. . . . The thought of the gallows is too strong for him [Falstaff] and he can't help asking [1. ii. 55-57]. . . . The Prince does not say no to this. But the questions are not answered till the end of the second part. . . . ¶ [265] The structure of the two parts is indeed very similar. In the first part the Prince (who, one knows, will soon be king) is tested in the military or chivalric virtues. He has to choose, Morality-fashion, between Sloth or Vanity, to which he is drawn by his bad companions, and Chivalry, to which he is drawn by his father and his brothers. And he chooses Chivalry. The action is complicated by Hotspur and Falstaff, who stand for the excess and the defect of the military spirit, for honour exaggerated and dishonour. Thus the Prince, as well as being Magnificence in a Morality Play, is Aristotle's middle quality between two extremes. [H. HAYDN (1950, pp. 600-605) develops the honor theme in terms of the Platonic tripartite division: reason (Hal), passion or the ireful virtue (Hotspur), and desire or the concupiscible (Falstaff).] . . . Near the end of the play the Prince ironically surrenders to Falstaff the credit of having killed Hotspur, thus leaving the world of arms and preparing for the motive of the second part. Here again he is tested, but in the civil virtues. He has to choose, Morality-fashion, between disorder or misrule, to which he is drawn by his bad companions, and Order or Justice (the supreme kingly virtue) to which he is drawn by his father and by his father's deputy the Lord Chief Justice. And he chooses justice. As in the first part the Aristotelian motive occurs, but it is only touched on. [W. B. HUNTER (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, 1951, L, 86-95) develops at length a view of Hal as the Aristotelian mean between extremes of honor in Hotspur and Falstaff as set forth in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. No reference to TILLYARD.] . . . ¶ [266] The action of the first part opens with high themes of crusades, chivalry, and civil war. But the Prince is not there, and his father laments that he has not got Hotspur for his son. Soon after his words we see the Prince in Falstaff's company, showing, at least superficially, his inclination to idleness and vanity. When they arrange a robbery, his inclination seems confirmed; yet he will join in with a difference, planning with Poina a joke at the expense of Falstaff. Next there is the quarrel between the Percies and the king; and yet another action is planned, this time rebellion. Hotspur is in the very centre of the plot, unlike the Prince, who is only on the edge of his; he also discloses the exaggeration of his

passions. From then on the two actions take their course, with various cross-references; the Prince maintaining his negligent aloofness, Hotspur growing more exclusively absorbed. As the action of the Gadshill robbery closes, the Prince hears of the rebellion and decides to join in it, but with how serious intent we cannot say; his resolve to gain amusement by giving Falstaff a charge of foot shows that at any rate he is not exclusively serious. Vanity having had a long turn, Chivalry must now be allowed to work on the Prince. His father rebukes him, and he promises amendment and his resolution to rob Hotspur of his rebellious honours. But what is his resolution worth when soon after at the tavern in Eastcheap he enters with Peto "marching, and Falstaff meets them playing on his truncheon like a fife"? . . . The crisis occurs in the first scene [267] of the fifth act, where Worcester comes to the king's camp as emissary of the rebels. It is important that Falstaff should be there and that in his presence the Prince should make his choice for chivalry (to which he actually says he has been truant) by offering to settle the whole matter personally in a single fight with Hotspur. Falstaff's speech on honour, which closes the scene, rounds off the main action of the play, for among other things it is really the epitaph of his own defeat. There is no excitement about the Battle of Shrewsbury, for the result has really been settled by the Prince's decision; but it allows Falstaff to come to life again and to acquire a bogus military reputation, which will be an important motive of the second part. In spite of his choice the Prince still finds Falstaff entertaining and backs up his lying claim to have killed Hotspur. He would have perceived, as the spectator should, how the Battle of Shrewsbury reversed the episode of Gadshill. . . . ¶ [268] But though *Henry IV* is built on the Morality pattern it is quite without the mental conflict that often marks that pattern, as in *Doctor Faustus*. The action begins at its very latest phase as in *Samson Agonistes* or the *Tempest*. The Prince, though the constant victim of psychological strain, has made up his mind from the start. . . . And unlike Samson he is fully aware that he has made up his mind and is quite spared Samson's pangs of doubt concerning the final issue. In other words there is not the smallest element of tragedy in the main action. . . . ¶ [295] Now as the stylistic mark of tragedy is intensity, that of the epic, though tragic intensity may occur, is breadth or variety. And in *Henry IV* there is a variety of style, fully mastered, which is new in Shakespeare and which can hardly be matched even in his later work. This variety contrasts, and I believe was meant deliberately to contrast, with the comparative monotony of *Richard II*. I will mention a few of the styles which Shakespeare practised in these plays. ¶ As a kind of backbone, and corresponding to the high political

theme of the plays, is the stately but no longer stiff blank verse used to describe the great happenings which are the main nominal theme. It is the stylistic norm that Shakespeare inherited from the whole series of History Plays he had already written and it is now his absolute servant. One may still call it Shakespeare's official style, but there is not the slightest sense of his using it because he should, and not because he would. . . . [296] It is from this norm that many of the finer passages take their origin. . . . But there are many passages which depart from the norm and in so doing borrow and repay a virtue which in isolation they would not possess. Hotspur's hearty homeliness gains enormously by being set against Shakespeare's official style. . . . [297] Moreover in everything Hotspur says there is a quicker speed and a more abrupt emphasis than in the plays' normal blank verse. Brilliantly set off by the norm, too, are some passages of lyrical beauty. . . . But it is through his use of prose, and of a varied prose, that [298] Shakespeare creates the fullest range of contrast with his blank verse norm. Indeed, some of the prose has a perfect polish that may go beyond any similar quality in the verse. This prose is the property of the Prince and of Falstaff; it is derived from the best things in Lyly's plays; and it looks forward to the elegancies of Congreve. Like its original and its offspring it is founded on the normal speech-cadence of the most intelligent and highly-educated of the aristocracy. It is simple, but measured and deliberate; and so highly wrought that not a syllable can be altered with impunity. . . . The prose ranges through most ranks of society, through the country gossiping of the two Justices and the plainness of Davy to the Dickensian ramblings of Mrs. Quickly. It embraces a large portion of English life. Taken together, the verse and prose of the play are a stylistic exhibition of most phases of the commonwealth. ¶ The theme of *Respublica*, now given a new turn and treating not merely the fortunes but the very nature of England, what I am calling the epic theme, is subtly contrived. And the contrivance depends on two conditions: first that the two parts of the play are a single organism, and secondly that we are assured from the start that the Prince will make a good king. . . . ¶ [299] The idea of picturing all England occurred in embryo in 2 *Henry VI*, where Shakespeare brings in many social grades. But any coherent picture was out of the question in a play concerned with the progressive disintegration of society. *Henry IV* shows a stable society and it is crowded, like no other play of Shakespeare, with pictures of life as it was lived in the age of Elizabeth. . . . ¶ [300] Hotspur helps in this [the picture of England] . . . nowhere more effectively than in the scene in Wales with Glendower and Mortimer. Indeed one of this whole scene's main functions is to create a sense of England through a contrast with Wales.

Here not only is the bluff anglicism of Hotspur contrasted with Glendower's Welsh romanticism, but Lady Percy's school-girlish simplicities . . . are very English and contrast equally with Lady Mortimer's lyricism. . . . Thereafter in Part One the theme of England is not greatly developed: it remains in suspense so that it may get full expression in Part Two. . . . ¶ [304] I have used the word epic to describe *Henry IV* but I do not mean that this epithet is merited simply through the English local colour. It is only the intense, the tragic, the age-long that can give the temporary and the local the necessary dignity. . . . In *Henry IV*, as I have remarked, there is nothing tragic, nothing to correspond to the greatest things in the *Iliad*; but there are other things that serve. First, there are the age-long types, the fool, the adventurer, the "unofficial self," assembled in the character of Falstaff. Secondly, there is the great contrast . . . between the theme of civil war, the terrible vicissitudes of high politics, and the theme of the perennial cycles of ordinary life and their persistent rhythms: the cycles of birth and death; and of the seasons with their appropriate tasks, without which man simply cannot exist. Thus it is that the great variety of *Henry IV*, unequalled in Shakespeare, is given a coherence very different indeed from the coherence of Shakespearean tragedy but in its own way not inferior.

ELLIS-FERMOR (1945, pp. 14, 36-41, 43-54) discusses the way in which Sh. has subdued the multiplicity of epic materials to the limitations of dramatic form: Shakespeare preserves dramatic concentration in the individual plays, . . . by slowly building throughout this series a single image to which the central figures of each play bring, as it is written, a contribution that reveals Shakespeare's imaginative exploration of the field. The theme is not the Trojan war or the founding of Rome, but a composite character, the picture of the king or leader, a study of the man best fitted to fill public office, the public man. What finally emerges is not an idea, not an abstraction, but an image as deeply imagined as is the picture which embodies thought in verbal imagery. . . . ¶ [36] The portrait of the statesman-king is the result of a series of explorations, now the study of a failure, now of a partial success; a vast, closely articulated body of thought imaged always in terms of actual character, yet completely incorporated in no one character. . . . ¶ [37] These separate images are but statements or qualifications contributing to that vaster image, no one of them in itself coextensive with the composite whole. It is this which gives coherence to the material of the history plays, which nevertheless remain individual works of art. . . . ¶ [39] All [the kings of the first tetralogy and of *King John*] bring disaster with them and themselves end in disaster, because, however else they may differ, they are all at bottom individualists who have

not sunk their individualism in their office of leader. . . . ¶ [40] [It is the task of] the next group of plays, the group of the major histories . . . to build up the positive figure of kingship, to which the group of minor and preliminary histories have so far contributed only negative suggestions. . . . ¶ [41] Richard, in whom the sense of privilege amounts to megalomania, serves to define the extreme of that position, just as his immediate successor, Henry IV, defines the extreme position of the man oppressed by the sense of responsibility. (Here, as in so much else, it is Henry V who achieves the balance and reconciliation of the two.) . . . ¶ [43] It is left to Henry V to gather up in himself all that is fitting and necessary to a king and to remain as the epitome of the Elizabethan idea of the 'politicke vertues'. . . . ¶ [45] All the implications of the foregoing plays point to this ultimate emergence of the complete figure. . . . ¶ [But] . . . has he, as it were unawares, and led already on to some perception beyond his immediate purpose, shaped out instead something that is at once more and less than a man. Henry V has indeed transformed himself into a public figure; the most forbidding thing about him is the completeness with which this has been done. He is solid and flawless. . . . No expression of personal desire escapes him. . . . It is in vain that we look for the personality of Henry behind the king; there is nothing else there. . . . ¶ [46] There is no Harry, only a king. . . . ¶ [54] It is the shaping out of this 'man,' the creation of this figure which is no one man but an image to which many characters bring their parts, that makes the historical and political group organic.

McLUHAN (*Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, 1947-48, XVII, 153-157) takes issue with critics who would apply "the metaphor of organic completeness to the genius of Shakespeare": The themes on which Shakespeare descends in the "*Henriad*" are associated with honour, the desire and the deserving of the praise of good men. Henry Bolingbroke is, however, both usurper and regicide. . . . ¶ [154] There are . . . three themes and three groups of characters in *Henry IV*: the court, the Boar's-Head group, and the rebels. The court is corrupt. [See Emerson, p. 64.] Not principle but policy rules there in the service of ambition and illegitimate power. So Prince Hal's integrity requires that he assume an antic disposition, some protective colouring of dishonour. And since Shakespeare's ethics are traditional it appears in Hal that it is infinitely less dangerous and corrupting to permit disorder in the lower appetites than in the intellectual faculties. (*Corruptio optimi pessima*.) So Hal's resort is the Boar's-Head. . . . ¶ Falstaff, Bardolph, and Poins are the types of the riot and disorder emanating from the corrupt court to the commons of England. When the head does not perform its functions the belly and the members are left to self-indulgent

idleness. Yet no principle of order can proceed from the sway of the lower appetites. So Falstaff, the cynic about government, judiciary, and honour, can only discover positive motives of action in the gratification of his lusts. If the court lives for the hubristic appetite of power, then he will live for common appetite. . . .

¶ [155] The third group consists principally of Northumberland, Hotspur, Worcester, Glendower, and the Archbishop of York. It is significant that while King Henry is allowed no clerical support in the play, the rebels are. The rebels not only show, in part, the face of honour but of religion. . . . But there is a simple key to these facts. Like Henry, Northumberland and his colleagues are guilty of upsetting monarchy. In Hotspur, however, the mode is changed to honour, as in Hal. Hotspur is guiltless of his father's connivings. And he is above them. But what can honour do among rebels? It is as useless as Hal's would be at court. Eccentric to the mode of the court, it can only flash fiery and comet-like. So the character of Hotspur is given an exaggeration, symbolically equivalent to Falstaff's. He is all air and fire as Falstaff is all earth and water. But his character is the unmistakable touchstone (as King Henry admits) for the defections of the court. . . . ¶ [156] The first three scenes of the play present, in order, the court, Hal and Falstaff, and the rebels. The next three scenes concern the commonwealth, Hal and Falstaff, and the rebels. This sort of careful disposition of emphasis to the themes of the play is consistent throughout both parts. . . .

¶ [157] Hotspur *vis-à-vis* Glendower in Act III, Scene i loses no honour. His disgust with Glendower's necromancy and diabolics is part of Shakespeare's intention to keep his honour bright even among knaves. The parallel with Hal in this respect is structural. And Hal's vindication of his low courses follows immediately on this scene. . . . The next scene (III. iii), of Falstaff's mock repentance, is juxtaposed with Hal's sincere promise to his father. Falstaff says "Company, villainous company, hath been the spoil of me." The evidence of carefully planned structure is everywhere . . . obvious.

TRAVERSI (*Scrutiny*, 1947-48, XV, 25-35): Henry IV is punished for his past sins not only as King in the weariness which increasingly overtakes him and in the growing sense of impotence which sometimes raises him to moments of tragic intensity, but as father in the most intimate concerns of his life. It is here that Shakespeare, still using inherited and familiar material, shows the true originality of his conception. For Prince Hal who is destined to become the incarnation of political competence and to achieve all his father's desires is at the same time 'a scourge' in the hands of God, a continual reminder to Henry of his 'displeasing service' in the past. . . . ¶ [26] That the father is genuinely wounded by his son's behaviour, that he is moved with 'tenderness,'

that he 'hath desired to see' him more often, is certain; but as we read the long speech we cannot help suspecting that the speaker's only true *moral* criterion is *political* success. To say this is to put one's finger upon the motive that impels the House of Lancaster all through these plays. . . . For Henry the criterion of morality tends always to be success; and that being so, it is not surprising that his son should have learned from the first to separate the promptings of humanity from the necessities of political behaviour and that filial tenderness in him should exist side by side with a readiness to subject all personal considerations to public achievement. In the realization, born of bitter experience, that the quest for this achievement can be an illusion lies the secret of the tragic note which dominates the father's later years.

¶ These considerations illuminate considerably Shakespeare's conception of Prince Hal. . . . It might almost be said, indeed, that the motives which underlie the behaviour of the family throughout the trilogy are revealed in the Prince's opening soliloquy (I. ii). These motives in turn spring at least in part from the nature of the material which the dramatist inherited. . . . The familiar story of the dissolute young man who underwent a kind of moral conversion when faced by grave responsibilities and finally made good . . . was too familiar and too popular to be ignored by a practical dramatist; on the other hand its conception [27] of human character and motive was too naïvely optimistic to appeal to a Shakespeare moving at this stage towards the mood that was shortly to produce *Hamlet*. . . . The Prince, from his very first appearance, looks forward to a reformation which, just because it is too good to be true, is seen to be moved by a political calculation which clearly reflects the character of his father. If his character is to change, . . . it is because a transformation of this kind will attract popularity. . . . The whole process of 'reformation,' as the Prince himself describes it, has a surface quality which Shakespeare is clearly concerned to emphasize. It is seen 'glittering' with metallic speciousness over previous faults, . . . and its purpose, above all, is to 'show more goodly' and 'attract more eyes.' The conversion, thus transformed from an edifying example to an instrument of political success, enters fully into the permanent characteristics of the House of Lancaster. . . . Behind Shakespeare's acceptance of a traditional story lies the conviction that success in politics implies a spiritual loss, commonly involves the sacrifice of more attractive qualities which are distinctively personal. . . . ¶ If the politician is not so much a man of intellectual subtlety and spiritual discernment as one who can envisage with clarity the practical end of his activities and devote all his faculties without division to its attainment then the Prince is a complete example of the type. . . . ¶ [28] His intelligence is of the kind that judges all men

by their value in relation to a coldly conceived political scheme; that is the reason both for his success and his inhumanity. . . . ¶ The quality of many of his observations upon those whom he encourages to regard themselves as his friends reflects a coarseness which is, in the true sense of the word, vulgar and thoroughly characteristic of his entirely amoral personality. . . . Falstaff, whose relationship to the Prince lies at the heart of the whole play, is the particular butt of a kind of intensity in grossness which is surely revealing. . . . It is as though the Prince, whose every action is based on calculation, felt for Falstaff, who represents in himself the vitality and the weakness of human flesh, the semi-conscious repulsion felt by the cold practical intellect for something which it can neither understand, ignore, nor, in the last resort, use. The Prince, echoing Falstaff's idiom, brings to it a cold, efficient intensity that points to an underlying aversion. The flesh, with which the finished politician needs to reckon, is nevertheless an object of repulsion to him. Beneath the burlesque and the rowdiness we may already look forward to the ultimate rejection of Falstaff. . . . ¶ [29] The tracing of a common destiny working itself out through character in the actions of the family of Lancaster is, then, an essential part of Shakespeare's conception. It is not, however, the whole. . . . For the rebel leaders in this play, when they attempt to translate their aspirations into action, are affected by a flaw not fundamentally dissimilar from that which dominates the royal camp. . . . The part played by the rebels in Henry's rise to power is stressed from the very beginning. It is, indeed, a chief point in the presentation of their case. . . . Henry, conscious that his own power was criminally obtained, cannot help suspecting that those who once followed their own interest in dethroning a king may do so again; and the rebels (or the more reflective of them) understand that the King must think in this way and that they themselves can [30] therefore never be safe. The result is an endless mistrust. . . . The King makes Worcester and Vernon a generous offer of peace, seeing in peace a restoration of natural order based on the free recognition of just and beneficent authority. His behaviour in doing so is that proper to a King. . . . He calls for unity, using the accepted imagery; but the origins of his power, which he would now wish to forget, make themselves felt in their endless consequences to frustrate the lawfulness of his intentions. ¶ Worcester's reaction to the offer serves to bring out a parallel weakness in the rebel camp. In the figure of Worcester Shakespeare sought to study the type of the political courtier. . . . ¶ [31] In this world of political sordidness and folly Hotspur stands out [32] as a figure relatively attractive. . . . Yet, in spite of [his] qualities, Hotspur remains a rebel and time shows him to be the instrument of politicians more calculating than

himself. A warrior and man of action, the cause for which he fights is one whose moral basis cannot be reasonably sustained; so that his motives, far from being adequate, reduce themselves to an acceptance of the rhetorical idea of honour which prompts him, whenever it is mentioned, to emotional outbursts which contrast completely with Worcester's tight-lipped calls to reason and calculation. . . . ¶ [Falstaff] serves, in a sense, as a connecting link between two worlds, the tavern world of comic incident and broad humanity in which he is at home and the world of court rhetoric and political intrigue to which he also has access. So situated in two worlds and limited by neither, Shakespeare uses him as a commentator who passes judgment on the events represented in the play in the light of his own superabundant comic vitality. Working sometimes through open comment, sometimes even through open parody, his is a voice that lies outside the prevailing political spirit of the play. . . . He represents, we might say, all the humanity which it seems that the politician bent on the attainment of success must necessarily exclude. . . . His keen intelligence, his real human understanding, his refusal to be fobbed off by empty or hypocritical phrases—all [33] these are characteristics that enable him to transcend his world and to become the individual expression of the conscience of a great and completely serious artist. . . . ¶ The true nature of Falstaff becomes most apparent when we realize that he comes to be in this series of plays a complete and significant contrast to the figure of the Prince. . . . It becomes fully clear for the first time in the scene of tavern parody when the two men caricature the relationship of Henry IV and his son (II. iv). . . . The description he gives of the Prince, using his father's supposed words, is in itself a criticism, realistic and sardonic, of the whole family [II. 376-379]. It is not thus that Henry does actually speak to his son. . . . But the disillusioned clarity, even the coarseness, of Falstaff's description corresponds to something really present, that makes itself felt time and again in the Prince's attitude towards his life in the taverns and is a symptom of the detached inhumanity which is one ingredient of his political sense. This is not the Prince as he is, but it is one true aspect of him as seen by an eye clear and unflinching in its realism in the world in which this aspect is most in evidence. To bring out that aspect in those who surround him is the first of Falstaff's functions in the play. ¶ The second is to provide on the basis of this clarity of vision a criticism of the whole political action, both on the loyalist and rebel side, which leads up to the dubious battle in which it concludes. In this action, and especially in its warlike phases, Falstaff is involved without being of it or subdued to the spirit, now cynical, now wordily 'honourable,' in which it is habitually conceived. . . . ¶ [34] A third

characteristic of Falstaff [is] the one which is perhaps the ultimate source of his strength and the key to Shakespeare's deepest conception in this play. There is in Falstaff a true and rare combination of the warm, alert humanity we have already noted with a background, sometimes accepted and sometimes rebelled against, but continually present, of inherited Christian tradition. It is reasonable to suppose that the latter element makes itself felt in a spontaneous acceptance of the inheritance, still not so distant from Shakespeare, of the mediaeval religious theatre. . . . [35] Falstaff's utterances, indeed, are steeped in tradition, at once religious and theatrical, of this kind. . . . This common inheritance itself gives him reality by contrast with the orators and politicians of the verse scenes of this play. . . . At his best Falstaff, recognizing his own faults, gives them a taste of tragic significance by relating them to the familiar but profound spiritual drama of mankind worked out in the individual between birth and death, in mankind between the Creation and the Last Judgment. . . . Such were the advantages for Shakespeare of inheriting—I say inheriting because the question of personal belief need not arise—a set of spiritual conceptions at once simple enough to be popular and sufficiently profound to cover the wealth of human experience. We need not say—should not say—that Falstaff simply accepts the Christian tradition. Part of him, what we may call the flesh, clearly does not; but the tradition is there, alive in his utterances and giving him even in his refusal to conform a vitality that enables him to dominate the play.

DANBY (1949, pp. 81-100): *Henry IV, Parts I and II* is neither so serious-minded as the first tetralogy, nor so profound as the tragedies. This is not to say that the second tetralogy marks a falling off in dramatic power when compared with the first: quite the contrary is the case. . . . In the first tetralogy Shakespeare is consciously concerned with an intellectual thesis that actively controls his material. In the second tetralogy he has lost interest in this thesis, and at the same time no scheme of comparable relevance or individual concern has presented itself. . . . The energy devoted to maintaining a thesis flows therefore into other channels. It is made available to support an even greater proliferation of fully realized individuals; and, it is used to fill in a broader and differently conceived 'England.' . . . Spirits, however, are not finely touched but to fine issues. The present contention is merely that [82] Shakespeare's spirit in *Henry IV* is not finely touched because the issues in the play are not such as call to him profoundly. . . . ¶ Hal is the end of the old period in Shakespeare's development, Falstaff the portent of a new; Hal is Shakespeare's tired consciousness, Falstaff the sign of meanings growing unconsciously; Hal is part of a dying Shakespeare, Falstaff the promise of re-

birth. . . . ¶ [83] In *Henry IV* the frame of 'pity, love, and fear' [found in *Richard III* and *King John*] has completely vanished. The world we see is one that has disintegrated into mutually exclusive spheres—the worlds of the Court (Prince John of Lancaster), of the tavern, of Shallow's Gloucestershire, of the rebellious lords: frigid opportunism, riotous irresponsibility, fatuous inconsequence, quarrelsome 'honour'—with no common term except the disease of each. 'England' is sometimes [84] said to be the heroic composite thing that is portrayed. [See TILLYARD, pp. 67-68.] If this is so, it is an England seen in her most unflattering aspects—an England pervaded throughout court, tavern, and country retreat by pitiless fraud. Pity is the reconciling sweetness that the world of the plays most lacks. It is the absence of pity in Hal's dealings with Falstaff that explains the 'romantic' recoil from the Prince. . . . We might admit, with Dr. Tillyard, that the Prince is Shakespeare's attempt to construct a good man on Aristotelian norms; but we should still insist that such a conception, with its absence of pity, represents a real loss in comparison with the unconscious Christian norms of Richard and Falconbridge. It is Falstaff, of course, who makes the great appeal to the spectator's sense of pity. But Falstaff himself is the most pitiless creature in the play. . . . The absence of pity makes for spiritual incoherence in the world of the play as a whole, and for lack of moral integrity in the individuals that compose it. . . . No character in the plays provides a satisfying point of rest—unless for rest we turn from the smaller confusions of Northumberland, Hotspur, Bolingbroke, Prince John, Mistress Quickly, Shallow, Doll Tearsheet, Poins and Hal, to lose ourselves in perplexity among the roomier contradictions of Falstaff. If anything unifies this [85] congeries of unharmonized monads it is 'Commodity'—commodity unavowed by any, but duly observed by all, commodity acted upon unconsciously, the condition that ensures its greatest efficiency as a motive for conduct. ¶ *Richard III* and *King John* both centre round a dominant figure who in his own consciousness experiences the polarity of 'commodity' and 'pity.' It goes without saying that the Prince Henry plays cannot include such a consciousness. Prince Arthur is dead, and Shakespeare knows it. No one in *Henry IV*, however, can be permitted the same awareness. The world must now go on as if he had never existed. The problem is to find a makeshift ideal which can stand in the 'tempest' of 'the times' now that 'the life, the right, and truth' are departed. Such a makeshift Shakespeare invents in Prince Hal. ¶ It is a critical commonplace that Hal is Shakespeare's ideal king in the Chronicle plays. He is not, however, ideal absolutely. He is the best possible within the limits perceived by Falconbridge as conditioning all future affairs of England. He is not absolutely ideal in one sense for the

simple reason that his legitimacy is debatable. . . . He is not ideal in another sense, because he is conceived on lines less absolutely heroic, less in spiritual scope, than either Richard or the Bastard. Hal has not their profound consciousness, their social and moral insight, nor does *Henry IV* in Shakespeare's biography represent the period of his deepest social and moral concern. . . . [86] Every good in *Henry IV* is a damaged good. . . . [88] Now that the internal order of 'pity, love, and fear' is gone, there is only the external order to fall back on, the officialise of Elizabeth's Homilies to be repeated, with their non-theology that maintains Tudor possession at all costs, their no-morality that claims rebellion is always wicked. . . . ¶ These then are the limits to the ideal. But within these limits Hal is still Shakespeare's hero. He carried on Shakespeare's conscious intent to come to terms with contemporary social reality. . . . ¶ Part of the Bastard's qualities are inherited by Hotspur. . . . Hotspur has the rude boisterousness of Falconbridge; his impatience with humbug, high-falutin verse, and romantic love-making; his bluntness, impudence, and vigour. Hotspur has also Falconbridge's gift for the satirical mimicking of effete social types. Hotspur, too, is a New Man. His cult of 'honour' cannot be mistaken for a knightly ideal of 'maydenhead.' For Hotspur war is a game really played for the sidestakes of 'reputation.' . . . ¶ [89] In Hal the figure of the machiavel undergoes a further and most surprising development. The full machiavel strategy is retained, but it is machiavellism turned inside out. Hal is the sheep in wolf's clothing, a machiavel of goodness. . . . [90] [Hal's soliloquy in I. ii] is a bold attempt to enlist the machiavel in the ranks of virtue. But virtue itself wilts when it is made the object of a machiavellian strategy. . . . ¶ In the preceding chronicle plays the issues raised had been wider: Is the King right or wrong? Is the state just or unjust?—Even in the person of Jack Cade these questions are posed. In 1 and 2 *Henry IV* the questions are reduced and vulgarized: Is the King strong or [91] weak? Is the state secure or insecure? . . . ¶ In so far as we see Hal as the model chronicle-hero, in accordance with Shakespeare's intention, Falstaff will then be the decided villain of the plays. If we tend to criticize Shakespeare's model as an inadequate ideal, compared with his early chronicle plays and with his later tragedies, then Falstaff will tend to acquire merit (deserved or undeserved) from his rejection. . . . [97] Analysis leaves us, then, with symbols of Power [Hal] and Appetite [Falstaff] as the keys to the play's meaning: Power and Appetite, the two sides of Commodity. The world is disunited and corrupt at heart. Corruption and disunity spread, too, through the whole body politic. The England depicted in 1 and 2 *Henry IV* is neither ideally ordered nor happy. It is an England, on the one [98] side, of

bawdy-house and thieves'-kitchen, of waylaid merchants, badgered and bewildered Justices, and a peasantry wretched, betrayed, and recruited for the wars; an England, on the other side, of the chivalrous wolf-pack of Hotspur and Douglas, and of state-sponsored treachery in the person of Prince John—the whole presided over by a sick King, hag-ridden by conscience, dreaming of a Crusade to the Holy Land as M. Remorse thinks of slimming and repentance. Those who see the world of *Henry IV* as some vital, joyous Renaissance England must go behind the facts Shakespeare presents. . . . ¶ [99] The earlier plays hold fast to a Christian belief in the primacy of 'pity, love, and fear.' Against this theological background is thrown the figure of the machiavel—not a melodramatic monster, but the interpreter of an actual society. The machiavel rejects 'pity, love, and fear' and kills the King who stands for the holy order of these values. The machiavel is a successful social man, an animal perfectly adjusted to the new realm of Commodity. Shakespeare in *Richard III*, however, is aware of the diabolism of the New Man. *King John* begins a process of accommodation to the New Man and the New World of Commodity. . . . ¶ [100] The Prince Hal plays bring this phase of Shakespeare's development to an end. Hal, Hotspur, Falstaff, the whole body of the play's world now reveals clearly the mechanisms of sixteenth-century society. Commodity is both ruler and ruled. Authority and Appetite, combined and disjoined alternately, set up the swaying, skidding rhythm which 'tug and scramble' requires. . . . There is no vestige in this world of 'pity, love, and fear,' not even the awareness that 'pity, love, and fear' are dead. The theology of the plays is the no-theology of Tudor propaganda.

BRADBROOK (1951, pp. 189-205): Yet it is only incidentally that the themes of the moral history re-enter. . . . ¶ [190] In short, the model is no longer 'tragic-historical' but 'comical-historical' and the comic writer, as distinct from the tragedian, was free to invent his material. In doing so Shakespeare fell back upon popular tradition, particularly the tradition of the popular stage. There were a number of comical-historical plays. . . . In these the King, who was usually disguised, and some particularly bold, jovial subject revelled together, in a spirit of good fellowship. . . . These plays have often no relation to any known or chronicled history at all; nevertheless, the tone and atmosphere of revelry, horseplay, good fellowship and patriotic fervour—with a dash of romantic love, never allowed to become too prominent—constituted a genuine comic tradition, if not one so clearly distinguishable as that of the tragic-historical, the *Mirror for Princes*. . . . ¶ [192] The importance of *The Famous Victories* lies not so much in the possibility of Shakespeare working from it as a source play but that, in conjunction with *Sir John Oldcastle*, it provides [193] a

check upon what constituted the popular requisites for a play on Henry V before, and after, the subject had been treated by Shakespeare. . . .

¶ [196] Prince Hal has such complete self-control that he is presented as one of those persons, very embarrassing to the more simple-minded, who can have both an immediate and an ultimate aim in one action, being naturally of a detached and ironic [197] temper. . . . ¶ In Part I, where Falstaff stands in close relationship to the Prince, . . . the high-water mark of his ascendancy is the scene in which he and Hal play the King. . . . Falstaff usurps the [198] seat of Hal's father, which is what, in the eyes of the world, he has done as the tutor to the young Prince's riots: he is *diabolus in loco parentis*.

¶ This mockery of all moral history is given in terms of the old moral drama: Falstaff announces his intention to 'do it in King Cambyse's vein,' (Cambyse killed his brother and his wife), and his rhetorical flowers of speech are choicely culled from Peele and Lyly. The prince puts the full case against Falstaff to his face: it is the equivalent in some sense of the play scene in *Hamlet*, but Falstaff, unlike Claudius, does not recognize the purport. Such brilliant double meanings are characteristic of the play. . . . There is certainly an element of extreme irony, of sharp ruthlessness beneath the jesting and the parodies: Falstaff's macabre jests as he plays the hangman on Hotspur's corpse have the same kind of destructive force as the King's speech to him has upon his own pretensions at the end of Part II. There is a sense in which, with his parody on Honour, his farcical sham death and insults to the corpse, Falstaff does 'kill' Hotspur. They are natural opposites. In the feast of fools, clerks played at dice on the cathedral altar. At this point in the play, where Prince Hal has proved his chivalry by the conquest of the greatest soldier of his realm, Falstaff apes the whole thing. . . . ¶ [205] The construction of *1 Henry IV* is therefore built on a four-fold contrast, the four 'species' represented by the King, the Prince, Falstaff and Hotspur, and the relationships between them. The method is that of shadowing or parody, and of contrasts and opposition: heroics and clowning, robbing in sport and rebelling in earnest, the King of Misrule versus the King of England, Harry Hotspur versus Harry Monmouth. [See a denial of "irony" in Falstaff's role by E. E. SROLL (*MLQ*, 1953, XIV, 397-399).]

NICOLL (1952, pp. 125-129): Although a grave crime has been committed and although Bolingbroke, now Henry IV, has put himself by force in Richard's place, Shakespeare makes it clear in the Aumerle episode that the duty of all worthy men belongs to the new crowned monarch. . . . And there can be no doubt but that the usurper has qualities better fitting him to wield the royal power than the legitimate monarch. ¶ Into this picture of political events, con-

cerned with conflicting personalities and with concrete acts, enters in the larger concept of Fortune. . . . Very carefully Shakespeare gives to his portrait of Bolingbroke a [126] three-dimensional quality, so that we can never definitely label him this or that. He is ambitious, no doubt, yet the dramatist has adroitly suggested in many scenes that his rising to power derives from a force beyond himself. . . . ¶ [127] From the very beginning, the history plays had displayed acute consciousness of the disturbing problem presented by the double life of a king—his [128] symbolic existence as God's regent and his existence as a man. . . . These men [the earlier kings] we cannot think of without seeing their crowns upon their heads or at least about to descend upon them. When, therefore, in *Henry IV*, we find a fat, old, greasy knight inquiring 'Now, Hal, what time of day is it, lad?' and discover that the person he addresses is the heir apparent, we realize the deliberate cleavage between the old and the new. ¶ This novel treatment of a prince, however, demands careful practice, and hence Shakespeare is forced to introduce, by means of a convention well established on the Elizabethan stage, a self-revelatory explanation. . . . [129] A true appreciation of their force [I. ii. 186-208] would seem to demand the adoption of a double, and therefore common-sense, point of view. In Prince Hal Shakespeare, guided by experience, is displaying a not unlikeable, practical man who, although he is not driven by ambition to seize the crown before his time, knows what he has been born to do, and whose realistic attitude is deliberately contrasted with idealistic follies. Falstaff is not so much the vice of the moralities as a representative of a certain kind of idealism—that is to say his whole attitude to life and his judgement of events are determined by the imposition of an idea upon actuality. Into his limited imagination never enters a doubt but that the relations he has had with the prince can continue and expand with the king. He falsely believes that he will be 'fortune's steward' and that the laws of England will be at his commandment. Opposed to his idealism is the idealism of Hotspur, the man for whom the serious affairs of strife are all in all. Both err, because they have no mean, because they judge life by their set idea and not by observant experience, yet both are sympathetically and vitally presented.

ZEEVELD (*SQ*, 1952, III, 251-253): The spring and direction of the action is toward a vindication of the honor of Hal, which must be made to exceed that of Hotspur in spite of his habitual association with Falstaff. . . . The end result is a clarification of the whole notion of honor as exemplified in Hal. This, I take it, is the theme of Part I. . . . ¶ For others, except as they contribute to his personal ambitions, he [Hotspur] has little thought. His honesty of conduct is his most outstanding trait, and he recog-

nizes forthright bravery and loyalty of the clanish sort in his followers, to whom he serves as a thrilling example. But in pursuing his personal ends, he has no more thought for the value of others' lives than he has for his own. . . . ¶ In this respect, Hal easily and triumphantly exceeds Hotspur. . . . Hal's honor is not plucked from the pale-faced moon. It is beyond all else an awareness that a definition of honor might more properly be modest and earth-born. ¶ Within this larger concept of honor as a regard for the value of human life, Falstaff plays a more complicated and more sophisticated rôle. . . . [252] The soldiers whom he has pressed into service . . . are expendable, as he confesses to Hal; and Hal shows no signs of being shocked or morally outraged by Falstaff's bland opinion of such pitiful rascals. . . . ¶ Obviously, it would be beside the point to argue that such remarks showed a callous indifference to the effusion of Christian blood in the man who regarded his own life at such a high rate of exchange. What it does stand for is a dramatic counterpoint to Hotspur's insensibility. And the reason that Hal is not outraged lies in the fact that in the spectacle of human slaughter through which Falstaff moves, in spite of his words, with such apparent unconcern, he expresses the incontrovertible factual report of the humanist who sees war for the inhuman business that it is. . . . ¶ But if Falstaff's soliloquy [V. i. 127-139] underlines the shallowness and irresponsibility of Hotspur, it also introduces the situation which reveals the limits of Falstaff's logic in Hotspur's tragic victimization. . . . While Falstaff's formal conclusion that honor is a mere escutcheon is still ringing in the ears of the audience, the voice of Hotspur's uncle, "O, no, my nephew must not know the liberal and kind offer of the King" (V. ii. 1-2), gives proof of the real and substantial perfidy which makes of Hotspur a tragic exemplar of honor misdirected. Hal's honor has exceeded Hotspur's; now it also exceeds Falstaff's. It is a demonstration of Shakespeare's extraordinary sense of form that Hal, the dramatic center of the play, should make the final correction of focus, and that the stamp of humanity which defines honor should be fixed indelibly in a metaphor. . . . Hotspur begins the metaphor—"Food for . . ." and Hal completes it mordantly—"for worms, brave Percy" (V. iv. 86-87)—and thus in a phrase unites [253] in the common fate of death the foot-soldier and the gentleman. This is the irrefutable logic of war which leaves Falstaff's soliloquy-debate curiously empty.

McCURDY (1953, p. 152) discusses the psychological implications of the "father-son relationship" in Sh.: The very subtle parallels between certain aspects of the prince's commerce with Falstaff and with the king—such as the mock interview . . . and Falstaff's request that the prince, who is shortly to rescue his father,

should bestride his body if it fell in battle—cannot be explored here . . . : but it may be noted that, in a sense, Falstaff is the prince's father too. And so the prince has two fathers, a good one and a bad. But which is which only a wise man could say. [This point is later developed biographically (pp. 174-175), suggesting that at the time of writing *Henry IV* "something like a debate [was] going on in Shakespeare's mind over the question of which was his real father—a dignitary of Stratford, a kingly kind of figure in his way, . . . or, on the other hand, a merry-cheeked old fellow who was careless about the garbage at his door, who improbably had let his own good fortune and reputation and that of his wife go to rack and ruin. . . . Prince [175] Hal rejected Falstaff and accepted the austere King Henry. The choice was also Shakespeare's."]]

CRUTTWELL (1954, pp. 27-28): In such "political" plays as *Henry VI*, *Julius Caesar*, *Henry IV*, and *Henry V* . . . there seems no questioning of the basic Elizabethan political assumptions. . . . "Honour" (martial glory) in *Henry IV*, for instance. [28] Hotspur, Falstaff, and the Prince divide it dramatically between them. . . . All three views are given with an undistorted calmness; each has its full value. One feels that Shakespeare enjoys and appreciates all of them, without worrying over which is "right."

[See a summary treatment of the "honor" theme in ALFRED SCHOPF, "Leitmotive der Thematik in Sh.'s Dramen," *Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1954, XC, 131-136, and R. WATKINS, p. 101.]]

KLEINSTÜCK (*Neophilologus*, 1954, XXXVIII, 268-277) argues that Sh. "can hardly be said to have admired, or preached, the Tudor doctrine of order" in the history plays and that, though in one sense he accepted the doctrine as necessary in obtaining certain ends, he continually "pointed to the problems inherent in it." The relation of *Henry IV* to the idea of order is cited as an example of Sh.'s ambivalent attitude.

BARBER (1955, pp. 24-35, 41): The gay comedy in Shakespeare is fundamentally saturnalian rather than satiric. . . . ¶ [26] My thesis is that, in creating the Falstaff comedy, Shakespeare fused two main saturnalian traditions: the clowning customary on the stage, and the folly customary on holiday. . . . ¶ [28] The issue . . . is not whether Hal will be good or bad but whether he will be noble or degenerate, whether his holiday will become his everyday. The interregnum of a Lord of Misrule, delightful in its moment, might develop into the anarchic reign of a favorite dominating a dissolute king. Hal's secret . . . [29] is that for him Falstaff is merely a pastime, to be dismissed in due course. . . . The prince's sports, accordingly, express not dissoluteness but a fine excess of vitality. . . . This sense of timing, of the relation of holiday to everyday, contributes to establishing the prince as the inclusive, sovereign nature. . . . ¶ [32] Hal's final expulsion of Falstaff appears in the

light of these analogies [with the scapegoat ritual and Mardi Gras and Carnival patterns] to carry out an impersonal pattern, not merely political but ritual in character. After the guilty reign of Bolingbroke, the prince is making a fresh start as the new king. . . . So the ritual analogy suggests that by turning on Falstaff as a scapegoat, as the villagers turned on their Mardi Gras, the prince can free himself from the sins, the bad luck, of Richard's reign and of his father's reign. . . . ¶ Now this process of carrying off bad luck, if it is to be made dramatically cogent, as a symbolic action accomplished in and by dramatic form, cannot take place magically. . . . [33] The expulsion of evil works as dramatic form only in so far as it is realized in a movement from participation to rejection which happens, moment by moment, in our response to Falstaff's clowning misrule. We watch Falstaff adopt one posture after another, in the effort to give himself meaning at no cost; and moment by moment we see that the meaning is specious. So our participation is repeatedly diverted to laughter. The laughter signalizes our mastery by understanding of the tendency which has been misapplied or carried to an extreme. . . . ¶ [35] This view helps to explain how the acting out of disruptive motives in saturnalia or in comedy can serve to master potential aberration by revaluing it in relation to the whole of experience. So Falstaff, in acting out this absolutist aberration [the conception that legitimate kingship has a magical potency], is taking away what might have been Hal's bad luck, taking it away in a real, though not magical way: the comedy is a civilized equivalent of the primitive rite. [Hal is thus enabled to "see through such notions of magical majesty" or the "sort of headlong chivalry presented seriously in Hotspur."] . . . ¶ [41] *Part I* can be summarized, in terms of our analogy, as the reign of Carnival; *Part II* as his trial. To put Carnival on trial, run him out of town, and burn or bury him is in folk custom a way of limiting, by ritual, the attitudes and impulses set loose by ritual.

III. OTHER GENERAL CRITICISM

WOLFF (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1935, LXXI, 102-103): There is an immense psychological difference between the modern and the Elizabethan public. . . . [103] When he [Sh.] mentions, for example, the plot planned by Poins and the prince, he does not merely present it but also anticipates its consequences. . . . We see this anticipation of coming events as a weakening, a diminution of the suspense. Shakespeare as an experienced stage practitioner made the best of it because he did not dare offer his public, whether because it was too dense or too inattentive or both, a surprise.

MURRY (1936, pp. 138-142): Before his final

avatar as Harry the King, the Bastard was to undergo an exciting metamorphosis. He was to divide, by an imaginative fission, into Falstaff and Hotspur: into the cynical critic of honour, and its idolater. His bluntness and his bravery into Harry Percy; his wit and his humour into Jack Falstaff. . . . The king is supposed to have been considering ways and means for his crusade, when the news of the fighting in Wales and the North was brought to him. The episode is unhistorical and without consequences; it is dragged in to make a connection, and is evidence of the interruption by *King John*. Historical continuity and imaginative continuity are of two [139] houses. And nothing could make *Henry IV* imaginatively continuous with *Richard II*. . . . ¶ Now that Bolingbroke himself is an anointed king, Shakespeare is not interested in him, because he is not interested in history any more: it is become an excuse and framework for creating characters—characters with a national significance: Englishmen. . . . ¶ [141] Falstaff and Hotspur are equally valid. They are imaginative brothers, sons of the Bastard, each with 'a wild trick of his ancestor,' both essentially 'madcap'! One pursues honour; the other will have none of it. How did Shakespeare think of honour? As neither, as both. One is a master of blank-verse rhetoric, the other laughs at it. . . . How did Shakespeare think of rhetoric? As neither, as both. Falstaff and Hotspur were the creations of a brain that was 'a thoroughfare for all thoughts, not a select party,' as Keats put it. But that was an overstatement. Shakespeare's brain could not really entertain all thoughts; we can tell the difference between the thoughts which he did entertain creatively, and to which his being was responsive, and these which were merely thoughts. . . . But even when we feel that the identification is complete—as it is, at this period, with the Bastard, with Hotspur, with Falstaff, with Mercutio—we cannot say: this was Shakespeare. [142] What we can say, however—and it is a good deal more than nothing—is that this, or this, was an imaginative form in which Shakespeare felt at home. . . . It is the sense of this distinction which underlies Shakespeare's own remark concerning Mercutio which Dryden recorded. . . . In the 'tragedy' of *Romeo and Juliet*, [Mercutio] played the same creative-destructive part as Falstaff and Hotspur played in the 'history' of *Henry IV*. History itself killed Hotspur, Falstaff had to be killed by Shakespeare's fiat.

PETSCH (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1937, LXXIII, 112-123) suggests that the dramatic process in the *Henry IV* plays is not a continuous one from beginning to end; it is rather more like that in the comedies of Aristophanes which allowed an abrupt change of mood and the portrayal of character from a new angle. The dramatic structure is panoramic, but every little bit adds to

the total concept, the "loose totality" being held together by inner relationships and individual threads; while hovering over all is the poet's firm faith in England and his concern for the welfare of the people. Shakespeare thus chooses his materials to approximate the actual historical events, but allows the human, the personal, to stand out strongly against this background. In himself Henry IV is a tragic figure, tragic because he struggles to justify his historically necessary actions to his human, indeed bourgeois, conscience. His human tragedy is in this way felt even more by the spectator because both he and the poet are able to see that the king's actions will receive justification *sub specie aeternitatis*.

TRAVERSI (1938, pp. 29-34): It is necessary to insist at this point that *1 Henry IV* (and to a much lesser degree *King John*) is concerned with a great deal more than social criticism. The play is raised by its dominating and pointed vitality to the level of great poetry. But that vitality is still concentrated on one character. The King, Hotspur, Worcester, and Glendower are still products of critical analysis rather than organic parts of a poetic universe. The poet stands apart from his subject, balancing its possibilities, its pretensions one against the other. Now this is not the distinctive quality of Shakespeare's mature work, which presents a sequence of events as moulded into poetic shape, modified and illuminated by the force of personal experience. To attain this condition, Shakespeare's distinctive life would have to be felt, not only in Falstaff, but in every other character; all should draw their life equally from the poet's individuality. A movement in this direction seems to be taking place in *2 Henry IV*. . . . ¶ [33] Even Falstaff is affected by the requirements of the dominant mood. No longer is he felt, as in Part I, to be outside the action in which he participates, transcending and criticizing it by his own [34] vitality. He has become subdued to the life around him.

GREGOR (1941, pp. 313, 321): In *Henry IV* Shakespeare saw for the first time *the suffering potentate* who cannot forget and who is burdened by his past. Obligated to continue the force which led him to the throne, Henry IV fears even for himself the return of force, the repetition of the fate of Richard II. In the end his visible adversaries become invisible ones, his death-defiant courage turns to mortal terror, his rich, intense life becomes depressive, furtive, the great emotions which well outward turn inward, overflow the normal bounds and create a paranoic psychological condition. . . . ¶ [321] Insincerity tarnishes the picture of Prince Hal; however we may be intoxicated by his vitality, it makes it difficult for us to enjoy the character completely, just as Percy's neurasthenic tendencies take away our pleasure in him. Shakespeare was of course wholly conscious of this danger:

he found, exactly as in all the histories of this period, no predominating figure for the double tragedy, no hero. Neither the death of the old Henry nor that of Percy can be truly gripping. . . . I do not doubt that such conjecture resulted in the decision which surely represents the dramatist's most daring device: to give the whole history, which is spun out over two dramas, a new focus and a new twist by means of a freely invented, non-historical figure; to set over against the many, debilitated creatures one with an exuberant, crude sense of humor, and thus to make the tragedy, at least to a large extent, a comedy.

BETHELL (1944, pp. 50-52): It is in the two parts of *King Henry IV* that past and present are most obviously brought together. On the one hand we have high politics, more or less correct historically, and on the other, the Falstaff material, drawn entirely from the 'low life' of contemporary London, and the middling life of the shires. . . . This setting back of contemporary abuses into history serves to distance and objectify them. . . . We are ready enough to condemn the actions of beings sufficiently remote; but [51] scarcely has judgment been passed, when we realise that the same deeds are normally condoned among ourselves, and that our judgment is, in effect, self-accusation. . . . The blurred outlines of a contemporary abuse have been sharpened by transferring it from a familiar to an unfamiliar setting. Conversely, there might seem to be little of interest to an Elizabethan audience in the confused series of rebellions against King Henry IV; but presented with a background of vividly contemporary life, they gain in reality and significance. Falstaff, a 'modern' man enough, is drawn into the wars, and his views of military honour effectively counter the literary-romantic notions put into the mouth of Hotspur. Hotspur would 'pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon' (I. iii. 202). Although in the last century considered poetical, the line is meaningless rant. . . . We must take its sound and fury as an evaluation of the romantic glory associated with war. . . . Through Falstaff, who all along [52] has been strictly a contemporary figure, the audience, instead of regarding Hotspur's heroics in remote complacency, were forced to realise the civil war situation as a present possibility, and to consider the very different code which in such circumstances they themselves might be tempted to apply. The present is thus distanced and appraised, and the past made uncomfortably alive, by this duality of time, which characterises the Shakespearean treatment of history.

GORDON (1944, pp. 31-32): I have always myself regarded this play as Shakespeare's recompense to men for his treatment of them in the comedies. In the comedies, as we saw, it is always the ladies who win, and I think we are agreed that they deserve their victory. But it is an easy victory; for the young men are never

quite natural, which is as much as to say that they are never at their best. . . . [32] Here is something in the art of living—an atmosphere of ease, of tolerance, or humorous equality, and of lazy good-nature—which women, with all their gifts, have perhaps not yet achieved. This humorous masculine club-room atmosphere Shakespeare has fixed for ever in the immortal scenes of Falstaff. It is the great secret of the comedy of *Henry IV* that it is wholly masculine and unaffected by women.

CHARLTON (1948, pp. 70-71): *Henry IV* and *Henry V* are dramatic inventions, discoveries of a new dramatic form. The plot of them is not mainly planned to excite the dramatic suspense of watching the fate of an individual, as is the plot of comedy and of tragedy. The issues are different. What is primarily at stake is not a man, but a community. The hero is England; and its national well-being is the focal dramatic interest. To provide a true dramatic interest, however, the sequence of events which sustains it must have the compulsion of dramatic necessity. The end must come inevitably from what has gone before. . . . Hence his English history plays are an expression, not of his organised political philosophy (if he ever had one), but of his intuitive apprehension of the political forces which sway the destiny of nations. So far as English history is concerned, his Tudor patriotism led him to see England's greatness as mainly the personal achievement of her great kings. The plays are exhibitions of the qualities of successful kingship, and though his sense of the disparities between political goodness and moral goodness provided him with much suitable matter for drama, it must at the same time have disturbed his simple moral and patriotic nature, for 'your strong possession much more than your right' seems through all the plays to be the recipe for political success.

O'CONNOR (1948, pp. 63-65): The realistic ambiguity of *The Merchant of Venice* is nothing to that of *Henry IV*. Prince Henry is a heroic figure drawn with such asperity that critics have accused him of insensibility; Falstaff a comic ruffian drawn with such lyric tenderness that he steals the play. . . . ¶ But, surely, the important thing to remember is that there is a Falstaff in each of us, and that it is to this Falstaff that Shakespeare appeals. There was certainly a Falstaff [64] in himself. ¶ When Hotspur cries 'To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon!' and Falstaff gloomily asks 'What's Honor?' Falstaff, as Dr. Harrison points out, is guying Hotspur, but even more Shakespeare is guying Shakespeare. Realism is the artistic equivalent of logical thought, and while the poet in Shakespeare revelled in the thought of war, the realist, shrinking from its horrors, was bitterly conscious of the disparity between its causes and effects. . . . ¶ It is not only Falstaff who asks 'What is Honor?' Shakespeare at the time was asking it too, and distrusting [65] ro-

manticism, turning away from poetry to prose, and delighting in the bluff violence of his Mercutios and Hotspurs, was in the humour for guying any form of extravagance. . . . ¶ In *Henry IV* and *Henry V* there are two Englands, marvellously balanced; the one romantic, remote, medieval, the other realistic, intimate, prosaic; an England which starts off about its business at dawn with a good grouse at the inn.

STAUFFER (1949, pp. 94-95): Hotspur represents an idealism centered on manly honor and family loyalty. He is a danger to the state because he cannot think in terms of the state, but merely in the restricted modes, however warm and noble they may be, of personal glory. ¶ [95] The king is an efficient instrument, dependable, competent, cool. But worldly success is no god in Shakespeare's thought, or, for that matter, even in Henry's mind. In these plays the millstones of justice continue to grind relentlessly in both the inner and outer worlds. Henry's conscience reproaches him for murder—or worse: for the sacrilegious act of overthrowing God's appointed order. Yet with supreme dramatic irony and justice, he is prevented from making a repentant pilgrimage to the Holy Land by the very principle of rebellion which he himself initiated.

R. WATKINS (1950, p. 237): The first part of *Henry IV* makes nonsense, if Prince Hal is not in the centre of the picture. . . . It is easy to forget that even Falstaff had to make his reputation. In the first scene in which he appears he is not at the top of his form. . . . The reason for the modest start is . . . that Shakespeare is at pains in the first scene to introduce his leading character, Prince Hal; . . . and Falstaff as the Prince's "mis-leader of Youth" is only incidental to that presentation. . . . For all his independent vitality, he does not (in *Part One*) exceed his brief; he has no scene which is unrelated to the Prince's affairs; it is only in *Part Two* that he goes off to pursue his own fortunes.

BRUNNER (*Sh. Survey*, 1953, VI, 36-38) sees Falstaff and Hotspur as an expression of Sh.'s fear, speaking with the voice of middle-class and conservative reaction, as to the "sort of persons [who] might be bred by times of disorder and civil war."

LEBCH (*Sh. Survey*, 1953, VI, 17): Coleridge has described *Romeo and Juliet* as a play given unity of feeling by the youth and springtime that permeate every character and moment; even its old men, he says, have "an eagerness, a hastiness, a precipitancy—the effect of spring." That might almost be our judgement too of *Henry IV*. There is a graver note in the portraits of the King and old Northumberland, but the dominant feeling is young, excited, good-hearted. The Prince must not forget his future, must not think exclusively in terms of personal glory, as Hotspur does, must not think only of the moment's pleasure, as Falstaff does: but he can

and should value these things, while recognizing their subordination to the obligations and opportunities that will come to him with the golden round.

CHARACTERS

FALSTAFF

I. GENERAL CRITICISM ON FALSTAFF

BAILEY (1929, pp. 120-124): No more English figure was ever created; and yet none more universal. . . . Falstaff is the visible embodiment of that [121] other part of us all in which the flesh speaks too loud for the spirit to be heard. . . . What is his secret? . . . We love him . . . [because] he can tell us everything about himself. . . . He can tell it with an inexhaustible brilliance of wit and humour. If he were silent and helpless of tongue he would be nothing but a disgusting old drunkard. . . . No truthful man tells the whole truth about himself as this liar tells it. And no man of humour is so willing to make the final sacrifice to the spirit of humour; none turns his humour so constantly against himself. . . . ¶ [124] In the conduct of life, a whole that includes so much more than the sense and makes its demands upon will and conscience as well as upon intellect, he was never in touch with reality at all. And that is just what Henry V was; with all sorts of reality, and not only with Falstaff's.

WILLIAMS (1932, pp. 38-39) discusses Falstaff and Bottom as "opposites and complements."

UTTER (1934, pp. 161-163) suggests that Falstaff is always "wise enough to play the fool," that he knows of the trick (I. ii) that is being played on him by the obtuse Prince and makes the most of the opportunity it gives him. In V. iv Falstaff again plays the fool knowingly and as before tricks the Prince into taking him seriously.

BOND (1938, pp. 62-64) views Falstaff as an embodiment of the characteristics of the English common man, but, unlike the common man, gifted with the resource to extricate himself from the results of his own weaknesses.—PINTO (*RES*, 1939, XV, 89-91) objects that if he "represents any class at all it is not the common people."

VAN DOREN (1939, pp. 126-135): Falstaff understands everything and so is never serious. If he is even more amusing to himself than he is to others, that is because the truth about himself is something very obvious which he has never taken the trouble to define. His intelligence can define anything, but his wisdom tells him that the effort is not worth while. . . . [127] It [his mind] is at home everywhere, and it is never darkened with self-thought. . . . He is a universal mimic; his genius is of that sort which understands through parody, and which cannot be understood except at one or more removes. He is so much himself because he is never himself; he has so much power because

he has more than that maximum which for ordinary men is the condition of their identity's becoming stated. His is not stated because there is no need of proving that he has force; we feel this force constantly, in parody after parody of men he pretends to be. . . . ¶ There is a fine thread of personal idiom worked through the text of Falstaff's talk. His private voice rings out. . . . His native speech is casual yet pure, natural yet distinguished, easy and yet expertly wrenched out of line with the conventions of syntax; impossible to define, yet audibly his very [128] own. We hear it, however, but seldom. Most of the time it is buried under heaps of talk delivered from a hundred assumed personalities, a hundred fictitious identities. . . . ¶ But it will be seen at once—or heard—that he has made the most of this limitation [his fatness]. . . . If he must gasp he will make each further gasp an echo of its fellow—an echo, but with ineffable additions. His speech then is not merely brief; it is repetitive, it rolls back on itself, it picks up its theme and tosses it to us again, with rich improvements. . . . [129] And, once more, its burden, its high business, is parody: imitation not always of another man who is standing by, if it is ever that, but of some man Falstaff suddenly, without warning, decides to be. . . . ¶ [130] The essence of Falstaff is that he is a comic actor, most of whose roles are assumed without announcement. . . . ¶ [134] The wit of Falstaff's answers when charges of cowardice, treachery, and lying are truly urged against him is the wit of a man who knows that other men are waiting to hear what he will pretend, whom he will become, how he will get out of it. . . . ¶ What now of his vices, and why is it that they have not the sound of vices? None of them is an end in itself—that is their secret, just as Falstaff's character is his mystery. He does not live to drink or steal or lie or foin o' nights. He [135] even does not live in order: that he may be the cause of wit in other men. We do not in fact know why he lives. This great boulder is balanced lightly on the earth, and can be tipped with the lightest touch. He cannot be overturned.

SMALL (*SAB*, 1939, XIV, 108-109, 112, 116-117, 137): Falstaff is a stage clown and wit, but one who is sensitive [109] regarding his size and age; . . . Prince Hal knows . . . that he will react to the least suggestion of physical decay. Prince Hal, who never shows him any real kindness, probes him to the quick about his physical decline, and seems to take with Poina a brutal pleasure in watching how these remarks bring out of Falstaff a wealth of lies. . . . ¶ [112] A clown may have [serious] character and still remain a clown and wit on the stage. . . . The clown who has moments of melancholia was known in literature long before Shakspeare's time. . . . ¶ [116] We do not sympathize with him [Falstaff] as we do with

a tragic hero. There is no inner consciousness in Falstaff that is suffering or spiritually struggling. Nothing like that, but Falstaff is the "underdog," and our sympathies easily find him more abused than abusing others. . . .

¶ [117] A vein of self-pity runs through much of what Falstaff says. . . . The vein of self-pity intensifies the comic effect of the scene, just as the introduction of a comic device into tragedy.

. . . ¶ [137] So important an element is his habitual drinking, that one should think of Falstaff's character in terms of sack and sugar. It embraces every phase of his mental life, as a witty talker, as a clown, as a glutton, as a thinker, and as a man who enjoys pitying himself. It colors everything he says and does; his very personality depends on it.

SPENCER (1940, pp. 181-184): Falstaff is no criminal; he is merely and rather mildly vicious, and with a single exception his vices injure no one but himself. . . . ¶ [182] Falstaff is a great artist—that is his real vocation, and that is why Hal is so fond of him. He is the perpetual card, the life of the party, the professional diner-out, the Dr. Holmes of Eastcheap. He inspires both the belly laugh and the silvery tinkle of Meredith's Comic Spirit. His are the fertility and inexhaustibility of genius. He is never caught—not till the last scene of *Part II*, where we have the universal tragedy of the funny man. The world is not kind to artists: Agincourt is more important than lines of beauty or the explosive disintegration in a flashing phrase of a completely analyzed abstract idea. Or is it? . . .

¶ [184] His critics miss the point that his clowning is funnier just because he is a soldier and a knight. He does his duty when it confronts him, but he is not one to go out of his way looking for it. This is the attitude of the veteran, of the professional, like Bluntschli in *Arms and the Man*. . . . [See R. C. ELLIOTT, "Shaw's Captain Bluntschli: A Latter-Day Falstaff," *MLN*, 1952, LXXVII, 461-464.] Fighting is all in the day's work—some days; and who but an incurable romantic like Percy, or aspirant politicians with an axe to grind like Hal, would not prefer taking his ease in his inn? "O, I could wish this tavern were my drum!" But the real drum taps. Falstaff grouses—and falls in.

JACOBI (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1941, LXXVII, 2 ff.): No ethically positive trait can be discovered in him [Falstaff]. . . . We must, however, always bear in mind that he is not free within the moral sphere but free of it. His wickedness is not the result of weakness of character, for Falstaff has no character. Character is an intellectual-ethical component of man; . . . Falstaff's wickedness is, moreover, not the result of hostility to the moral code. . . . His relation to morality is absolute. His essence is the flesh, that of morality intellect. . . . Falstaff can only recognize inclination, not duty. Therefore it is impossible to condemn him as we would the

weak in character or the enemy of morality. . . . There is in Falstaff the uninhibited, unbroken instinctive life, the pure characterization by art of man as corporeal subjectivity. . . . ¶ All the elegance, the levity, the nimble qualities which are lacking in Falstaff's character are in his wit. . . . The comic potentiality [in Falstaff's corpulence] . . . is heightened in that this body is shown in situations which are wholly incongruous with it. . . . All are situations in which one can only imagine young, lithe, and nimble bodies, not old, fat, clumsy ones. . . . But the pleasure in Falstaff's wit and the laughter which his body evokes, threaten to perish in our displeasure at his ethical inadequacy. . . . How is Falstaff's ethical inadequacy elevated from the plane of neutral comicality to that of the aesthetic? Or, why is it that we accept him humorously? The answer can only be: because Shakespeare does not allow Falstaff's immorality to appear either in sharp focus or with too shocking an effect. He softens it, and in two ways: 1. Falstaff's evil deeds are not coldly premeditated. . . . 2. Falstaff does not succeed in disturbing seriously the ethical order.

WILSON (1943, pp. 13, 32-34, 48): Johnson's seven sentences tell us more about Shakespeare's Falstaff, as exhibited in the two parts of *Henry IV*, than is to be found in Bradley's twenty-seven eloquent pages. . . . ¶ [32] Like all great Shakespearean characters Falstaff is a bundle of contradictions. He is not only Riot but also Repentance. He can turn an eye of melancholy upon us, . . . even threaten amendment of life. It is, of course, *mock*-repentance, carried through as part of the untiring 'play extempore' with which he keeps the Prince, and us, and himself, entertained from beginning to end of the drama. And yet it is not mere game; Shakespeare makes it more interesting by persuading us that there is a strain of sincerity in it; and it almost completely disappears in *Part II*, when the rogue finds himself swimming on the tide of success. . . . ¶ [33] In this play of the Prodigal Prince it is Hal who should rightly exhibit moods of repentance; and on the face of it, it seems quite illogical to transfer them to Falstaff, the tempter. Yet there are reasons why Hal could not be thus represented. In the first place, as already noted, repentance in the theological sense, repentance for sin, is not relevant to his case at all, which is rather one of a falling away from political virtues. . . . In the second place, since Henry V is the ideal king of English history, Shakespeare must take great care, even in the days of his 'wildness,' to guard him from the breath of scandal. . . . There is a third reason, this time one of dramatic technique not of morals, why the repentance of the Prince must be kept in the background as much as possible, viz. that as the only satisfactory means of rounding off the two parts, it belongs especially to the last act of the play. ¶ Yet Monsieur Remorse is a good

puppet in the property-box of the old morality. . . . [34] Why not shape a comic part out of it, and hand it over to Falstaff, who as the heir of traditional medieval 'antics' like the Devil, the Vice, the Fool, Riot and Lord of Misrule, may very well manage one more? . . . ¶ Falstaff, then, came to stand for the repentance, as well as the riotous living, of the Prodigal Son. And striking references to the parable, four of them, seem to show that his creator was fully aware of what he was doing [III. iii. 76-77; IV. ii. 31-33; 2 *Henry IV*, II. i. 139-142; *Merry Wives*, IV. v. 7]. ¶ [48] Shakespeare persuades a large number of Falstaff admirers that, despite the damning evidence of Gad's Hill, he is in no real sense a coward at all. In other words, he manages here, as often in other plays, to give his public the double satisfaction of eating their cake and having it still. Nor is it difficult to see how he brings it off. First of all, he amuses us with a Falstaff who is such an unmistakable coward that we can swear the man is frightened to death; then he blurs the impressions thus conveyed by plunging us into a bath of fun and wit, of impudence and self-assurance, so enchanting that the Lord of Misrule in Eastcheap almost entirely eclipses in our minds the bull-calf on Gad's Hill; next he throws out hints, a series of them, each broader than the one before, that the panic at Gad's Hill had been nothing but play-acting after all; and, lastly, he puts the old reprobate into a tight corner and shows him behaving with such coolness and resolution that we are now admiring his fortitude as unreservedly as we had formerly laughed at his cowardice. [See A. C. SPRAGUE (*SD*, 1953, IV, 127) for comment on WILSON's view here.]

GRIFFITHS (*English*, 1944, V, 52-53): Professor Dover Wilson's achievement is like that of Prince John. He has simply resisted Falstaff's spirit. . . . He conceives that the Prince scores in that opening bout with Falstaff. . . . In this scene though, the Prince does not score on points. It is true that he provokes, teases, and goads Falstaff. . . . It is Falstaff who provides the temperament, the instrument; he is the lyre, and what a thinking reed he is after all, even in playful parody! . . . ¶ [53] An equally great defect in Professor Wilson's treatment of Falstaff is the failure to appreciate the intellectual freedom and the plastic imaginative power at the service of instinct which he shows at every juncture. Only Mr. Shaw has done justice to Falstaff as the one adult sensible man in Shakespeare, undeluded, clear-sighted, with intelligence serving vital impulse. . . . ¶ The other main theme of Professor Wilson's book, his vindication of Hal, suffers in the same way. . . . The real trouble lies in the peculiar nature of honour. . . . It is the dilemma of the gentleman. All the real gentlemen are tragic Quixotic figures in life as in fiction. Sidney, Falkland, Gordon, and T. E. Lawrence are historical

examples. All of them are victims; Hal is not of their company. . . . What happens to Hal is the very thing that Shakespeare surely feared most, the dehumanizing effect of power, the development of that potential flaw to prevent which his gentle Brutus decided on Caesar's death.

KIRSCHBAUM (*RES*, 1945, XXI, 137): Shakespeare's normal custom is to condition his audience to maintain a moral viewpoint toward the serious or noble characters and an amoral viewpoint toward the comic or low characters. In the last act of 1 *Henry IV*, he unfortunately makes one of the low characters, Falstaff, come under the focus of both viewpoints at once.

PALMER (1945, pp. 187-188, 196): What . . . is Falstaff's place in the political scheme? First he embodies the genial humanity and free play of mind which the political leader inevitably forgoes when he confines himself within the restricted field of public affairs. . . . ¶ [188] Falstaff is also of significance to the political scheme in that he plays an active, if modest, part in the public life of his time, which brings him into touch with the leading men of affairs. In these encounters the men of policy are, for a moment, seen from the point of view of the natural man. . . . ¶ Then, again, Falstaff's political activities bring into view the underside of high policy and heroic war. . . . He seeks no excuses for his behaviour. He makes no fine speeches. His cynicism, if it makes his conduct no more acceptable than that of his betters, just as certainly makes it no worse. . . . ¶ [196] From Falstaff, . . . to Hotspur, . . . seems as great a distance as could well be imagined in human character. But between these two men, who must die before Henry of Monmouth can assume the status of a hero, there is an essential kinship. The warm blood that runs in the veins of these two darlings of Shakespeare's imagination is of a different quality from the cold blood which the Prince 'did inherit of his father.'

HARBAGE (1947, pp. 75-76, 81-82): The person to whom running away from footpads or playing dead on a battlefield is like leaping away from a falling tree cannot be convicted of cowardice. *His is the larger guilt of having no principles.* . . . ¶ Yet none of us are quite sure. To Falstaff a reputation for valor, if not worth fighting for, is at least worth lying for; and he sometimes expresses shame, sometimes good intentions, even when alone. Furthermore, we cannot conceive of a man utterly lacking in principles directing energies towards Falstaff's trivial ends—a Machiavelli sponging in a pub. Thus Falstaff's outer vices divert our attention from his inner vice, the lack of principles, at the same time that this inner vice nullifies the outer vices. . . . ¶ Falstaff is the least effective wrongdoer that ever lived. He is a thief whose booty is taken from him, a liar who is [76] never believed, a drunkard who is never

befuddled, a bully who is not feared, a prince's companion who sleeps on a bench in Eastcheap, a toady who misses preferment. Even his lechery is a doubtful item. . . . ¶ [81] Falstaff certainly serves no didactic purpose. Delight in him is [82] a test of our normality. . . . Falstaff can give no pleasure to the saint, or to the one in saintly mood. . . . But between the morally depraved and the saints stand the multitude, including men in pulpits and men in prisons, including Shakespeare's audience of today and yesterday.

CRAIG (1948, p. 139): What then is the provenance of Falstaff? He was built up in four stages—the tradition of the Lollard hypocrite, the old Henry V play, the Oldcastle form of Shakespeare's play, and the final form. Falstaff has been regarded as a character of puzzling complexity, and with such an origin he has a right to be. . . . He nevertheless hangs together as an actual man. He is Shakespeare's and the Elizabethan drama's first great synthetic character.

O'CONNOR (1948, pp. 65-66): Just as Shylock speaks for the under-dog in each of us, so Falstaff speaks for the average sensual man. In a modern play he would begin every second sentence with 'As a [66] matter of fact.' The phrase which does identify him like a character in Dickens is 'If I'm not speaking the truth, may I drop down dead!' and on this he continues to ring the changes till the carriers and even the Prince catch it from him, and we see how Shakespeare must have lived the part while writing the play, testing out every phrase with the intonation and gesture of the old man.

GUPTA (1950, pp. 256-262): Falstaff is in reality a creative artist who invents a new world fundamentally different from the one we live in. . . . Yet the world he creates is not subject to the tyranny of time. . . . Nothing in the two parts of *Henry IV* is insisted on with so much emphasis as Falstaff's independence of the effects of time. . . . ¶ [259] As he is not the slave of time, he does not care for consistency which connects the Past with the Present and the Future with both. That is the genesis of the men-in-buckram story. . . . The fact is that we have no right to apply the law of identity on which rests our logic to Falstaff's world, where two need not be always two, where it can turn into twenty in a moment, if only the transformation can be effected in a way that adds verve and colour to a story. The exaggerations of other braggarts are lies, because they do not question the validity of the law of truth, which they only try to evade. . . . [260] [The Prince and Poins] have no idea of how Falstaff will start with a story of two men and then go on increasing the number, even though at every step they may remind him of the inconsistency of his statements. They mistake him for an ordinary liar and are amazed to find a creative genius whose

imagination works and flourishes on the very obstacles presented by the law of truth. ¶ The charge of cowardice, too, is as irrelevant as the charge of untruthfulness. . . . For him valour and cowardice have not the significance they have for us. . . . ¶ [261] Falstaff's inextinguishable thirst for sack is only the most visible expression of the craving for thrilling enjoyment which is the keynote of his character. . . . ¶ [262] The primary virtue of sack is that it makes the brain apprehensive, forgetive, and full of nimble fiery and delectable shapes. Here we have the distinctive note of Falstaff's humour which constantly makes fun of his own oddities.

R. WATKINS (1950, p. 151): Falstaff himself suffers if producer and actor have not a firm conception of his social status, if the actor is hail-fellow-well-met with all men and does not insist on his gang of parasites keeping their place and distance.

SEWELL (1951, pp. 35-36): In general the truly comic character, *qua* comic character, has no interior mode of existence, and what he feels has no relevance in our attitude towards him. Who asks what Falstaff is *feeling*, when he runs away at Gadshill, or counterfeits death at Shrewsbury? Who cares? Are his knees knocking? Do his limbs tremble? Does his heart miss a beat, except for the unusual exercise? Who asks these questions? But, in the end, when the king rejects him, questions of this sort must be asked. At that moment—all the attempts to excuse the king prove this point—we are compelled to ask: What is Falstaff feeling about all this? At last he is brought up to it—a situation [36] which he cannot turn to his own comic purposes, intractable as it is to the subduing magic of personality, his address to the world. . . . We have to treat Falstaff—with what loss!—as a real person. We pity this fat old man; but we cannot say 'The pity of it!' And it is only when we pity and can also say, enlarging the moment in its significance, 'The pity of it!' that pity is more than self-indulgence.

GODDARD (1951, pp. 175-176, 179-180, 183-184, 206-207): The truth is that there are two Falstaffs, just as there are two Henrys, the Immortal Falstaff and the Immortal [176] Falstaff, and the dissension about the man comes from a failure to recognize that fact. . . . ¶ [179] Falstaff is immortal because he is a symbol of the supremacy of imagination over fact. He forecasts man's final victory over Fate itself. Facts stand in our way. Facts melt before Falstaff like ice before a summer sun. . . . ¶ [180] But alas! we have been neglecting the other Falstaff, the old sot. . . . He has his Achilles heel. I do not refer to his love of Hal. That is his Achilles heel in another and lovelier sense. I refer to a tiny fact, two tiny facts, that he forgets and that we would like to: the fact that his imagination is stimulated by immense potations of sack and that his victories are purchased, if necessary, at the price of an utter disregard for the rights of others.

... ¶ [183] Except for that little item of moral responsibility, "play" expresses as nearly as one word can the highest conception of life we are capable of forming. ... ¶ [184] Now Falstaff goes through life playing. He coins everything he encounters into play, often even into a play. ... Whenever he seems to be taken in because he does not realize the situation, it is safer to assume that he does realize it but keeps quiet because the imaginative possibilities are greater in that case. ... ¶ But if it is the glory of the Immortal Falstaff that he remained a child, it is the shame of the Immortal Falstaff that he never became a man—for it is a child's duty to become a man no less than it is a man's duty to become a child. ... ¶ [206] If we look back, we find a little scene in which the rejection of Falstaff was specifically forecast. More than forecast, rehearsed. ... [207] "Depose me!" cries Falstaff. ¶ And then, if ever, we behold the future in the instant. It is as if something in the air and accent of the Prince, merely playing as he is, enables Falstaff to catch as in a magic mirror the bearing and voice of King Henry V as he was to pause near the Abbey on that fateful day. ... ¶ *Playing the part of his father* [in II. iv], Henry proceeds to castigate "that villainous abominable misleader of youth, Falstaff, that old white-bearded Satan," to which Falstaff, *playing the part of Hal*, retorts with a defense of himself that ends in a revelation of deep acquaintance with his own soul and with Henry's. ... To which the Prince in turn, *playing the King*, replies with unconscious divination of the future: "I do, I will [banish plump Jack]." He will indeed. Now he pretends to be his father and *does* banish Falstaff. A little later he will become like his father and *will* banish him. Now he plays king. Then he will be king. Beware of what you play—it will come true. "Rehearsal" is not too strong a term for this scene.

CAZAMIAN (1952, pp. 242-250): Falstaff is first shown to us as rather his simpler self; then he develops into the super-Falstaff; after that the two sides of the character are presented together, with a predominance now of the former, now of the latter. ... We may take stock of the fact that the richer expansion of Falstaff's character has a tendency to occur, neither at the beginning nor at the end, but in the middle sections of each part of *Henry IV*, and especially of the first part. ... ¶ [244] The farcical comedy [in II. iv] which he had been playing for the pleasure of his companions and for his own, widens and deepens into a mockery of the whole of life, a sort of topsy-turvy parody of it in which satire, criticism, and a general upsetting of values run riot. The physical figure of the fat knight remains unchanged; but his mental self puts on a character of authority, a prestige of power and freedom; he is no longer the slave of his senses and of his heavy fleshiness; he is a free spirit, rejoicing in the inde-

pendence born of complete detachment. Giving an ironical, defiant twist to the decent, the normal, and the rational truth of things, he is the creator of a world—the world of humor, the inmost principle of which is relativity. ... ¶ [245] We have, first, the poetry of lying. There are many ways of telling an untruth. Falstaff's manner is free from all utilitarian motive; he cannot, he does not, expect that anyone will believe him. ... ¶ [246] The latter part of the scene gives us an incomparable display of the transvaluation of all values. Two or three different backgrounds of meaning are confusedly perceived behind each of Falstaff's speeches, imparting a rich implicitness of significance to what he says; so that joking and earnestness, earnestness and joking keep shading off into each other, rousing in us a sense of their close interrelation and of the illusion of all clear-cut categories. ... ¶ [247] The climax of dramatic irony and the most suggestive humor are reached soon after. ... His call to pity under the disguise of farce and fun is plainer still at the end, when it is into the mouth of the Prince that Falstaff puts his exquisitely clever and soberly moving appeal to the indulgence of the young man, whose heart he feels is more and more hardening against him. ... ¶ [249] After that [III. iii] a decline is perceptible. Falstaff as a recruiting officer is very good fun, but the psychological interest is waning. It revives in the cynical monologue upon honor. ... ¶ [250] One seems to gather, from Falstaff's last words in the play, that Shakespeare felt his knight must be toned down; he descends from the glorious "amorality" of humor, to hints of a conversion. ... We are here leaving the purely artistic sphere, and definitely passing on to the ethical one.

STOLL (1940, pp. 349-350, 356-359) [an answer to CAZAMIAN's views as expressed in his Johns Hopkins lecture, 1934; see his later expansion of those views in *The Development of English Humor*, 1952, quoted above]: So far as range of comic effect is concerned one of the best parallels to Tartuffe is Falstaff. ... ¶ [350] The chief similarity ... is in the way that his cowardice, together with the natural and traditional accompaniment of bragging, is, like Tartuffe's sanctimoniousness, made obvious upon the stage, particularly at the outset. ... Both characters are clever; in Tartuffe ... the psychological inconsistency or logical contradiction is recognized; but in Falstaff it has not been and in some measure still isn't. ... ¶ [356] Criticism may be indulged in the discovery of shades of meaning undiscerned by an ordinary audience or insufficiently appreciated by the dramatist, but not of a wholly new meaning like M. Cazamian's, which contradicts the primary one, manifestly the dramatist's own. Criticism cannot be indulged in the discovery of a transcendental comedy which undermines or overwhelms the apparent one. ...

¶ [357] Such *secret* triumphs and *undivulged* jokes, such riddles and cryptograms, are unknown to the stage, and certainly would miss the mark [358] in the theater, particularly when the one person presumed to be enjoying them gives not the slightest sign of it. . . . 'In the reproof of this lies the jest,' says Poins to the Prince beforehand, and when they return, all Eastcheap, including the rogue himself, agrees with them. 'Not so,' say Morgann, Bradley, and Cazamian, after the lapse of centuries. 'Gross, open, palpable,' cries the Prince. 'Subtle, secret, impalpable,' cry Morgann and his followers without a word in the play to support them. What a state of affairs! Looking hard at the joke, they decipher, [359] underneath it, a finer one, on Hal and Poins—unexpressed! In art there is no such; in art, obviously, there can be nothing of any sort, however suggestively, unexpressed. [STOLL continues his argument, leveled principally against DOVER WILSON's interpretation in *Fortunes of Falstaff* (see WILSON, p. 20), in *MP*, 1954, LI, 145-150. He objects to seeing any "problem" in Falstaff's character or actions or to allowing Falstaff any ironic significance in terms of the "honor" theme. Falstaff is a coward and boaster who tells lies hoping to be believed.]

STEWART (1949, pp. 116, 121) defends MORGANN: And here, it seems to me, is the central weakness of all Professor Stoll's criticism: it altogether misapprehends the creative situation; what is happening in the poet's mind when great voices begin to speak. Of course, the poet uses language with a vast conscious craft to illustrate and adorn his conception. But just as, in poetry, the subtlety of the rhythm is the clarity of the emotion so, in drama, the voice is the character. We cannot penetrate through some rhetorical artifice in Falstaff to a spindle-shanked Capitano Spavento within. . . . Falstaff is something more than a dummy superlatively clothed, and Professor Stoll's [see above and HEMINGWAY, pp. 426-432] theory of his birth is inadequate just as Mr. Draper's [see p. 87] theory is inadequate, if less patently so. . . . ¶ [121] The artist does not get the essence of his characters from camera-work, as Mr. Draper would suppose; nor yet from a filing-cabinet of traditional literary types, which is the belief Professor Stoll constantly expresses with what softening word he can. He gets his characters from an interplay of these with something inside. And it is because he has a particular sort of inside, or psychic constitution, that he is obliged to get them. Falstaff and his peers are the product of an imagination working urgently from within.

BETHELL (*Anglia*, 1952, LXXI, 92-101): The comic villain this time is Falstaff himself. . . . Undoubtedly he stands for Vanity and Riot. . . . [93] Disorder is of the Devil and Falstaff is given, however humorous the treatment, a distinctly diabolic aspect. . . . He has also some-

thing of the Vice of the moralities. . . . Falstaff is also presented as a Puritan. . . . Of course he is no true professor. His Puritanism is much as his soldiership. . . . This Puritanism of Falstaff is another aspect of disorder, for the Elizabethan Puritans sought to overthrow the order of the Church and were suspected of designs on the state also. . . . Falstaff was taken by professional contemporaries . . . as a scandalous attack on the fully reformed. His language bears this out, though it is, in another aspect, the Devil quoting Scripture. . . . ¶ [94] Falstaff's dialogue . . . is full of the wit of inversion, again expressing the theme of disorder. . . . [95] Inversion of the truth is his persistent characteristic, occurring in many modes, some simple, some complex. A favourite device is to ascribe to the other party to the dialogue whatever failing he is accused of, or especially conscious of, at the time, while appropriating to himself whatever quality he feels to be desirable.

HEMINGWAY (*SD*, 1952, III, 307-310) comments on the criticism of Falstaff during the past twenty years: Is a Harmony of the Gospels concerning Falstaff impossible—the Gospel according to Morgann and Bradley, the Gospel according to Stoll, and the newer (and less consistent) Gospel according to Dover Wilson? . . . The Morgann and Bradley School sees, in Shakespeare's creations, the Shakespeare "of all time"; Stoll stresses the Shakespeare "of an age"; Dover Wilson wavers between the two without ever achieving a true synthesis. . . . ¶ Should we not approach Shakespeare on two levels, and not regard the two as mutually exclusive? . . . ¶ [308] Let us apply the "two-level approach" to specific incidents. The Falstaff of Gadshill, to first-nighters and first readers, is obviously a coward. He runs away, roaring for mercy—there is no denying that fact. But when the whole Falstaff and the whole play are recollected in tranquillity this one display of abject cowardice seems out of character: in every other emergency Falstaff is at least cool-headed. Is it possible, we begin to wonder, that at Gadshill, Falstaff, recognizing the men in buckram, is playing a part? . . . [309] And is it not even conceivable—though I would not press this point—that in the original production of the play the actor creating the rôle of Falstaff may have been coached to eavesdrop in I. ii while Poins is outlining his Gadshill plot to Hal? . . . ¶ [310] Dover Wilson's brilliant but exasperating *Fortunes of Falstaff* (1943) might so easily have been the Harmony of the Gospels concerning Falstaff. It fails, I believe, because Wilson's heart is always with Bradley (whom he calls "still the greatest of modern Shakespeare critics") and his head with Stoll (from whom "I have learnt something").

EMPSON (*Kenyon Review*, 1953, XV, 222-225, 245-246, 253): I think indeed that the whole Falstaff series needs to be looked at in terms of Dramatic Ambiguity, before one can understand

what was happening in the contemporary audience; and [223] I think that if this is done the various problems about Falstaff and Prince Hal, so long discussed, are in essence solved. . . . In the first three scenes where we meet Falstaff . . . the whole joke of the great rogue is that you can't see through him, any more than the Prince could. I think that Mr. Dover Wilson's analysis of the text here is the final word about the question, because he shows that you aren't meant to find anything more; the dramatic effect simply is the doubt, and very satisfying too. . . . ¶ [225] I claim . . . that the dramatic effect [of the early scenes] is inherently ambiguous. . . . It is plain, surely, that we are put in doubt whether the Prince is a thief or not. . . . ¶ [245] As part of the historical series, [Falstaff] stands for the social disorder which is sure to be produced by a line of usurpers, therefore he is a parallel to the rebel leaders though very unlike them; the good king must shake him off in the end as part of his work of reuniting the country. Also I think there is a more timeless element about him, neither tied to his period in the story nor easily called Renaissance or medieval, though it seems to start with Shakespeare; he is the scandalous upper-class man whose behavior embarrasses his class and thereby pleases the lower class in the audience, as an "exposure." ¶ The most important "Renaissance" aspects of Falstaff, I think, can be most quickly described as nationalism and Machiavellianism; both of them make him a positively good tutor for a prince. . . . The Machiavellian view . . . [246] is mainly the familiar one that a young man is better for "sowing his wild oats," especially if he is being trained to "handle men." The sort of ruler you can trust . . . is one who has learned the world by experience, especially rather low experience. . . . ¶ [253] The picture of him [suggested by a comment of Dr. JOHNSON'S (HEMINGWAY, pp. 227-228)] as driven on by an obscure personal shame, of an amoral sort, has several advantages, I think. Mr. Wyndham Lewis (*The Lion and the Fox*, 1927, p. 227) has written well about his incessant trick of "charm," his insistence on presenting himself as a deliciously lovable old bag of guts, helpless but able to make a powerful appeal to the chivalry of the protector; one needs to add that this curious view of him made a sharp contrast to his actual wickedness—that was the joke; but both sides of it are really present.

MASEFIELD (1954, p. 78): It does not seem that the character [Falstaff] came willingly or with the usual native power to Shakespeare. To myself, it seems likely to have been suggested by a fellow-player, not necessarily in words, but from having seen or imagined a kind of character that the man might play with unusual comic effect. Having decided on the scheme, to make the sub-plot centre round the Prince and an old shrewd knave, he set to work, and found

it, at first, surely, hard work and dreary going. The first half of the play seems to have stuck.

[See also MESSIAEN, p. 99; TRAVERSI, pp. 70-71. Further general comment on Falstaff's character may be found in: E. I. FRIPP (*Sh.: Man and Artist*, 1938, II, 468-469), K. LEVER (*SAB*, 1938, XIII, 226-227), C. N. MENON (*Sh. Criticism*, 1938, pp. 138-148), W. V. O'CONNOR (*SAB*, 1939, XIV, 245-246), P. V. KREIDER (*Repetition in Sh.'s Plays*, 1941, p. 229), F. P. WILSON (*Proc. of the Brit. Acad.*, 1941, XXVII, 177-178), T. M. PARROTT (*Sh'n. Comedy*, 1949, pp. 237-243), O. J. CAMPBELL (ed., *The Living Sh.*, 1949, pp. 363-364), S. A. NOCK (*Sh. Studien*, ed. W. Fischer and K. Wentersdorf, 1951, pp. 115-117), K. J. SPALDING (*Philosophy of Sh.*, 1953, p. 83).]

II. FALSTAFF AS A LITERARY OR FOLK TYPE

VANDIVER (*SP*, 1935, XXXII, 421, 427): Two stock figures, parasite and *miles gloriosus*, entirely distinct in Latin comedy, are combined and in some instances greatly individualized in such characters as Shakespeare's Falstaff and Parolles and Jonson's Bobadill. Falstaff's humor, flattery, and love of eating are well known; furthermore, he has various patrons, especially Prince Hal. Mistress Quickly and Justice Shallow lose money upon him. Like many other parasites, Falstaff is rejected at the end; so is Parolles, but Lafew takes him up after Bertram has cast him off. . . . [427] [Iago] illustrates the acme of the development of the parasite into a tragic figure in contrast to Falstaff, who, in his buffoonery, intrigues, gormandizing, flattery, and dependence, represents the culmination of the development of the parasite as a comic figure. Falstaff and Iago together form an epitome of all the traits of this character.

RAGLAN (1936, pp. 213-217) considers Henry V as "historic hero": The Prince Henry of history, who spent his time trying to suppress the Welsh and the Lollards, and the Prince Henry of the stories, who spends his time roistering with Falstaff, may meet on the field of Shrewsbury, but they are really creatures of quite different worlds, and the world of the latter is the world of myth. ¶ In this world of myth the principal characters are two, a hero and a buffoon, who meet with various adventures together, and live on terms of the greatest familiarity. . . . It is quite clear that Shakespeare and his predecessors regarded Henry as a great hero, and it follows that they regarded association with a man of disreputable character, such as Falstaff was, as being in keeping with the character of a great hero. . . . ¶ There is ample evidence that this idea did not arise in the sixteenth century, but is both ancient and widespread. . . . ¶ [214] There can be no doubt that Falstaff falls within the class of persons who are variously termed fools, clowns,

jesters, buffoons, etc. . . . [215] Why did kings and other important people keep a fool or jester, a licentious character whose sallies were often directed at his master? That they did so purely for fun is a cheap rationalization; the official position, the recognized costume, the cockcomb and bladder, emblems of fertility, and the immunity from reprisal or punishment, all mark out the fool as a holy man. . . . ¶ The idea of Falstaff as a holy man may seem absurd, and he is, of course, a compound character, but that Shakespeare had at the back of his mind the idea that Falstaff was a holy man is suggested by his death. . . . ¶ And what did Falstaff do when alive? For the most part he got drunk, and then uttered wise saws in a whimsical manner. This suggests that he, or rather his prototype, was a soothsayer or prophet. . . . ¶ [216] It is possible that in very early times every king was his own prophet. . . . We find, however, [217] a general tendency for kings to perform their religious duties by deputy. It would then be necessary for the king's prophet to accompany him to war, and I suggest that this explains the presence of Falstaff, with a bottle of sack in his pocket, on the field of Shrewsbury. ¶ It need not be supposed that Shakespeare had all these ideas present in his mind, but he was soaked in mythology and folklore, and certainly seems to have had some of them.

DRAPER (*Classical Journal*, 1938, XXXIII, 390-401), like VANDIVER above, studies Falstaff as in part a descendant of the Plautine parasite. He notes as characteristic of the parasite Falstaff's interest in food, his servile flattery, his quick wit, his boasting (compare the parasite in *Miles Gloriosus*), his impudence, and his possible role as pander.

SHIRLEY (*PQ*, 1938, XVII, 271-287), leaving the comic, witty Falstaff out of account, examines Falstaff as "fat-guts." He traces the figure through various characterizations of Gluttony and others of the Seven Deadly Sins in the earlier morality plays (particularly *Flesh of The Castle of Perseverance*, Sensuality in Medwall's *Nature*, or Sensual Appetite in *The Nature of the Four Elements*), noting the fusion of the serious portrayal of vice with a more comic figure, the fool, in such late characters as Peele's Huanebango or Derike of *The Famous Victories*. A more realistic treatment of the allegorical figures also points toward Falstaff, specifically in such portrayals as Ryot in *Youth or Greedy-gut* in *The Trial of Treasure*. He also points out that two of Falstaff's "outstanding mental characteristics are braggadocio and cowardice" and that these are as much a part of the Vice tradition as of the *miles gloriosus*. He cites Sensual Appetite in *The Nature of the Four Elements*, Sedition in Bale's *King Johan*, Ambidexterity in *Cambyes*, and Iniquity in *Darius* (compare Hal's "grey iniquity").

MCUTCHAN (*SAB*, 1949, XXIV, 218) extends STEEVENS' comparison [HEMINGWAY, p. 315] between 1 *Henry IV*, V, iii, 50-54, and Medwall's *Nature* (sig. G⁴): Falstaff and Gluttony resemble each other in the following points: (1) A fondness for food and drink followed by sleeping; (2) a disregard for the passing of time; (3) the habit of napping on chairs or benches; (4) carrying a bottle as a weapon in warfare; (5) a determination not to come within range of gunfire; (6) a proclivity to taverns with their promise of food and entertainment.

BOUGHNER (*JEGP*, 1944, XLIII, 417-428) takes issue with critics who would see elements of the Italian *pedante* in Falstaff and links Falstaff with the braggart soldier of *commedia erudita*, pointing out that the role of the braggart soldier in Italian humanistic comedy is frequently touched with a strongly pedantic flavor. He also points out five interesting parallels between Falstaff and Ruzzante in Angelo Beolco's *Parlamento di Ruzzante* (a play already connected with Falstaff by P. Bettoli in *La Vita Italiana*, January, 1895, p. 390). To counter the objection that Sh. could not have known Beolco's play, BOUGHNER suggests a play by Della Porta, *Sorella* (1589), as a "possible intermediary." He then discusses in detail a number of parallels between the roles of Falstaff and the *capitano* Trasimaco in *Sorella*, some of which are not shared with Ruzzante.

WILSON (1943, p. 83): While there are traces of the braggart in his behaviour, he is a different kind of soldier altogether. This difference may be put in a sentence: whereas the others, from the original in Plautus downwards, are all *sham* soldiers, who brag of their exploits beforehand and are exposed to open and apparent shame when their pretensions are put to trial by battle, Falstaff is, as Morgann first called him, 'the old soldier,' up to all the tricks of the trade, which he has presumably learnt from previous campaigns, and very well knows how to turn to his own advantage. [BOUGHNER (1954, p. 42) links this point with Italian comedy: Such a clearheaded desire to preserve life at the expense of honor is an attribute of the cynical veteran of the battlefield which the Renaissance playwright uses to differentiate the *capitano* from the *miles*, a new note immortalized by Falstaff.]

TILLYARD (1944, pp. 285-289): Falstaff enlarges the play, as none of Shakespeare's hitherto had been enlarged, into the ageless, the archetypal. Though richly and grossly circumstantiated, though quite at home in Elizabethan London from court to brothel, he reaches across the ages and over the earth. . . . One might say that Falstaff was in unseen attendance on Satan in the Garden of Eden to make the first frivolous remark and the first dirty joke, after the Fall. . . . Not that Falstaff is no more than the symbol of the ribald in man. He is a compli-

cated figure. . . . First (and this has nothing to do with his ribaldry and his lawlessness) he stands for sheer vitality, for the spirit of youth [286] ready for any adventure. . . . As well as being the eternal child Falstaff is the fool. . . . Not only is Falstaff the passive character who gets away with it when pressed, he is the active impostor and adventurer: not only Schweik but Volpone, not only Brer Rabbit but the *Miles Gloriosus*. . . . [287] Like the fool the adventurer is an eternal stock figure, and we take sides temporarily with him and ultimately against him. We love him to have his day but we admit with decision, if with regret, that his day must end. ¶ But Falstaff embodies something still wider than the adventurer, something more abstract. If from Schweik he goes on to Volpone, he also goes on from the harmlessly comic Vice to the epitome of the Deadly Sins at war with law and order. And he fulfils that last function not only through delightful human action but through precise and academic symbolism. This symbolism is important because, being traditional as well as academic, it is antique and helps greatly to turn Falstaff into the archetypal character that he is. Shakespeare makes Falstaff's part as the symbol of misrule absolutely plain at the very outset. . . . ¶ [289] As such a symbol [of misrule or disorder] Falstaff is much more than a prolongation of the traditional lord of misrule; he stands for a perpetual and accepted human principle; . . . the principle of man's perpetual revolt against both his moral self and the official forces of law and order; . . . the opposition typified for instance by the figures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

DRAPER (*MLQ*, 1946, VII, 453-462) discusses the relationship between Falstaff and the contemporary Elizabethan professional fool. He notices certain common points in character and role: affected airs and fine clothes in contrast with cowardly braggadocio; use of "comic acrobatics," songs, and "practical jokes of which he himself is often the victim"; playing the role of the comic lover; use of prose instead of verse; the "ludicrous monologue and the apostrophe to an inanimate object"; the employment of ridiculous nicknames; fondness for playing with words and citing proverbs. Draper concludes: [461] He has hardly an action or a speech—and he speaks nearly two thousand lines—that does not have its parallel in the stage fool of the day; and, vice versa, there is not a single trait of the stage fool that Falstaff does not illustrate. . . . ¶ He fits most of the items in *The XXV Orders of Fools* described in a contemporary broadside ballad: he is aged; he causes ill reports; he disdains wisdom, yet preaches to others; he fails to provide in youth for his old age; he flatters and cogs and boasts. He is all three types of fool emphasized in Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*: he is sinner, social critic, and merry-maker. [See also ENID WELSFORD, *The Fool*,

1935, pp. 51-52; S. K. LANGER, *Feeling and Form*, 1953, pp. 342-343.]

FARNHAM (1948, pp. 435-437): But it is in Falstaff that we find the most complex figure of comedy created by the mediaeval side of Shakespeare's genius. . . . ¶ [436] In Shakespeare's edifying dramatization of Prince Hal as Everyman, Falstaff is the Vice—a "reverend Vice," a "grey Iniquity," to use the words of Hal himself. . . . Part of the fun lies in the fact that Hal is more than a match for his evil genius. Apparently he lives riotously for a time because he wants to, not because Falstaff prevails over him. The Vice in the moral play is never a very terrifying or powerful worker against good. He is usually a mere hanger-on in the army of evil. . . . Falstaff is even less devilish than the ordinary Vice. He has nothing at all of the ordinary Vice's power to deceive. Hal always sees through Falstaff's tricks. It must never be forgotten that Falstaff the sinner is essentially humble and unassuming, the opposite of proud. ¶ Though Falstaff has the Vice's evil power in the lowest degree, he has the Vice's comic power in the highest degree. . . . In living wholly for his body and not at all for his soul, he is the monstrous opposite of the saint. One cannot imagine, according to mediaeval Christian standards, a better or more amiable object lesson in clownish human imperfection. And one cannot imagine how Shakespeare could present this acme of clownishness with any more mediaeval kind of beautiful laughing acceptance. . . . Shakespeare never for a moment shows the irritation of the reformer-satirist over the fact that the imperfect world can produce a creature such as Falstaff. Nor does Shakespeare ever suggest in a modern fashion that Falstaff by never allowing any of his desires to be [437] repressed, really has a good answer to life. Falstaff does not deceive Shakespeare any more than he deceives Hal. Like Hal Shakespeare can accept Falstaff and even love him but at the same time keep him in his place.

BRYANT (*SP*, 1954, LI, 149-162) suggests the view that in creating Falstaff Shakespeare rang the knell of the old-fashioned "inorganic" clown role and that Elizabethans would have seen in Falstaff (a clown "organic" to the play) a reincarnation of the greatest of Elizabethan clowns, Dick Tarlton. He argues that Falstaff and Tarlton shared a basic theatricalism, a method of revenge through circulating ballads, extemporal wit, a mock-serious use of reformer cant, and a natural tendency toward loose living, in part exercised on tavern hostesses.

[Other comment on Falstaff as a type may be found in: K. M. LEA (*Italian Popular Comedy*, 1934, II, 391); R. WITTINGTON (*Excursions in English Drama*, 1937, pp. 89-90); F. S. BOAS (*Essays by Divers Hands*, 1942, p. 132); D. C. BOUGHNER (*Anglia*, 1954, LXXII, 35-61).]

III. FALSTAFF AS SATIRE ON ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

A. On the Military

DRAPER (*RES*, 1932, VIII, 415-419, 423) presents two hypotheses: That actual Elizabethan conditions furnish ample analogies for the actions, and so for the character, of Falstaff; and that the audience, knowing such actions and such types of character in daily life, would see them, not as dramatic conventions, but as a holding of the mirror up to nature, and so judge them, not with nice ethical reasonings, as Bradley supposes, but in a rough-and-ready fashion, very much as they judged such people and such actions in the world around them. ¶ Shakespeare clearly intended Sir John Falstaff to appear as an army officer; he is shown on a peace footing, with his soldier-comrades and his lady-loves, his food and lodging, his brawling and drinking, his chronic insolvency and his means of evading its consequences; he appears likewise at war, in preparation and recruiting, in military speculation, in actual battle, and in the dubious rewards of victory. Practically all the common elements of a soldier's life are involved; and, in a sense, they comprise practically all that Falstaff does in the three plays in which he appears. . . . [Nashe's comment (*The Terrors of the Night*, 1594, ed. McKerrow, 1904, I, 384), as a non-professional one, seems worth noting: "You that beare the name of souldiers, and liue baselie swaggering in euerie ale-house, hauing no other exhibition but from harlots and strumpets; seeke some newe trade, and leaue whoring and quarrelling, least besides the nightly guilt of your owne banquorout consciences, Bridewell or Newgate prooue the ende of your caulecering."] ¶ [416] During war-time, the two main types of speculation practised by [417] captains had to do with recruiting and with the padding of muster-rolls; and Falstaff seems to have been guilty of both. . . . [DRAPER illustrates from Barnabe Riche, *Fruits of long Experience* (1604), pp. 51, 61 ff.: "the levies were consequently made up of Rogues, Runagates, Drunkards, and all sorts of Vagabonds and disordered persons"; and Leonard Digges, *Four Paradoxes* (1604), pp. 19-20, 48: "some would actually lead soldiers into 'some desperate unfeasible Service . . . to have their throats cut, and then, having choice horses to save himself by flight, and his confederate Favorites, with the pay of the dead they may banquet and riot their fill.'"] ¶ [419] Society was too tightly organised to assimilate the numbers of soldiers or even of officers who returned from the wars; and the government assumed no responsibility. These outcast soldiers repaired to London, and lived a riotous life, very like that of Falstaff and his crew, sometimes begging from their friends, sometimes robbing as petty thieves, like the well-

named Nym, or as highwaymen like Falstaff, and sometimes turning a doubtful penny by acting as "companion" to some wild young nobleman or as bully for some harlot such as Doll. . . . Brathwait [*English Gentleman* (1633), p. 41] sets forth the whole system, and might almost be describing Falstaff and his "roarers." . . . ¶ [423] One thing the Elizabethan could not pass over or condone; Falstaff was an arrant coward; he ran away at Gadshill, and at Shrewsbury tried to filch the reward of another's valour. In a brawling age, when one's daily safety on the street depended on being ready with one's weapons, cowardice was universally despised and its outward signs well recognized. . . . Indeed, cowardice is the very crux of Falstaff's character, as an army officer, to which his other traits but appertain.

HARRISON (1933, pp. 129-130): As Sir John developed he became the gross embodiment of the shadier side of the war. . . . The worst rascalities were in Irish service where the rebellion was rapidly becoming dangerous. Captains [130] about town spent generously whilst funds lasted upon taverns, harlots and players, and some of them ran to fat. Many were gentlemen of good, and even of noble family and excellent education who preferred the excitement of the wars to a life compounded of farming, hunting, occasional lawsuits in London and the local dignity of justice of the peace. They were queer characters with flamboyant clothes, hasty tempers, blustering manners, and vocabularies of unfathomable richness; and at the return of the expedition many of them were let loose on the City. Such a personality Shakespeare magnified into Sir John Oldcastle.

JORGENSEN (*HLQ*, 1950-51, XIV, 31-32): His comic appeal as captain is due to the accuracy with which he violates all the carefully formulated requirements for this responsible office. Soldiers, according to Barwick [*A Breefe Discourse* (1594?), sig. F1^r], should aspire to this rank only on the basis of "valour, knowledge, and good behaviour." And Sutcliffe demands [*The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes* (1593), p. 60] that captains be "the most strong, valiant, discrete, and active souldiers" and "of body able to endure labour." Of these qualities, Falstaff can lay claim only to a remarkable discretion. . . . ¶ But the entire credit cannot be given to Shakespeare for his apt reversal of current theory. The handbooks met him half way, for they, too, took a realistic view of current malpractices among captains. . . . [32] Digges [*Four Paradoxes* (1604), pp. 47-48] describes the recent decay of the loving relationship between captains and their men. . . . Hence the terrible anonymity of Falstaff's "food for powder."

[For further discussion of Falstaff as satire on Elizabethan military practices see F. S. Boas (*Essays by Divers Hands*, 1942, p. 123); H. J. Webb (*MLN*, 1943, LVIII, 377-379; 1944,

LIX, 162-164); L. B. CAMPBELL (*Sh.'s "Histories,"* 1947, pp. 245-254); C. A. GREER (*N&Q*, 1953, CXCVIII, 236-237).]

B. On the Puritans

MUTSCHMANN and WENTERSDORF (1952, pp. 345-349): Falstaff must be regarded as an intentional caricature of the extreme Puritan type. . . . It was a common view among certain Puritan extremists in Shakespeare's day that the commission of sins could not prevent the true Christian from being saved. . . . ¶ [347] This creed, with all its moral implications, is caricatured in the outlook and conduct of the amoral Sir John Falstaff. . . . ¶ The dramatist's contemporaries were not slow to discover that the portrait of Oldcastle-Falstaff represented an attack on the Puritans. . . . [They cite the anonymous *Sir John Oldcastle*, Parsons' *Of Three Conversions* (1603), Richard James's comments (c. 1625), Fuller's *Church History* (1655), and *Worthies of England* (1622).] ¶ [349] In three of the last four quotations, be it noted, Shakespeare . . . is explicitly linked with the "papists."

[See also BETHELL, p. 83.]

C. On Individuals

PHILLIPS (1936, pp. 1-64) labors to show, entirely unsuccessfully, that Falstaff is a portrait of Lord Burghley and that "Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol (Persel) by their sound suggest Marlowe, Kyd, and Peele," though it later appears that Marlowe is drawn under the character of Pistol. All this seems to be part of a sinister plot to show that Sh. was really the Earl of Oxford.

DOBBS (1948, pp. 37-50) tries to "manufacture" a case for Jonson as Sh.'s original for Falstaff, Hal standing for Sh.

HERBERT (*Emory Univ. Quarterly*, 1954, X, 1-11) speculates that the name "Fal-staff" was invented by Sh. as a comic reversal of the warlike name "Shake-speare."

[See also BALDWIN, p. 90; BRYANT, p. 86; CLARK, pp. 51-52; EMPSON, p. 89; HOTSON, p. 90.]

IV. FALSTAFF AND THE HUMOR THEORY

SIMS (*Bull. of the History of Medicine*, 1943, XIII, 144-147, 151-156): Elizabethan scientists, on the authority of Pythagoras, Isidore and [145] other writers, generally divided life into three parts: youth, which ended at about twenty-five, . . . middle age, which ended about fifty; . . . the last division consisted of "greene old age" from fifty or earlier, to about sixty-five, and of "dotage," which endured from sixty-five to death. . . . [146] His [Falstaff's] age in the play, then, is at least sixty-two; and he seems, more probably, over sixty-five. According to the Elizabethan category of ages,

Falstaff would be leaving the first part of old age. . . . Falstaff, therefore, would be entering upon that "colde and troublesome" winter season wherein "age hasteneth on a pace," and with all [147] "ability" and "willingnesse" taken away, men "draw themselves by little and little from the sayde affayres." . . . [151] Falstaff . . . true to the Elizabethan concept of ripe old age, is melancholy, poverty-stricken, covetous, given to the vices of lying, swearing, and carousing, prone to regrets, hot-tempered, revengeful, fretful, talkative, and failing in wit. ¶ All of these characteristics, physical and psychological, more or less accord with the humor that medical theory associated with Falstaff's years. . . . The sanguine complexion, associated with juvenility, was desirable; and Falstaff, even as he feigns youth, pretends to be of that temperament. . . . [152] Neither does he, despite his corpulence and thick-witted dullness, have the characteristics of the phlegmatic type, nor does he, despite his sporadic lapses into hypocritical piety, seem to be fully advanced into the melancholic temperament. At Falstaff's age—undoubtedly over sixty—one would expect the choleric disposition of middle life to give way to the melancholic of old age, and so to dotage; but Falstaff preserves his appearance of comparative youth, partly by the judicious use of wines. . . . Thus the incredible Falstaff, [153] paradoxically, should be melancholy, pretends to be sanguine, and actually is of yet another disposition. . . . ¶ Choleric, followed by melancholy, belonged with one's later years. . . . [154] Falstaff . . . in regard to his physique, color, habits, and manner of death, clearly belongs to the choleric type. . . . [156] As a warrior, quarreller, brawler, and thief, Falstaff is true to the medical conception of the choleric disposition; for he is hot-tempered, wicked, adulterous, shameless, intemperate, and wasteful.

DRAPER (1945, pp. 30-31, 38, 63, 78, 100, 113): The Prince rightly calls the phlegmatic Falstaff "this swollen parcel of dropsies." . . . ¶ [31] In personal appearance, the phlegmatic man, as befitted his sloth, was soft of flesh and usually fat. . . . ¶ [38] Falstaff . . . added hypocrisy to debauchery, cowardice and bragging impudence, and so, to accord with his profession of swash-buckler-in-chief, assumed a choleric though he had it not. But at his very entrance, his girth proclaims the deception and shows his inborn phlegmatic nature. He represents the more discreditable aspects of that humor. . . . ¶ [63] Hal refers to the aging Falstaff as "Saturn," implying his amorous disability. . . . ¶ [78] Falstaff's heavy drinking is perhaps an effort to counteract the melancholy of his advancing years, and maintain the vitality of youth. . . . ¶ [100] Falstaff himself should have been a good judge of counterfeit choleric; for, almost habitually, he played that game himself. His poltroonery suggests that he is by nature phleg-

matic; his age should be desiccating him to a feeble melancholy; and, despite his vast consumption of sweet wines, he has enough *élan vital* only for buoyancy of wit and not for knightly action. . . . ¶ [113] Poor old Falstaff struggles against it [melancholy], but in vain. Like Claudius, he is one of the most complex characters in Shakespeare; he represents a transition from natural phlegm to the melancholy of white hair, under a cover of the assumed disguise of choler.

V. FALSTAFF'S COWARDICE

As RIDLEY (1937, p. 101) has well said: "The problem of his [Falstaff's] cowardice has been thrashed over till there is nothing but chaff left." The following section, therefore, has been reduced to an annotated listing, pro and con: C. C. CLARK (*Falstaff and His Friends*, 1935, p. 43) [a coward]; M. R. RIDLEY (*Sh.'s Plays: A Commentary*, 1937, p. 101) [the complete professional soldier]; A. T. CADOUX (*Sh.'n. Selves*, 1938, pp. 28-38) [no coward]; P. ALEXANDER (*Sh.'s Life and Art*, 1939, p. 123) [no coward]; B. MARTIN (*Dalhousie Review*, 1939-40, XIX, 443-447) [a comic coward]; G. L. KITTEDGE (ed. 1940, pp. xii-xiii) [no coward; see above, pp. 16, 41]; O. J. CAMPBELL (ed., *The Living Sh.*, 1949, p. 364) [a coward]; M. C. BRADBROOK (*Sh. and Elizabethan Poetry*, 1951, pp. 198-199) [cowardice is relevant only where there is a moral standard]; A. SEWELL (*Character and Society in Sh.*, 1951, pp. 13-14) [a mistake to ask the question]; A. C. SPRAGUE (*SD*, 1953, IV, 134-136) [a coward]; C. A. GREER (*N&Q*, 1955, CC, 176-177) [a coward]. See also DRAPER, p. 87; GUPTA, p. 81; HARRAGE, pp. 80-81; STEWART, p. 83; STOLL, p. 83; WILSON, pp. 16, 20, 80.

VI. FALSTAFF ALLUSIONS AND INFLUENCES

A. Allusions

HOTSON (1949, pp. 147-160) calls attention to a new Falstaff allusion (the earliest) in a letter from the Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil (between 25 and 28 February 1598) now in the Public Record Office (*State Papers, France*, vol. xli, fol. 192). Part of the postscript reads: "I pray you commend me allso to Alex. Ratcliff and tell him for newes his sister is maryed to S^r Jo. Falstaff." He shows, conclusively it seems, that the person here referred to under the name of Falstaff was Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham, a bitter enemy of Essex's. Cobham never married Margaret Ratcliffe: "But it was well known that Cobham was attracted sufficiently to give Essex's joke its point; and we see Cobham's enemy chaffing his crony Sir Alexander Ratcliffe with the mock announcement of his sister's marriage to 'Sir John Falstaff'" (p. 155). The identification of this new Falstaff allusion with Cobham also serves to

explain another early reference to Falstaff and "M^r Dame Pintpot" (i.e. Quickly) in a letter from the Countess of Southampton (8 July 1599) to her son in Ireland (HEMINGWAY, p. 446): "Here we find 'Falstaff' again; not married, to be sure, but confidentially presented by his mistress with spurious young fry. . . . Who was Cobham's mistress and secret love, here equated with . . . Nell Quickly? We are not told. Yet on pursuing the little fish called 'miller's thumb' [the offspring of Falstaff and Dame Pintpot] we are exhilarated to discover what no Elizabethan eye would miss: the sly mental play on 'Cobham.' For the other common name for that small-fish-with-a-big-head (*Uranidea gobio*) proves to have been cob" (p. 156). HOTSON also suggests that "Shakespeare's alterations of *Oldcastle* to *Falstaff*, and of *Brooke* to *Broome*, are symptomatic of offence taken, and no doubt deliberately given" (p. 150).

[For further new allusions see, especially, R. W. BARCOCK (*PQ*, 1937, XVI, 84-85); G. E. BENTLEY (*The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 1941, II, 489); G. E. BENTLEY (*Sh. and Jonson*, 1945, 2 vols., *passim*); G. B. EVANS (ed., *Plays and Poems of William Cartwright*, 1951, pp. 614-615); W. R. KEAST (*N&Q*, 1949, CXCV, 468-469); P. B. MITCHELL (*MLN*, 1936, LI, 241); W. J. OLIVE (*PQ*, 1950, XXIX, 75-78; *MLN*, 1951, LXVI, 478-480); C. C. SERONSY (*SD*, 1953, IV, 365-366); and above, II, iv. 103, 175. See also Prefatory Note, pp. i-ii.]

B. Influences

KAHL (*Parrott Press. Vol.*, 1935, pp. 411-420) notes the particularly frequent references which Smollett makes to Falstaff and his group and stresses the particular influence of Falstaff in such a character as Truncheon in *Peregrine Pickle*.

GORDON (*MLR*, 1942, XXXVII, 304-316): *Henry IV* served Scott well and in many ways. He found there a way of presenting history in a series of lively scenes. The blank verse gave him a model for the dignified speech of his kings and nobles. The Falstaff set showed him what could be done with secondary, non-historical figures. He drew help from the play for characters and situations. For the most part he borrows nobly, as only a great writer can. *Henry IV* did for him what good sherris-sack did for Falstaff. [The rest of the article (305-316) shows in detail after detail Scott's indebtedness to the *Henry IV* plays.]

HEILMAN (*RES*, 1946, XXII, 226-228) sees clear evidence of Falstaff's influence in the creation of Smollett's Micklewhimmen in *Humphry Clinker*, but "Smollett . . . did not borrow the Shakespearian spirit; in the main, Micklewhimmen is satirized, as Falstaff is not. A comparison with Smollett's sharp portrayal of the calculating lawyer sheds light on the in-

nocuous humor and the essential childlikeness and irresponsibility of Falstaff."

KRUMPELMANN (*MLQ*, 1951, XII, 462-472) treats in detail the pervasive influence of the Falstaff plays on Kleist's *Zerbrochener Krug*.

GATES (*PMLA*, 1952, LXVII, 716-731) shows the influence of Falstaff on Cooper's *The Pilot*, *Lionel Lincoln*, and *The Red Rover*.

PRINCE HAL

EMPSON (1935, pp. 102-105) discusses the relation of Prince Hal to Mr. W. H.: The crucial first soliloquy of Prince Henry was put in to save his reputation with the audience; it is a wilful destruction of his claims to generosity, indeed to honesty, [103] if only in Falstaff's sense; but this is not to say that it was a mere job with no feeling behind it. It was a concession to normal and decent opinion rather than to the groundlings; the man who was to write *Henry V* could feel the force of that as well as take care of his plot; on the other hand, it cannot have been written without bitterness against the prince. It was probably written about two years after the second, more intimate dedication to Southampton, and is almost a cento from the Sonnets. . . . [104] Henry might carry a grim externalisation of self-contempt as well as a still half-delighted reverberation of Southampton; Falstaff an attack on some rival playwright or on Florio as tutor of Southampton as well as a savage and joyous externalisation of self-contempt. But I think only the second of these alternatives fits in with the language and echoes a serious personal situation. . . . So I shall now fancy Falstaff as Shakespeare . . . and Henry as the patron who has recently betrayed him. . . . ¶ This [I. ii. 186-194] seems quite certainly drawn from the earliest and most pathetic of the attempts to justify W. H. [Sonnet XXXIII, ll. 1, 5, 6, 14]. . . . But it is turned backwards; the sun is now to free itself from the clouds by the very act of betrayal. 'Oh that you were yourself' (XIII) and 'have eyes to wonder' [105] (CVI) are given the same twist into humility; Shakespeare admits, with Falstaff in front of him, that the patron would be better off without friends in low life. The next four lines, developing the idea that you make the best impression on people by only treating them well at rare intervals, are a prosaic re-hash of 'Therefore are feasts so solemn and so rare,' etc. (LII); what was said of the policy of the friend is now used for the policy of the politician, though in both play and sonnet they are opposed. The connection in the next lines [199-202] is more doubtful. . . . This *debt* looks like an echo of the debt to nature there was so much doubt about W. H.'s method of paying; it has turned into a debt to society. At any rate in the sonnet-like final couplet . . . we have the central theme of all the sonnets of apology; the only difference,

though it is a big one, is that this man says it about himself. [See also EMPSON, p. 64.]

BALDWIN (1950, pp. 352-355): There is a detailed correspondence between the relationship of poet and patron in the sonnets with that of Falstaff and Prince Hal in the plays of *Henry IV*. [Phrasing, figures, and situation in Sonnets XXXIII, XXXV, and LII are paralleled with I. ii. 186-208; III. ii. 55-59 (see the Critical Notes).] . . . This commonplace of seldom come is then used in Sonnet LII, whence King Henry IV in the crucial third act of the play borrows it [353] to lecture Prince Hal on his own commonplace. King Henry points out that he himself had kept aloof so that when he did appear he was noticed. That also is exactly what Prince Hal is consciously doing, but not in such a way that King Henry recognizes his plan of action. . . . ¶ [354] In the sonnets, the poet assumes all blame and cannot protest the casting off by the patron. . . . Similarly, Prince Hal hobnobs with Falstaff and his crew so long as it suits his purpose, and then casts them off. ¶ The reason for Prince Hal's rather pharisaic righteousness, as it appears to us, is given specifically in 2 *Henry IV* [IV. iv. 68 ff.]. . . .

¶ [355] We must remember this conventional point of view in the moralizing of Shakespeare's day [i.e. that knowledge of the seamy side of life was a part of the young man's education for the good life (BALDWIN quotes Sir Thomas Elyot's discussion of why boys should read a play like Terence's *Eunuchus*)] as we read the second and third series of sonnets as well as in reading the two parts of *Henry IV*. . . . We get Falstaff-Shakespeare, and Prince Hal-Southampton. In both, the same relationship is being presented between noble and dependent, and from the same conventional point of view, with the same commonplaces. Both Shakespeare and Falstaff are faithful whatever betide, and both are cast off. Shakespeare assumes all blame, and Falstaff is supposed to do so, though his modern friends object, just as do Shakespeare's.

CADOUX (1938, pp. 28-35): Shakespeare made Henry V appear superficially to be an heroic and ideal king, but one whom the more thoughtful [29] would see to be quite other. . . . ¶ [33] We saw in Richard II how easily self-deception went with the bent to self-staging. In Henry the same combination has a difference. To the facts that touch his interests Henry is alive as Richard was not, and to these interests his self-staging propensity [34] and ability are most effectively dedicated. . . . ¶ He uses this histrionic bent consistently in the interests of 'honour,' i.e. pre-eminence in self-glory, his confessed master-passion. He had to dazzle his subjects, lest they should see the defectiveness of his title. . . . Behind self-staging and self-deception were self-glory and self-preservation, an effective combination for kingship. . . . ¶ [35] His language is seldom enthusiastic except when he is forecasting his own

glory (generally in astronomic terms) or inciting others to contribute to it. He wants not merely the glory of a conqueror, but to be thought in all ways admirable, indicating a certain genuine amiability, which shows itself when not incompatible with his interests, and, even when it is the tool of them, is not merely pretence. . . . But he shows a tendency to call attention to his excellences.

ALEXANDER (1939, pp. 120-123) takes an unfavorable view of Prince Hal in comparison with Hotspur and especially Falstaff.

CRAIG (*Rice Institute Pamphlets*, 1944, XXXI, 39): Shakespeare's most definite study of the normal man who comes to himself is of course Prince Hal, later the great English hero Henry V. Hal's coming to himself is slower, less dramatic than other cases; for Shakespeare has pitted against Prince Hal's reformation Sir John Falstaff, his wittiest and most seductive character.

KNIGHT (1944, p. 27): In Hal Shakespeare is at work, throughout the two parts of *Henry IV*, in constructing an ideal English type, with even that streak of a politic worldly-wisdom not openly acknowledged, a high seriousness unsuspected until the crucial moment reveals it, which appears hypocrisy to the continental mind.

WILSON (1943, pp. 62-64, 69): Critics complain that Hal's character is 'not the offspring of the poet's reflection and passion.' [See P. ALEXANDER, *Sh.'s Life and Art*, 1939, p. 123.] Does this amount to anything more than a statement that he is not so self-revealing as Hamlet, or Macbeth or Richard II or even Harry Hotspur? The kind of reserve that springs from absence of self-regard is, in point of fact, one of his principal characteristics; and such a feature is difficult to represent in dialogue. . . . He is just not interested in Hal and so does not talk about him, except banteringly in the Falstaff scenes. And there is more than natural reserve to be reckoned with. By the very nature of his material Shakespeare was restricted in his opportunities of exhibiting the Prince's character. While he is in disgrace, and his creator is obliged to keep him more or less thus eclipsed until the death of his father, Hal can only be shown in speech with his boon companions, and in an occasional interview with the King. Why not, it may be said give him his Horatio like [63] Hamlet? The answer is that Shakespeare does so; he gives him Poins, and the discovery of the worthlessness of this friend is the subject of one of the most moving and revealing scenes in which the Prince figures. . . . ¶ [64] The rebellion has brought him an earlier opportunity than he hoped of 'breaking through the foule and ugly mists / Of vapours that did seem to strangle him.' Yet the process is not to be carried out in a day. It is, in fact, a double process, comprising two distinct stages. As a 'truant to chivalry' he has

first to prove himself a soldier and a leader; and this he accomplishes on the field of Shrewsbury. It is only later that the companion of Riot has a chance of displaying the qualities, or acknowledging the loyalties, of the governor. Viewing *Henry IV* as a whole, we may label Part I the Return to Chivalry; Part II the Atone-ment with Justice. . . . ¶ [69] Shakespeare inherited from chroniclers a sudden conversion for Prince Hal of an almost miraculous kind. This he is at pains to make reasonable and human, and he does so by marking it off . . . into various stages, thereby accustoming the audience more and more to the notion of it and giving an impression of gradual development of character, the development of a kind normal in the passage from adolescence to manhood.

ALEXANDER (*MLR*, 1944, XXXIX, 409): It might be objected to Professor Dover Wilson's interpretation that Shakespeare's prodigal prince is never a true prodigal [see above, p. 58], or that he is a much more business-like traveller into a far country than his anonymous predecessor. Could we imagine the prodigal preface his departure with a statement which would assure us that he was going to enjoy just enough riotous living to make his father glad to see him home again, we should be nearer Prince Hal's case. Instead of the almost insupportable pathos of the great parable we have something which is, to borrow Bagehot's phrase, a political transaction; and such transactions are hard to fit into the ideal world of poetry and drama. . . . And Prince Hal has to play the politician in his last scene as in his first.

TILLYARD (1944, pp. 269, 271, 274-282): The Prince as depicted in *Henry IV* (and what follows has no reference whatever to Henry V in the play which goes by that name) is a man of large powers, Olympian loftiness, and high sophistication, who has acquired a thorough knowledge of human nature both in himself and in others. He is Shakespeare's studied picture of the kingly type; a picture to which his many previous versions of the imperfect kingly type lead up. . . . [TILLYARD notes comments of other characters which support this view: Hal's soliloquy, read as a chorus, Vernon, Warwick, and Henry IV.] ¶ [271] External testimony, however, is of small account compared with what is revealed by action and speech. . . . Those who cannot stomach the rejection of Falstaff assume that in some ways the Prince acted dishonestly, that he made a friend of Falstaff, thus deceiving him, that he got all he could out of him and then repudiated the debt. They are wrong. The Prince is aloof and Olympian [272] from the start and never treats Falstaff any better than his dog, with whom he condescends once in a way to have a game. . . . The most the Prince does is not to take drastic measures to disabuse Falstaff. . . . ¶ [274] His comprehensive nature comes out most bril-

liantly in an episode [II. iv. 25-99] that is usually taken as trivial if not positively offensive. . . . The general drift should be clear from the Prince's satirical account of Hotspur killing "six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast" at the end of the incident and from his own reference to "honour" at the beginning. After what Hotspur has said already of honour earlier in the play it is impossible that there should not be a connection between Hotspur and honour here. The Prince has been drinking and making friends with the drawers of the tavern. He has won their hearts and learnt their ways. . . . [275] In other words the Prince has won a signal victory and great honour in having mastered this lesson so quickly. . . . Poins and the Prince have just had their game with Francis, Poins being . . . ignorant of the Prince's true meaning. . . . Johnson saw that the reference to Hotspur connects with the Prince's declaration that he is "now of all humours." . . . The Prince's wealth of humours is contrasted with the single humour of Hotspur. Once again the Prince says just what he means but in words that will bear another meaning. On the face of it his words mean that he is greatly excited, being ruled simultaneously by every human motive that exists; but he also means that having learnt to understand the drawers he has mastered all the springs of human conduct, he has even then completed his education in the knowledge of men. We can now understand his earlier talk of honour: he has won a more difficult action than any of Hotspur's crudely repetitive slaughters of Scotsmen. . . . [276] When the Prince speaks of sounding the base string of humility he uses a musical metaphor. He means in one sense that he has touched the bottom limit of condescension. But he means something more: he is the bow that has got a response from the lowest string of the instrument, namely the drawers. . . . ¶ [277] The answer [to why the Prince treats Francis as he does] is first that the Prince wanted to see just how little brain Francis had and puts him to the test, and secondly that in matters of humanity we must not judge Shakespeare by standards of twentieth century humanitarianism. . . . Further we must remember the principle of degree. . . . The sub-human element in the population must have been considerable in Shakespeare's day; that it should be treated almost like beasts was taken for granted. . . . ¶ [278] The Prince in addition to skill in arms has a brilliant and well-trained intellect, which shows itself in his talk with Falstaff, of whose extraordinary character the recollection of a good education is an important part. But the Prince makes not the slightest parade of his intelligence, being apparently negligent of it. And this leads to another mark of the courier. This is the quality of *sprezzatura* (which Hoby translates

by *disgracing or recklessness* and to which *nonchalance* may be a modern approximation) considered by Castiglione to be the crown of courtliness, and the opposite of the vice of *affettazione* (translated by Hoby *curiousness*). . . . [279] *Sprezzatura* is a genuine ethical quality of the Aristotelian type: the mean between a heavy and affected carefulness and positive neglect. It is in the gift of this crowning courtly quality that the Prince so greatly excels Hotspur. . . . Vernon's description of the Prince vaulting with effortless ease onto his horse . . . is the perfect rendering of [*sprezzatura*]. . . . ¶ [281] The psychological interest of the Prince's character centres in his relations with his father and his youthful apprehension of what it means to be a king. . . . Unable under his father's eye to face being the impeccable prince, he compensates by practising the regal touch among his inferiors and proving himself king of courtesy. His irony, though practised on so humble an object as Poins, springs from his recognition that the conscientious ruler must always be detached and isolated. His life with Falstaff is at once an escape from a present he cannot face and the incubation of a future which he will surely command. . . . [282] The prince, while admiring his father and sympathising with his difficulties, hates him for holding up Hotspur as a model. This is why he speaks so satirically of Hotspur; until, having overcome him, he can afford to let his natural generosity have scope.

PALMER (1945, pp. 180-181, 185-187): What can we reasonably expect from this story of the bad boy who becomes a conquering hero but a merely ingenious treatment of a hopelessly conventional theme? That, in fact, is precisely what Shakespeare from the outset promises the simple spectator. He makes no apparent attempt to avoid the obvious. On the contrary, he presents it openly and with a flourish. Here, for all and more than it is worth, is madcap Harry who plays highwayman and fetches the Lord Chief Justice of England a box on the ear, because he is just the high-spirited, devil-may-care young fellow whom most successful Englishmen affect to have been in their salad days. . . . [181] All this is conveyed with a zest and simplicity so remarkable that for generations Henry of Monmouth has been accepted by most Englishmen, including some of Shakespeare's most famous critics, as the portrait of a stainless Christian warrior and an heroic example of what every happy man would wish to be. . . . ¶ [185] Henry, if he means what he says [I. ii. 186-194], is a false good fellow who does nothing without premeditation. If, on the contrary, he is merely looking for a reason to be merry with his friends, surely he might have found a better one. . . . ¶ It is a favourite device with Shakespeare in presenting a dramatic character to give us a leading clue

to his disposition in a first soliloquy. Here, then, in this first serious speech of Henry of Monmouth, we should expect to find his most constant and essential quality. Nor are we deceived. . . . Whatever Henry may be doing . . . he must satisfy himself that he is doing only what is right and proper. We shall discover that all but very few of his speeches in the three plays are speeches of self-justification. His first significant speech is, in fact, the preliminary statement of a leading motive. . . . ¶ [186] No one better than Falstaff could throw into relief the moral and mental limitations of a budding [187] statesman. No one better than Hotspur could suggest the abyss in temperament that separates the man who is too impulsive for success—too generous, too lacking in self-control and, above all, too deficient in the arts of deceiving either himself or his friends—from the man who even as a youth grooms himself instinctively for high office and keeps half an eye on the main chance even in his revels. Hotspur and Falstaff are alike incapable of any form of humbug. . . . ¶ The third person to bring out the essential quality of Henry, the Prince, is his father, Henry, the King. The character of the man who intends to succeed with the approval of his conscience is unfolded beside that of the man who has succeeded in despite of his conscience and is dying of a broken spirit. . . . Conscience, in Bolingbroke, is sick; in his heir it is merely sensitive. . . . Falstaff, Hotspur and Bolingbroke—all three must fade so that Henry of Monmouth may thrive.

DRAPER (1945, p. 45): Choler under the influence of the sun . . . is temperate and more fortunate: to this category belong[s] . . . England's hero monarch, whose eye gives "A largess universal like the sun," and whose "good heart" is itself "the sun . . . for it shines bright and never changes."

BLISS (1947, pp. 182, 186): There is one character that stands out as being, most patently, his favourite of all, the one whom he most admired and loved and whom he fashioned with the most creative care—and with a creator's understanding of his creature's weaknesses and strength—namely, Henry V of England. Whether as Prince Hal or as the King, whether playing the fool with Falstaff or baring his soul to God on the eve of Agincourt, Shakespeare is with him all the time, watching him like a guardian angel, condoning his folly, exulting in his prowess. . . . ¶ [186] He never let Hal or Henry fail. Whether in the tavern or in the field he always wins. He is the only one who in combat of wits can set Falstaff down, and he is the only one who can measure swords with Hotspur and make him food for worms. And it is to him, whenever he appears, that Shakespeare always gives all the best lines.

KRIS (*Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 1948, XVII, 487-506) sees Hal as expressing a father-son con-

flict, a conflict actually given expression in three triangular versions (King-Hal-Hotspur, King-Hal-Falstaff, Northumberland-Hotspur-Worcester): [498] The Prince tries to dissociate himself from the crime his father had committed; he avoids contamination with regicide because the impulse to regicide (parricide) is alive in his unconscious. When the King's life is threatened he saves the King and kills . . . his alter ego. In shunning the court for the tavern he expresses his hostility to his father and escapes the temptation to parricide. He can permit himself to [499] share Falstaff's vices because he does not condone the King's crime; but hostility to the father is only temporarily repressed. When finally he is in possession of the crown, he turns against the father substitute; hence the pointed cruelty of Falstaff's rejection.

GODDARD (1951, pp. 171-173, 211): It is true that the soliloquy is unlike Hal. . . . It is not Hal, primarily, who makes the speech at all. The Prince makes it. There are two Henrys. This is no quibble; it is the inmost heart of the matter. . . . [172] Hal and the Prince: we shall never get anything straight about this story if we confuse them or fail to mark the differences, the connections, and the interplay of the two. Talk about the Prodigal Son! There is indeed more than a touch of him in Hal; but in the deliberately and coldly ambitious Prince not a spark. In him the Prodigal was reformed before he ever came into existence. . . . ¶ His opening soliloquy was nothing but a variation on his father's theme: the uses of contrast. . . . The Prince was doing precisely what his father had done, only in a wiler way. The King had kept himself literally hidden and then suddenly appeared. The Prince was keeping himself figuratively hidden by his wild ways in order to emerge all at once as a self-disciplined [173] king. . . . We go on to the tavern scenes with unaffected delight. Hal seems to throw himself into them with a zest that gives the lie to the idea that he is holding anything back. Like ourselves, he seems to have forgotten his own words and plunges into the fun for its own sake quite in Falstaff's spirit. Not only does he appear to, he does—Hal does, that is. But the Prince is there in the background and occasionally intrudes. . . . ¶ [211] Prince Hal's first soliloquy now becomes clear. It was spoken by two persons. "Someday I shall be king. And then good-by to fun. Let me have some while I can," was the nonchalant Hal's innocent version of it. "I'll sow some wild oats for a year or two, and then I'll reap a harvest of wheat—and market it at the highest price," was the cold calculating heir-apparent's version. "I'll eat my cake and have it." It is a fascinating theory. But it never works.

HEMINGWAY (*SQ*, 1952, III, 310): I would maintain that there are two Prince Hals in the play, as there are two Falstaffs, the Hal of the

stage, and the Hal of Shakespeare's mind who emerges as the contemplative reader puts together all the *disiecta membra* of the Prince. The stage Hal is the Knight in Shining Armor, the Warrior King, the National Hero; but what is the Man Hal in Shakespeare's mind, and what inferences may we reasonably draw about Shakespeare's attitude toward worldly success and the means by which it is attained? The "cold blood which he inherited from his father" seems colder and colder as we reconstruct, from scattered evidence, the person of the Prince Hal of Shakespeare's imagination. Take Hal's first soliloquy, about which unnecessary wrangling still goes on. Shakespeare is here employing an Elizabethan convention, a soliloquy in which the author speaks through the mouth of a character, in this case in order to reassure the audience about their hero. But, on the other level, he is using the convention in a soliloquy which is quite characteristic of the speaker as we come to know him in the acts that follow. The soliloquy is delivered on the stage in a few brief moments, and the audience has no time to draw conclusions as to its implications concerning the character of the speaker. It serves its stage function, and we pass on quickly to the exciting Hotspur scene which follows. But when we reread the soliloquy in the light of the rejection scene we find that both speeches are in character, and that the character is a limited one. Shakespeare has served two masters, and served both well. The Elizabethan audience has been given its popular hero, and its familiar Vice of the Morality Plays; the judicious reader (for whom Shakespeare *did not write*) has been given a glimpse of the mind of the maker.

WHITTAKER (1953, pp. 164-167): Shakespeare undertook to trace growth of character in Hal, and this meant that, for the first time, he attempted to follow character evolution throughout a play. . . . ¶ [165] Shakespeare made Hal's wild oats palatable, to him and to his audience, by presenting, in the person of Falstaff, temptations to which any man might be forgiven for yielding. In fact, critics . . . have themselves been so seduced that they have condemned Hal, not for dissipating with Falstaff as prince, but for rejecting him as king—for yielding, not to vice, but to virtue. ¶ Finally (and admiration for Falstaff has too often obscured [166] this fact), Shakespeare attempted to show that Hal was always superior to his surroundings. . . . To make assurance doubly sure, Shakespeare gave him, at the end of his first scene, a soliloquy in which he seems to analyse his motives with a calculating hardness worthy of his father at his worst. But Shakespeare undoubtedly intended the speech to be a simple statement of fact no different in kind or effect from many other characterizing soliloquies in his plays. The trouble was, of course, that he had made Falstaff too ingratiating and he now loaded

upon an essentially artificial device a dramatic function too heavy for it. . . . [167] Hal tells of Hotspur's good qualities while the audience sees Hotspur's weaknesses. This is obviously sounder artistry than making Hal talk of his own good intentions while the audience watches his dissipations, and Hotspur is much the more convincing character. Hal's soliloquy fails, and with it falls Shakespeare's artistic design.

[See also DANBY, pp. 71-72; NICOLL, p. 73; RIDLEY, pp. 8-9; TRAVERSI, pp. 69-70.]

HOTSPUR

BAILEY (1929, pp. 133-135): [Sh.] has developed him [Hotspur] into a hero of romance, the romantic idealism of whose chivalry sets off the selfish realism of Falstaff, while its unpractical extravagance sets off the conquering common [134] sense of Henry. Hotspur is the heroic figure born to failure as the Prince is the same figure born to victory. . . . Hotspur is, from the first, one of those "rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries" who are fatal to their friends and to themselves. . . . His whole tone and manner is one of boyish bravado; though a lovable boy he is a fool. . . . [135] But . . . Shakespeare has taken care to show us that he is a real hero, and more, a real man. . . . Even the two things which he does so magnificently he always does to his own destruction. He talks when he should be silent and fights when he should retreat. . . . He dies with a burst of fine phrases; and, though we love him, we find a kind of poetic justice in the fact that it is over his body that Falstaff utters his "the better part of valour is discretion."

VAN DOREN (1939, pp. 120-121, 125-126): Not that Hotspur is less the gentleman than Harry, but that he is more the person, the created speaking man. . . . Hotspur had a voice, a particular voice; . . . It went with the tartness of his tongue and with the rashness of his courage, the quick, busy directness of his purpose. . . . ¶ [121] It is not ambition that goads him, or any ordinary pride; it is rather a sense of his own superb mettle. . . . His scorn for most men takes the form of detesting their pretense; they are but apes of greatness, humbugs who profess the power he has without needing to profess it. He on the contrary, and with a certain perversity, insists furiously that he is but an ordinary fellow; there is nothing that he hates, or thinks he hates, more than the extraordinary. He even fancies that he is a silent fellow, a soldier of few words. . . . ¶ [125] In Hotspur Shakespeare has learned at last to make poetry as natural as the human voice—as natural, furthermore, as Falstaff's prose, or as the whole conduct of the incomparable action which is "Henry IV." . . . ¶ [126] Hotspur was very serious. . . . He did not know that he was

amusing. He did not understand himself—could not have named his virtues, would never have admitted his limitations. . . . He was pure illusion, pure act, pure tragedy, just as Falstaff at the opposite pole of "Henry IV" is pure light, pure contemplation, pure comedy.

SMALL (*SAB*, 1941, XVI, 243-248): [Hotspur] represents a chivalrous type of manhood, but is bourgeois in his relationship with others. . . . When we see Hotspur conducting business with Worcester, Glendower, and others, we find him using language similar to that of Falstaff, but lacking the tavern atmosphere. Hotspur's language is not only out of accord with the high temper of his mind, and with business circumstances, but is also often unbecoming to his domestic life in the presence of his wife. He has a wasp-tongue, and is jerky in his actions as well as in his speech. . . .

¶ [SMALL lists what he considers 55 expressions of "a braggadocio nature" which "savor of the tavern."] [245] This sort of language comes abruptly to an end after the last Falstaffian outburst recorded at the end of the list [IV. i. 18-19]. . . . ¶ [247] As the story approaches the meeting of Hotspur and Prince Hal, both of these characters speak and act like formal heroes. ¶ The difference between the humor of Falstaff and that of Hotspur is of first importance to us. . . . In Hotspur . . . there is no depth of character. The disappointments leading up to the battle of Shrewsbury were sufficient to throw any great hero into a melancholy. But Hotspur has no meditations, like Brutus before Philippi, that reveal a soul. Shakspeare continues to portray Hotspur with nothing more than the mentality of a schoolboy. Only his language changes to show that he realizes the seriousness of the situation. . . . ¶ [248] I fail to find anything suggestive of the melancholy or pessimistic spirit in Hotspur; while Falstaff's very soul at times seems to come to the surface, constantly suggesting a melancholy as permeating as that of Hamlet's. Here, I think, is the secret of Falstaff's humor. The contrast in Hotspur is merely between his coarse expressions and his high aristocratic background. In other words, with Falstaff the conflict is internal; while with Hotspur it is external. This explains why Falstaff is just as humorous when he is alone on the stage as when he is with the Prince.

TILLYARD (1944, pp. 280-284): Hotspur is . . . a most engaging barbarian; adorable in the openness and simplicity of his excesses, infectious in his vitality, and well-flavoured by his country humor. The child in him goes straight to the female heart; and when his wife loves him to distraction for all his waywardness, we are completely convinced. . . . ¶ [283] Hotspur, however captivating his vitality, verges on the ridiculous from the very beginning, through his childish inability to control his passions. . . . Shakespeare held up Hotspur's

excesses to ridicule and never for a moment intended him for his hero. . . . ¶ [284] [Sh.] uses him as one of his principal means of creating his picture of England, of fulfilling in a new and subtle way the old motive of *Respublica*. For though . . . Hotspur is satirised as the northern provincial in contrast to that finished Renaissance gentleman, the Prince, he does express positive English qualities and in so doing has his part in the great composite picture Shakespeare was constructing.

DRAPER (1945, p. 45): Heat, fire, and dryness, Shakespeare again and again associates with [choler] and with the martial ardor of his votaries: the unbridled Hotspur, who is "altogether governed by humours" and by his "spleen," and is "drunk with choler," has "heat of blood," and is "dry with rage" of battle.

PALMER (1945, p. 209): Could any words [V. iv. 88-93] serve better to fix indelibly the contrast between the two men? There is no real 'ambition' in Hotspur, but from Henry of Monmouth the charge was inevitable. He honours his enemy in all simplicity with a tribute that cheapens his own victory and obscures the spirit of the fallen.

DUTHIE (1951, pp. 137-138, 143): The sentiment [in Hotspur's speech on honor] is meant to impress us as extravagant. . . . Is there not a distinct element of the absurd in Hotspur? ¶ Hotspur, then, represents an extravagant kind of chivalry. There is nobility in it—let there be no mistake about that. But he lacks moderation, restraint, temperance, prudence. His personality is not balanced. He sometimes speaks in such a way as to lead us to think that Shakespeare is engaged on a caricature. . . . ¶ [138] The Earl of Douglas represents the same conception of honour as Hotspur does, and he is similarly criticized. . . . ¶ [143] We have a veritable chain of criticism—Hotspur criticizes Henry IV; Hotspur is himself criticized, e.g. by Falstaff; but Falstaff is himself open to criticism, and is rightly rejected in the end.

GODDARD (1951, pp. 166-167): One cannot help loving Hotspur for his blunt honesty. It seems almost his central quality. And yet his very honesty is based on a lie, a degenerate form of the medieval conception of "honour." The fact that Hotspur talks so incessantly and extravagantly about "honour" shows that he distrusts his own faith in it. . . . This fact is clinched by his uneasy sleep, which his wife reveals. He fights all night long in his dreams. . . . ¶ The line between war for God's sake and war for war's sake can become a very thin one to one who enjoys fighting. It does in Hotspur's case. He rationalizes his inborn pugnacity into a creed. War to him is the natural state of man, the noble as well as the [167] royal occupation. It is what art for art's sake is to the artist. . . . ¶ But we must be fair to Hotspur. There are plenty of echoes in him of the great

tradition from which he comes. . . . Hotspur intoxicates himself with "honour," and when "the morning after" comes he is capable of saying, for example, that he would have Prince Hal poisoned with a pot of ale if he weren't afraid that it would please the King, his father. When honor has come to that pass, it is ready to be debunked. Falstaff is on the horizon. When the play is done, there is about as much left of "honour" as there was of the divine rights of kings at the end of *Richard II*. In fact the sentimental Richard and the pugnacious Hotspur are closer to each other than they look. They are both the victims of words.

LANGSAM (1951, p. 56): Though . . . Lady Percy describes [Hotspur] as the image of the perfect soldier, he has three defects when compared with Hal. . . . He is rash, has an ungovernable temper, and "speaks thick." The last defect . . . deprives him of that quality of oratory which the military writers insist on as essential to a commander.

[See also O. J. CAMPBELL (ed., *The Living Sh.*, 1949, p. 362); H. CRAIG (*Interpretation of Sh.*, 1948, pp. 144-145); CRANE, p. 101; DANBY, p. 72; DORAN, pp. 100-101; HALLIDAY, p. 42; H. HAYDN (*Counter-Renaissance*, 1950, pp. 600-603); McLUHAN, p. 69; MESSIAEN, p. 99; TRAVERSE, p. 70; ZEEVELD, pp. 73-74.]

KING HENRY

WILSON (*Sh.-Jahrbuch*, 1939, LXXV, 48-49): A sense of guilt, indeed, weighs heavy upon Henry from the very outset of his reign. . . . Yet he is a tragic figure, not a criminal. . . . [49] He is an opportunist, not a schemer. This view of his character and actions emerges clearly enough from Daniel's treatment of them in the poem on the *Civil Wars*.

SPENCER (1940, p. 188): The King requires a careful study. He is among the most interesting because among the most complex of Shakespeare's historical portraits. Henry is a reformed fox, who would like to forget the checkered past and shine, not merely as a successful ruler at home, but also as a Christian champion against the infidel. His desire to be a good king is sincere. Like most well-intentioned usurpers, he is pathetically eager to found a dynasty. . . . The past takes its toll. Shakespeare deepens the pathos of Henry's predicament by exaggerating his age and by presenting him not alone as king but as father. His is the burden of royal loneliness made still more insupportable by the conduct of a wayward son.

TILLYARD (1944, pp. 293-294): The business of the curse comes in the very first scene and is sustained throughout each part till Henry's death. . . . The first scene also gives the recurring pattern the curse will make. No sooner has Henry spoken of the crusade than "all athwart there came / A post from Wales laden

with heavy news." [294] That is the pattern: one cruel interposition after another between Henry's hopes and their fulfilment. Yet Henry is a good ruler and is humble before God, confessing before him the crooked ways by which he met the crown. Thus, like Ahab, who humbled himself, he does not incur the utmost doom of the curse in his own person. God limits his punishment to perpetual disquiet and the doom of self-deception.

ELLIS-FERMOR (1945, pp. 42-43): [Henry IV] has shrewdness, tenacity, and self-command that already approaches self-concealment; he has the true Tudor sense of the value of discreet popularity. He is as astute as a badger and has very much the same tough courage. . . . He is not even a saint or a poet. He is an exceedingly able, hard-working statesman whose career reveals gradually but clearly the main qualification for kingship, the king's sense of responsibility to his people, that sense of service which, while making him no more than the state's greatest servant, makes all his privileges and exemptions, even a measure of autocracy itself, no more than necessary means for that service. Domineering he is, at times, like Shakespeare's prototype of Tudor monarchy, but he [43] has, in the main, decent intentions, and he possesses, through thick and thin, an unflinching, humorous sense of proportion. ¶ Having, then, such potentialities, why is he not the final figure in the group? . . . The flaw in Henry's title, the fatal act of usurpation with which Richard had made such fine play, does indeed cripple his power and, through that, his mental stature, eating into his confidence and bringing down all loftiness of gesture or intention to the necessity of cunning and circumspection. . . . Henry IV is in nearly all things a potential Henry V and, trembling upon the verge of achievement, he looks into the promised land, and, as so often happens, speaks more explicitly of it than those who have dwelt in it familiarly.

RIBNER (*MLQ*, 1948, IX, 179-184) tries to show that in the character of Bolingbroke, as developed in *Richard II*, Sh. is consciously creating a character based on a first-hand knowledge of Machiavelli's *Prince*, as distinguished from the popular misconception of Machiavelli spread by Gentile's *Contre-Machiavel* (1576): In Chapter 4 of *The Prince*, Machiavelli says that in the type of principality to which England belongs, where "there are a prince and barons, and the latter hold their positions not through the grace of their lord but through the antiquity of their blood," a usurping prince must have a tool among the barons. . . . Such a tool Bolingbroke finds in Northumberland. Note his courtship of the young Percy [*Richard II*, II. iii. 45-50]. ¶ Here we have a statement of sworn friendship, but it is a lying and deceitful statement, for, as becomes a follower of Machiavelli, a new prince must remember the Florentine's warning that one will not be "able

to keep as friends those who have placed you there, [179] because you cannot satisfy them in the manner they have been looking forward to, and you cannot use strong medicine against them because you are under obligation to them." Bolingbroke knows that he will have to get rid of the "ladder wherewithal he mounts the throne" as soon as he is king, and this he does in *Henry IV, Part I*.

REEG (1950, pp. 27-29): "They well deserve to have, / That know the strong'st and surest way to get."—This testimonial of Richard II seemed to be a good motto for Henry IV and his future. . . . Richard's fall was his transfiguration; the inner irradiation ennobled the figure of the king. He was not forgotten, and his guilt clung to Henry. The latter lacked, however, the inner momentum of energetic living, the greatness which was capable of absorbing such guilt. Thus he recognized the outward activity of warlike actions as the best means of sublimating his inner conflict. A planned crusade is frustrated by his inner agitation. . . . [28] He may only live his true self by dying. And thus this king too rises in stature in dying—not so much to kingship, which he had always clung to circumpectly, as to humanness, for which he had not given himself [29] the freedom or permission. . . . But up to his death his anxiety over his son tortures him. It reaches its peak in a painful unburdening when Prince Henry has left with the crown and dissolves in the real understanding between father and son.—That such a care-laden, troublesome, and difficult kingly life, so fettered by guilt and inability, could find such a free and intrinsic termination is not only history's special favor,—it is also the poet's joyful recognition of the faithful, conscientious husbandry of a king who was not great but who still devoted his life wholly to serve as well as he could. He believed it necessary to cling to the kingdom unjustly won not only for his sake and his son's, but also for the peace of the country.

DUTHIE (1951, pp. 142-143): Henry IV is a "politician" in the sense in which that word was commonly used in Elizabethan times. He believes in the use of "policy"—that is, in the use of craft, stratagems, cunning devices, in order to get what he wants. . . . [143] He acted with courtesy and humility, not because he was essentially courteous and modest, but because he saw that it would pay. I cannot believe that many readers of *Henry IV* can think that Shakespeare means us to admire this altogether.

GODDARD (1951, pp. 162, 164): Henry, whatever he became, was natively neither cruel nor tyrannical, but a man of intelligence and insight and not devoid of a sense of justice. His story for that reason approximates tragedy. ¶ The hypocrite has always been a favorite subject of satire. Henry IV is one of the most subtly drawn and effective hypocrites in litera-

ture, in no small measure because the author keeps his portrayal free of any satirical note. But not of any ironical note. . . . Confirming a change that had long been in incubation, on the day when Henry deposed Richard he became a double man, one thing to the world, another to his own conscience. Force gives birth to fear. Fear gives birth to lies. And fear and lies together give birth to more force. . . . From the moment Henry gave the hint that ended in Richard's death to the moment of his own death at the end of a *Henry IV*, his life became a continuous embodiment of the strange law whereby we come to resemble what we fear. . . . ¶ [164] The ghost of Richard again! Henry solving a problem by pushing it out of sight, doing to his enemy exactly what Richard did to him! The "buried fear" is stirring in its grave.

FISCHER (1951, p. 72): The legal question of the actual rights of the quarreling pretenders is of subordinate importance to the dramatist who struggles to draw characters. He is moved rather, apart from the human and dramatic, by the universal questions of state government and the welfare of the whole of the fatherland. And this national ethic, these great universal ideas are also those which give these plays, despite much episodic multiformity, their inner unity, which raises them above the mere presentation of a dynastic feud and imparts to them a lasting, timeless value and a great interest which persists today. ¶ This interest centers above all, however, on the royal leading characters. For the fatherland is best served when the ruler of the state is a powerful, trustworthy personality. Hence Shakespeare's sympathy for Henry IV, the strong Lancastrian usurper, which is often apparent despite all the poet's objectivity. His lack of legitimacy to the throne acts as a tragic factor in him which moves us profoundly and demonstrates Shakespeare's mastery of character delineation. Thus Henry IV's character takes on a touch of sadness and psychological oppression.

WHITAKER (1953, pp. 146-147): In *Richard II* we are never sure whether Bolingbroke returned from France determined to seek the throne, or, as he himself asserted, he merely came to claim his rights and then availed himself of opportunities as they arose. . . . [147] Henry IV, on the other hand, practically admits that he gained the throne by devious means. . . . This admission of guilt is only part of a more important contrast. Bolingbroke is a shrewd, realistic opportunist. Henry IV displays a confirmed melancholy and almost religious gravity that, like his exaggerated age, distinguish him sharply from his younger self in *Richard II*. The change was probably intended both to ennoble him and to make him remote from Hal, as it does.

[See also GREGOR, p. 76; NICOLL, p. 73; PETSCH, p. 76; TRAVERS, pp. 69-70.]

NORTHUMBERLAND

DODSON (Univ. of Texas *Studies in English*, 1939, XIX, 82, 85): Shakespeare sees, I think, the fundamental baseness in Holinshed's Northumberland, and he allows no trace of the heroic to appear in the corresponding character in the two Henry plays. . . . All that is narrowly selfish in his nature is pushed to the front and becomes the ruling force in his behavior. After Henry's interests and his own begin to diverge, no straightforward route is open to him, and his actions are vacillating and unpredictable. Finally, neither his family nor his allies can depend on him for loyalty. . . . [85] In the historical Northumberland, traces of a heroic spirit flare up, though spasmodically, even until his death; but in Shakespeare the Earl finally loses every remnant of true courage.

HUBLER (1952, pp. 106-107) describes Northumberland as the "purest instance" in Sh.'s plays of what he calls the "closed heart," a man motivated entirely by "advised respects" and "cold intent."

THE DOUGLAS

CONNOR (Univ. of Texas *Studies in English*, 1948, XXVII, 215-221) points out what he considers some "curious contradictions" about Sh.'s treatment of the Douglas and notes a contradiction even in Holinshed (ed. 1586, I, 256b; II, 523b): [217] According to the text Prince Hal sees no more of Douglas [after V. iv. 76] until the end of the play, when the Prince says (V. v. 22) "At my tent the Douglas is. . ." The inference, therefore, is that Prince Hal has taken some personal interest in Douglas *unknown to the reader*. Shakespeare is usually more explicit. Prince Henry's request to free Douglas is premeditated, not a sudden generous impulse. . . . Something therefore has happened to give the Prince a high regard for Douglas; to cause him to desire Douglas' release; and to give him a basis for saying (V. v. 17-19) "The Noble Scot, Lord Douglas . . .," which is a quite different epithet than his earlier one of "vile Scot." . . . [218] It is said (V. v. 17) that "Douglas . . . saw . . . the noble Percy slain." It is fairly safe, therefore, to assume that Douglas, after striking the blow at Falstaff (V. iv. 76), actually saw the Prince kill Hotspur, and then turned and fled. If Douglas, on seeing the two leaders fighting, forbore out of honor to enter the fray, then Prince Hal would have changed his opinion of Douglas from *vile Scot* to *noble Scot*.

BARDOLPH

DRAPER (*Neophilologus*, 1949, XXXIII, 222-226): From the inferences in the plays, the facts of Bardolph's birth and education may be gleaned. His superiors by their pronouns of address suggest that he is no gentleman born. . . . He shows due respect to his betters. . . . He

treats his cronies familiarly. . . . Indeed, his companions twice call him "base," a word that had the connotation of *base born*; and the only indication that he might be a gentleman lies in a once-mentioned lieutenantancy that he seems to have acquired after years as a non-commissioned officer. When he was about seven, the usual time for beginning an apprenticeship, Falstaff had "bought" him at St. Paul's. . . . [His allusions] imply no education beyond that gleaned in camps and taverns. . . . [223] But he does know something of popular science, of meteorology and of horsemanship. Oddly enough, he rarely swears. . . . ¶ [225] As a soldier, Bardolph should be choleric, with a superfluity of bile, . . . [but] he must now be at least thirty-nine, an age when the choler of middle life might start to change into the melancholy of declining years. Elizabethans recognized "red" and "burning diseases" and "foule tetter in the face" as symptoms of choler under the planet Mars; and, in all four plays, Bardolph's rubicund nose is a common subject of jest. . . . [226] Bardolph tries to hide the cowardice that perhaps grew on him with age, behind an assumed and artificial choler.

STYLE, IMAGERY, AND LANGUAGE

See the Index for the following works on Sh.'s use of language and imagery not quoted below, but referred to elsewhere in the Critical Notes or Appendixes: ARMSTRONG (1946), BALDWIN (1944 and 1950), CLEMEN (1951), EMPSON (1951), FRANZ (1939), HANKINS (1953), HOLMES (1929), JOSEPH (1947), KING (1941-42), KÖKERITZ (1953), STAUFFER (1949).

KNIGHT (1932, p. 57), commenting on the tempest-music opposition: So in the History Plays music may mark moments of peace and love amid the turbulences of civil war. There is the magic music charmed by Glendower in 1 *Henry IV*, and the Welsh song sung by Lady Mortimer (III. i). Here music and family love is to be contrasted with the stress and turmoil of civil war: a contrast clearly pointed by both Lady Percy and Lady Mortimer in the play.

SPURGEON (1933, pp. 258-259): There is a simple but persistent running image through [259] all the early histories from the first part of *Henry VI* (where there are only touches of it) culminating in *Richard II*. The two parts of *Henry IV* are curiously free from any continuous imagery of this kind.—SPURGEON (1935, p. 236): It [the sun-burning image] reappears also in both parts of *Henry IV*. In Part I it is interesting to compare Henry's rhetorical comparison of Richard on the walls of Flint, to the "blushing discontented sun," with the picture he draws in retrospect when describing him to Prince Hal. He tells his son that he himself, by being seldom seen, could not stir "But like a comet I was wonder'd at" [III. ii. 47], whereas Richard made himself so common that men's eyes were 'sick and blunted'. . . .

The idea of 'sun-like majesty' is carried on in the person of Prince Hal, who is described by Vernon as 'gorgeous as the sun at midsummer' [IV. i. 102], and the prince himself, when in soliloquy he defends his idle madcap ways, proving he is his father's son in his deliberately planned action, compares himself to the sun who allows 'base contagious clouds / To smother up his beauty from the world' [I. ii. 189-190], so that when he breaks through them he may be the more wondered at.

MESSIAEN (*Revue universitaire*, 1939, XLVIII, 23, 28-31): As in the comedies of the same period [the comic and dramatic period of the *Henry IV* plays], Shakespeare makes it a practice to alternate tragic and comic scenes, verse scenes and prose scenes; he sets himself to vary the movement of phrase and style in accord with both the character of the individual and the situation. The prose of the comic scenes is drawn from the depths of a phrasing and imagery belonging to the people; two dominating individuals, Hotspur, the hero, Falstaff, the rascal, lead to the formation of a prose and verse distinct from earlier forms, more supple and familiar, more "speaking" and expressive, in which the vocabulary, grammar, and imagery arise from thought and emotion—the prose and verse of great tragic and comic masterpieces. ¶ [28] Is there, when one comes to the two parts of *Henry IV*, any sign of progress in dramatic art, or in dramatic style? Yes, if one views the composition of each scene with its definite goal and characteristic atmosphere; the distribution of the scenes between the three groups of characters, the king and his followers, the rebels, the rogues who surround Falstaff; and finally the alternation of verse court scenes [29] and prose tavern scenes. What a difference between the awkward and confused two opening acts of *Richard II* and the lively three first acts of *Henry IV*, showing as they do the preparations and various reverberations of a war! The farewells of Hotspur and his wife possess a dominant note of deep tenderness under the reproaches; the quarrels of Falstaff and Mistress Quickly possess their dominant note of old friendship which nothing can break despite the exchange of gross and vulgar insults. . . . ¶ Then when we listen to King Henry or Northumberland, the Archbishop Scroop or Lord Mowbray, we are drawing on the stock of the preceding plays: declamatory tirades, monologues of the usual kind, tautologous triplets, laborious comparisons drawn from mythology, natural history, or the daily details of the village—a dialectic which turns words and ideas over and over. . . . ¶ The moment that Hotspur opens his mouth the thronging movement of phrase and imagery, the sharp familiarity of words and constructions characterize the audacious man, the impatience which leaps [30] head-on scattering objections and explanations; and he fails to say what he

means and refuses others the opportunity to clarify his meaning. All that suggests slowness, all discussion, dissertation, or refinement of manners, the convolutions of eloquence or poetry, he disassociates from himself; it is the quality, at times tragic and comic, at times brutal and amusing, of his courage. . . . ¶ Master John Falstaff is at the opposite extreme from Hotspur. . . . His is a popular and inexhaustible humor, made to mirror paradoxes and sophistry. There is in Falstaff a joyousness which is enormous and limitless, comparable to that of Rabelais—[31] a joyousness in verbal, syntactic, logical fantasy—a joyousness in thumbing the nose at received ideas and accepted values—a joyousness in excusing and praising major sins: sloth, cheating, gluttony, and lewdness. And this joyousness, which is reflected on all who surround Falstaff, expresses itself, as in Rabelais, in a flooding prose into which flow all the riches of the Renaissance, words and metaphors retaining their earthy freshness, well-formed periods, balanced and alliterative, with the turn of classical Latin and formal logic, at times even the long eccentric words, the filthy and learned abuses of the humanists.

PRICE (*PQ*, 1941, XX, 391), commenting on Sh.'s use of parody: In his early historical plays there is plenty of rant. But when he comes to write *Henry IV* he has learned how to use it. He gives it to one particular person [Hotspur] as a means of characterization. When he makes Hotspur say [I. iii. 102-107], . . . he is telling us something about Hotspur—that he is a windy man who rants. It is indirect criticism of Shakespeare's early work and of his contemporaries. He had freed himself from their influence and he now sees how hollow their style was.

DORAN (*MLR*, 1942, XXXVII, 113-122): The images in *Richard II* tend to be direct or explicit, complete, correspondent, point by point, to the idea symbolized, and separate one from another; whereas the images in *Henry IV* tend to be richer in implicit suggestion and in ambiguity, not fully developed, fluid in outline and fused with one another. . . . ¶ [115] Notice [in III. ii. 60-84] the rapid succession of images, the quick suggestion rather than elaboration in such compact and elliptical lines as 'To laugh at gilding boys . . .' (ll. 66-67) and 'Encoff'd himself to popularity' (l. 69), the fusion of one image with another; the skipping and capering with the quick burning of faggots ('rash bavin') and with the adulteration suggested by carding; the encoffment with the idea of surfeit (itself boldly linked with eyes), it in turn with the common sight of the cuckoo in June and with the drowsiness of men in constant sunshine, and this latter image shifting ground with 'cloudy men.' In contrast to the way in which the firm outlines of the images in Richard's speech [V. v. 1-32] hold the mind within certain limits set by the close equation of idea and image, the rapidity, complexity, and

fluidity of the images in Henry's speech help (as well as their substance) to increase their obliquity. Fewer doors are closed. . . . ¶ [116] Here [I. i. 9-16] the fusion of images results in a syntactical boldness seldom found in *Richard II*. Moreover, for all the complexity of structure in the passage on Death (III. ii. 160-170), the images are fully explicatory; whereas in the passage from *Henry IV* the meanings of 'opposed eyes' and 'meteors of a troubled heaven' are almost wholly implicit. . . . ¶ [117] Two examples of [extended similes] . . . occur in set speeches, and two occur in a passage where a scene is being vividly described [I. ii. 186-208; III. i. 213-219; IV. i. 104-110, 113-117]. But most of the similes in *Henry IV* are brief and colloquial: they are the 'unsavoury similes' applied by Hal and Falstaff to one another. . . . It is characteristic of the style of the play that Hotspur's objection to Kate's swearing (III. i. 245-254), which begins with a simile, 'Heart, you swear like a comfitmaker's wife' (itself by no means a simple statement), leads into an image that embodies a whole nest of subsidiary images, complex and confused. . . . ¶ It is surely not insignificant that one finds allegorical use of metaphor only in *Richard II*, not in *Henry IV*. . . . [118] The little allegory of the garden scene (III. iv), in its exact correspondence of figure and idea, point by point, is explicit and little else. . . . ¶ In *Henry IV* there are a number of single words which, together with a figurative meaning, retain their literal meaning and greatly enrich the context by this ambiguity. A good example is *balk'd* in [I. i. 69]. . . . The statement means literally that the bodies are 'piled up in ridges and soaked in blood'; but it also means that the Scots have been thwarted and defeated. The more immediately apprehended figurative meaning is deepened and modified by the force of the literal meaning. Other words in the play which get a similar re-enforcement from two layers of meaning are *malevolent* (I. i. 97), *countenance* (I. ii. 28), *baffle* (I. ii. 97), *frontier* (I. iii. 19), *nettled* (I. iii. 240), *bombast* (II. iv. 303), *teeming* (III. i. 27), *bootless* (III. i. 65), *common-hackney'd* (III. ii. 40), *'stain'd nobility'* (V. iv. 13). This use of words is not the same thing as the play on John of Gaunt's name in *Richard II* (II. i. 73-84 and 115), although it springs, of course, from the same alertness to the suggestive power of words. In the passage in *Richard II*, the meanings are all made explicit; in *Henry IV*, they are left implicit, without statement, and often without special emphasis. . . . ¶ [119] Bearing in mind Coleridge's distinction between *fancy* as 'the aggregative and associative power' and *imagination* as 'the shaping and modifying power' or 'the fusing power,' one is tempted to call the images from *Richard II* so far given fanciful, and those from *Henry IV* imaginative. . . . But the matter is too complex to allow of such a simple distinction. . . . Briefly, the dif-

ferences in the handling of the images so far exhibited are the differences between enunciation and suggestion. . . . ¶ [120] The examples have been carefully selected, of course, to make the point, and, although they are typical, there are many exceptions. Not all the images in *Richard II* are extended, separate, and enunciatory, and not all in *Henry IV* are brief, fused, and more implicit than explicit. It seems to me significant, however, that there are more exceptions in *Richard II* than in *Henry IV*. This is what one would expect if the difference is a sign, not just of the differences between subject-matter and characters, but of the maturing powers of the writer. The later manner is likely to appear long before it becomes predominant, and *Richard II* is at most only two years earlier than *Henry IV*; but once the later manner has been fully achieved, the earlier manner will almost certainly disappear except when it is consciously adopted for some specific purpose. . . . There are, for instance, almost no conceits that can be strictly so called in *Henry IV*: the most striking exception is Hotspur's description of the fight between Mortimer and Glendower on the banks of the frightened Severn (I. iii. 96-107), and the effect of rhetorical exaggeration is intended. The king's response is, 'Thou dost belie him, Percy, thou dost belie him!' . . . ¶ The oblique allusion contained in the imagery of the opening lines [121] of *Henry IV* to these fine passages in *Richard II* [I. iii. 125-139] re-enforces with powerful effect the sense of continuity established by the explicit allusion to events in the earlier play. . . . But *Henry IV* is a stage beyond *Richard II* in the welding of poetic imagination to a dramatic need. This is best illustrated in the case of Hotspur. Dr. Tillyard says that there is no profound obliquity in Richard's character and that a good deal of the play is the poetry of statement. Richard's character is exhibited directly. He is a poet and he speaks poetically. But Hotspur is a hater of poetry who speaks some of the most vivid and the most beautiful poetry in the play. In all of Richard's poetical speeches, he has nothing like Hotspur's speech on honour, so loaded with unexpressed meaning. Yet Hotspur's animadversions [122] on poets and poetry remain convincing. It will not do to say that we do not take him at his word. That is a very superficial view of his character and of Shakespeare's art. We do take him at his word if we pay attention to the play. He is an entire man of action, as he says he is, without artistic habits or interests. He is intensely imaginative, certainly, but imagination is not enough to make a poet. Whereas Richard's speeches are the poems that Shakespeare puts into his mouth as his own compositions, Hotspur's speeches are Shakespeare's poetry to express the mind of a character who could not himself compose a poem at all. This is a very high degree of obliquity in the use of artistic means. It is accomplishment of an alto-

gether different order from the minor perfection of *Richard II*.

LEVIN (*MLN*, 1946, LXI, 305-310) notes that "horses figure more prominently in *1 Henry IV* than in any other Shakespearean play" and considers Falstaff's "horselessness" (a kind of *leitmotif* which runs throughout Sh.'s handling of that character) as expressing something of the "pedestrian conception of honor" for which Falstaff stands as opposed to the "high-mettled ideals of chivalry" of Hal and Hotspur.

PARTRIDGE (1947, p. 53): Part I is much the 'milder' (hardly worse than *The Merchant*) [referring to sexual imagery]; Part II is, both in quality and in quantity, the 'stronger.'

YODER (1947, pp. 65-69) notes the high number of animal references and comparisons in *1 Henry IV*, exceeded in total number (189) by no play in the canon, *Troilus* (172), *Lear* (171) and *Midsummer Night's Dream* (170) coming closest. Of these 189, 108 actually compare people with animals (23 applying to Falstaff); in this kind of comparison *1 Henry IV* is only exceeded by *Troilus* (150) and *Richard III* (112).

R. WATKINS (1950, pp. 252-254): [There is] a theme which recurs in *1 Henry IV* and which circulates round the words "honour," "plumes," "favours." It is stated emphatically in Prince Hal's recantation before his father. . . . [253] It receives vigorous reinforcement in Vernon's answer to Hotspur's question about "The nimble-footed Mad-Cap, Prince of Wales." . . . The theme is reflected in two distorting mirrors, first early in the play by Hotspur with his impulsive ambition "To plucke bright Honor from the pale-fac'd Moone—" and secondly on the eve of battle itself by Falstaff's celebrated "Catechisme." But it comes to a dramatic fruition in the chivalrous gesture of Prince Hal as he kneels by the dead body of his rival Harry, and covers his face with the plumes from his own helmet. . . . This theme, it seems to me, is deliberately imposed by the poet upon his material, not (as earlier) taken from the material, or from the stock interpretations of the historians. It is devised, in the manner of a *leit-motif*, to create an emphatic and pervasive impression in the mind of the audience: its effect is a poetical one, made by the words, [254] which invest the no doubt familiar plumes of the company's wardrobe with a new dramatic force.

CRANE (1951, pp. 83-89): Nowhere in Shakespeare are the boundaries of two worlds so clearly delimited by the use of prose and verse as in the *Henry IV* plays. The scenes relating to the historical matter are in verse, the scenes of Falstaff and his followers in prose. . . . ¶ Falstaff is Shakespeare's most brilliant speaker of comic [84] prose, as Hamlet is his most gifted speaker of a prose which defies categories. But why does Falstaff speak prose? This may seem an idle question: Falstaff is a

clown, although a nobleman, and must therefore speak prose; he must, furthermore, represent "the whole world" that Hal has to banish before he can become England's Harry, and Falstaff must therefore be opposed in every conceivable way to the world of high action and noble verse in which Hal is destined to move. But beyond all this, Falstaff speaks prose because it is inconceivable that he should speak anything else. He is the incarnation of realism. . . . Verse in his mouth is but a mockery of verse, and as such he speaks it. Prose in Shakespeare's earlier chronicle-histories has been the rough speech of Jack Cade and his ragamuffins. Falstaff's prose is the very honey of Hybla. The devil may speak through him, but such is his utterance that the angels are easily worsted. . . . ¶ The Falstaff-plot offers the broadest conceivable burlesque on the serious action. . . .

[85] He is a particularly noisome stench in the nostrils of the godly. His burlesque of their world is conducted on every plane: he robs them, flouts their ideals, and corrupts their prince. And, because he is in such constant opposition to their world, it is only fitting that he should never really speak its language. . . . ¶ Most of the characters can be assigned easily enough to one group or the other—Fal's position remaining always ambiguous—but Hotspur's case is somewhat odd. He accepts the code completely; he is honor's fool, and is killed for it. But he is a very downright man, whose hard and realistic common sense makes him impatient with both poetry and milk-and-water oaths; language must speak clearly, directly, and forcefully, or he will have none of it. It is therefore inevitable that he should speak the very best of language, and that especially in verse. His verse is so hard, colloquial, and simple that he really has no need for prose. . . . Occasionally he uses prose, and very well, as in the prose letter in II. iii—a furious stream of prose: letter, comment, and vituperation, all well jumbled together. . . . The prose of this first long monologue should perhaps be put down to a combination of conventional epistolary prose and the dramatic [86] necessity for continuing the letter scene in prose. . . . ¶ Hotspur's prose in this scene [III. i] appears to be restricted to short gibes, whereas he speaks verse when he becomes aroused. ¶ [87] The Prince, in general, takes his cue from his company, speaking prose in the tavern and verse in the court with equal facility. His one violation of this division is, consequently, all the more striking. He enters in V. iii to find Falstaff moralizing over the corpse of Sir Walter Blunt. Hal is now no longer the boon companion, but the valiant knight, and reproves Falstaff in straightforward verse. Falstaff replies with a jest in prose, and the rest of the scene . . . is wound up in prose. But Falstaff himself has brought his prose into a verse scene, [88] one of noble words and deeds, and he has used Sir Walter's

"grinning honour" as a telling proof of his conclusions in his own catechism of honor. The scene thus contains a double contrast between prose and verse, and the old use of prose and verse characters within a single scene is here given a new and effective turn. . . . ¶ The first scene of Act V begins with King Henry, Worcester and the rest; but it ends with Falstaff. The dramatic point of the scene is well made and the main action is appreciably advanced. But at the side, and attempting always to intrude, is Falstaff, and when the rest have left, he has the stage entirely to himself. The net effect is produced not by the heroics of the nobles, but by the cynical realism of Falstaff. . . . ¶ [89] There is also the tavern scene, II. iv, which has the verse interlude of the Sheriff and Carrier, a matter of twenty lines in which Hal assumes the verse expected of him in order to get rid of Falstaff's pursuers.

EVANS (1952, pp. 62-67): In the verse passages the matter no longer dominates the style as in the *Henry VI* plays. Nor are we merely entertained with occasional passages of excellence as in *Richard II* and *Richard III*. At the same time the urgency of the matter will not permit a release of the style into any exercise of independent virtuosity. As so frequently there is a certain balance between the pressure of the theme and the ebullience of the medium through which it is expressed. ¶ This sense of verbal power contained, though with difficulty, within a pattern of rhetoric, and expressed in a mounting and complicated imagery, where one motion is abandoned before it is fully developed as another comes crowding into the poet's mind, can be seen in the first speech by the King. . . . ¶ [63] Throughout, a greater strength and concentration in the verse gives a compact effect, so that a sense of pressure accompanies the creation. Only occasionally does Shakespeare relax into the more leisured and descriptive imagery which has been present in the earlier plays, and in this new atmosphere the effect seems inappropriate. Such a passage is found in the soliloquy in which the Prince first reveals himself to the audience. . . . It can be argued that here, as in some other scenes, a concluding and explanatory soliloquy is deliberately separated in style from the remainder of the action. ¶ The directness and the very strength and concentration of style result in less variety than is present in the later tragedies. . . . ¶ [64] The prose of the play is more self-conscious, and more experimental, than the verse. . . . [65] Further [besides his parodies of *Euphues*] it is Falstaff, by far the most intellectual character in the play, who makes the only comments on language: 'for I must speak in passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein' (II. iv. 360). With the other characters words are an entry into action, but Falstaff, as Hamlet later, distrusts the instrument of words and is for ever examining it. ¶ Not unnaturally, the word

'honour' dominates the action of *1 Henry IV*. For it is natural in a theme which so concerns 'honour' that the word should be found frequently. Yet one feels that at the back of his mind the word must have occurred as a recurrent motive, and that in writing one passage based on the theme the memory of others must have been still present. Each use of the word 'honour' is made closely illustrative of the temperament of the character who is speaking. Again the associations of the word in the prose passages are more subtle than in the verse. . . . ¶ Worcester [in I. iii. 209-210] is emphasising, as Shakespeare does so frequently, the contrast between the language of imagination and direct language, or the speech necessary for action. . . . ¶ [66] Such then is the bold and original verse of *1 Henry IV*, relying on an emblazoned language which is now crowded with imaginative suggestions, but not yet penetrating into the depths of the more contemplative passages such as are to be found in the later tragedies. . . . ¶ [67] The language of *2 Henry IV* differs notably from that of *1 Henry IV*, and a study of the contrast leads one to the realisation of the divergence in the whole dramatic pattern of these two plays.

HALLIDAY (1954, pp. 39-41, 106-107): These short similes [in the opening lines of the play] are particularly characteristic: . . . and it is [40] significant that in *1 Henry IV* Falstaff and the Prince invent seven similes for melancholy. Most of these images are original and arresting, and follow one another in an orderly sequence, so that though the pace of the verse as a whole is retarded by them it moves steadily without the delays occasioned by a fully developed conceit or lyrical episode. The imagery, like the style in general, is chastened, though there are exceptions. . . . ¶ The action is no longer subordinated to the imagery, but imagery is subdued to the action, and metaphor, stripped of its elaborations, assumes a new form. . . . [He draws a distinction between the short metaphor of "a noun followed by a prepositional phrase" (e.g. "The coward conquest of a wretch's knife"), a "favourite form" in the early verse, and metaphors "in the form of paired verbs or adjectives" and "in paired nouns" (e.g. "whipp'd and scourged with rods" or "sweet Fortune's minion and her pride") more typical of *1 Henry IV*. The last example noticed] is a variation of the old form, in which it might occur [41] as 'the treasur'd minion of sweet Fortune,' but Shakespeare preferred to combine the old and sonorous form of noun-prepositional phrase with the new device of paired words, and by a simple reversal created the type of metaphor that becomes almost a hallmark of his middle style. . . . One of the paired nouns gives the general or literal sense, the other the particular or metaphorical; typically, one is monosyllabic, concrete and Saxon, the other polysyllabic, abstract and Latin in origin. . . .

The appropriate image is at once suggested by the idea, and the one is imposed on the other. . . . [106] It [III. ii. 4-17] could scarcely be more straightforward than that; diction and syntax are simple and natural, and there are no declamatory tumidities and elliptical constrictions to impede the verse that flows with a stately and even movement from beginning to end. Its great virtue is its clarity, but it has lost the brilliance of phrase and line of the early poetry and not yet acquired the elasticity and interpenetrating rhythm of the later. . . .

¶ Shakespeare's writing of prose dialogue was, no doubt, the main cause of this greater simplicity of diction and imagery, as also of the greater naturalness of the verse as a whole, prose rhythms and colloquial constructions encouraging the breaking down of the restrictive verse line. . . . ¶ As dialogue is beginning to coincide more closely with the action, so is it beginning to coincide with character as well. . . . [107] In *Henry IV* it is almost true to say, for the first time, that the poetry *is* the action, and the poetry *is* the character.

[See also KNIGHTS, p. 64; TILLYARD, p. 67.]

FALSTAFF

DAVID (1935, p. 40): Falstaff has a trick of voice that recalls the great prose writers of the seventeenth century, the doctors and divines. He shows here the same curious combination of abandon and economy, the fine frenzy blended with and wrought into an inevitable rhythmic movement, that is so characteristic of their work. His words have the air of being spoken extempore, and yet being under the strictest control; and so, by some sort of equal and opposite tension, acquire a new momentum.

SURGEON (1936, p. 377): Falstaff's images in the two parts of *Henry IV* . . . distinctly indicate a change in the character of the fat knight.

WELLS (SAB, 1940, XV, 178, 180): The poetic power of the Falstaff scenes is obviously more imaginative and highly developed than the declamatory verse neighboring it. . . . ¶ [180] His euphuistic manner reaches its climax in Falstaff's passages of mock eloquence.

YODER (1947, pp. 45-46): The character portrait of the inimitable Falstaff has highlights of animal metaphor which increase its comicality, and yet it seems to me that as time goes on, Shakespeare depreciates the "manifest morality" of Falstaff and accomplishes that result largely through his use of animal comparisons. . . . ¶ [46] As Falstaff has more animal flesh than most men, so has he a speedier wit, and the contrast is kept striking by the continual comparisons between Falstaff and animals of many sorts. It is ludicrous for such a big man to be as "merry as a cricket." . . . One can hardly believe that when Falstaff was about Hal's age, he "was not an eagle's talon at the waist." There is another comic discrepancy in

the idea of hanging Jack "up by the heels for a rabbit-sucker or a poultier's hare." Hal's allusion to Falstaff as "sweet beef" or "that roasted Manning-tree ox with the pudding in his belly" is much more in keeping with Falstaff's bulk. In spite of Hal's railery, he loves the fat knight's wit and cannot really mean the epitaph [V. iv. 107-108] he pronounces on Falstaff, seemingly dead on the field of battle. . . . ¶ In 2 *Henry IV* the animal comparisons for Falstaff become steadily more unpleasant.

BORINSKI (SA, Survey, 1955, VIII, 61): [Low Comedy Prose] is a clearly defined type in Shakespeare's works. . . . If we call such manner of speech "stylized," we do not want to imply that it was quite without analogies in real life. . . . I have known cockney workmen who constantly indulged in the same artificial brag as Falstaff, if not quite with Falstaff's genius. ¶ In this, Falstaff, Sly and Jack Cade are all self-stylized; they act a role on the stage of life and are conscious of it. Everything is turned by them into a jest or an allusion; they owe this to their reputation. As a result the level of comedy is uneven. . . . In keeping with the less intellectual character of low comedy, the comic effects here are nearly always of the visual, not of the intellectual kind. Metaphors are rare, but comic similes abound, all highly concrete.

[See also CRANE, pp. 101-102; KNIGHTS, p. 64; WILSON, p. 19.]

LINGUISTIC ANALYSES

BYRNE (1936, pp. 64-67) contains a complete analysis of all uses of *thou* and *you* (singular) in 1 *Henry IV*.

HART (1942, pp. 22 ff.) presents total vocabulary figures for seven pairs of closely related plays (one pair being 1 and 2 *Henry IV*), setting up between the pairs certain mathematical relationships indicating: (a) number of words in the vocabulary of each play (1 *Henry IV*, 3,028; 2 *Henry IV*, 3,130); (b) number of words common to each pair of plays (1,591); (c) percentage of totals under (b) based on the corresponding totals under (a) (52%; 51%); and (d) number of words peculiar to each play of each pair; i.e., not found in the other play paired with it (1,437; 1,539). The statistics thus arrived at are then used to contrast statistics produced by a similar analysis of the six pairs of Good and Bad Quartos. The resulting figures make a strong case for the "memorial reconstruction" Bad Quarto theory. The whole study is an important one and is noticed here for the information it contains on the vocabulary of 1 *Henry IV*. HART notes that in common with *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Troilus*, 2 *Henry IV*, and *Love's Labour's Lost* "more than eight per cent of the vocabulary consists in words not found in any other play" and that 1 *Henry IV* contains 236 compound words (a very high number), 24 of which were repeated in 2 *Henry*

IV. In a later article (*RES*, 1943, XLIX, 132) HART notes more specifically that 1 *Henry IV* contains 269 words (or 8.9%) not found elsewhere in Sh.; 2 *Henry IV*, 245 words (or 7.8%).

ECCLES (*JEGP*, 1943, XLII, 399) notes that I. iii. 253 contains Sh.'s last use of the idiom "look when" and, following his argument that Sh. gave up such idioms after about 1600 as over rhetorical and artificial, observes that this "one instance is quoted by Hotspur from Bolingbroke in scorn of his 'candy deal of courtesy.'"

[See also W. FRANZ, *Die Sprache Sh.'s*, 4th ed., 1939; H. KÖKERITZ, *Sh.'s Pronunciation*, 1953.]

STAGE HISTORY.

No attempt has been made to deal with the more recent productions of 1 *Henry IV* either in this country or abroad. The materials here included are either supplements to, or corrections of, materials in HEMINGWAY, pp. 476-495.

McMANAWAY (*SQ*, 1951, II, 119-122) identifies the "Olde Castle" acted at court on 6 January 1631 as 1 *Henry IV*. He corrects G. E. BENTLEY (1941, I, 120), who identifies the "Olde Castle" here named (as also the "ould Castel" of 29 May 1638 [BENTLEY, p. 120]) with the play by Drayton and others.

BENTLEY (1941, I, 128): In April 1635 John Greene saw a play at Blackfriars which he called 'Falstaffe.' (Symonds, 'Diary,' p. 386.) The play was probably one of the parts of *Henry IV*.

Performances of both 1 and 2 *Henry IV* were given in Dublin at the Smock Alley theatre during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A fragment of a prompt-copy (probably before 1685) of 1 *Henry IV* has survived and is now among other Smock Alley prompt-copies in the Folger Sh. Library. It consists of a half-leaf from the Third Folio, the second column of page 355 and the first of page 356 (II. i. 33-II. ii. 58). It is worth noting that this version brings Peto on with Gadshill at line 45 of II. ii, an arrangement not editorially suggested until CAPELL. For general discussion of the Smock Alley prompt-copies see R. C. BALD (*PMLA*, 1941, LVI, 369-378), W. S. CLARK (*Early Irish Stage: The Beginnings to 1720*, 1955, pp. 72-77), and A. H. STEVENSON (*SQ*, 1955, VI, 275-296).

Two drolls were extracted from 1 *Henry IV* during the middle or later part of the seventeenth century, one of them certainly a Commonwealth product: (1) "The Bouncing Knight, or, The Robbers Rob'd," in Francis Kirkman's *The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport* (1662), ed. J. J. Elson, 1932, pp. 47-59. Deriving from a copy of Q8 (1639) and possibly the work of Robert Cox, it is based, with slight

omissions and changes, on II. iv. 100-261, 303-308, 350-455; III. iii. 1-67, 77-83, 90-113, 124-146; IV. ii. 12-46, 57-63; V. i. 125-139; V. iv. 102-127, 130-156. The engraved frontispiece of *The Wits* shows the figure of Falstaff, the earliest published illustration of one of Sh.'s dramatic characters. (2) "The Boaster; or, Bully-Huff catch'd in a trap; in a Dialogue between several Free-Booters," in *The Theatre of Ingenuity* (1704), ed. Nathaniel Dancer (I have used J. O. Halliwell's reprint, 1859). It is based, with considerable omission and rewording, on II. iv. 101-102, 141-256. The Prince becomes a Captain; Falstaff, Jack; "Ross," a Lieutenant; and Peto, a Corporal. "Sixteene" (I. 159) becomes "Six and Twenty", and all references to buckram and Kendal green disappear (Falstaff "saw their Faces, and knew what Party they were"). Both drolls read "Hear me sirrah bumbast" for the Prince's "heare me speake but this," a similarity which suggests some eventual connection between them.

SCOUTEN and HUGHES (*JEGP*, 1944, XLIII, 23-41) examine in detail HEMINGWAY's list (pp. 482-483) of performances of 1 *Henry IV* from 1710-1740. To the 74 productions listed by him, they add 74 more for these years (a total of 220 performances for 1700-1750), and they point out that 14 performances he lists are without any kind of documentary substantiation. Since HOGAN (1952, I, 144-179), on an independent survey of the source materials, bears out their verdict, the following performances should be deleted from HEMINGWAY's list: Feb. 1716, DL (= Drury Lane); Nov. 1716, L (= Lincoln's Inn); April 1717, L; Sept. 1717, DL; May 1718, L; one performance, in Oct. or Nov., 1721, L; May 1722, DL; Oct. 1725, DL; two performances in Nov. 1729, L; April 1733, L; Sept. 1734, Goodman's Fields; March 1736, Covent Garden; Oct. 1738, DL. HOGAN's listing agrees substantially with that of SCOUTEN and HUGHES, except that he (p. 167) rejects, until further evidence is available, three performances for the New Wells, Clerkenwell, for 12, 18, 21 April 1738. SCOUTEN and HUGHES also point out some 20 minor discrepancies in A. NICOLL's listing in *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750*, 2nd ed., 1929, p. 298; these remain unnoticed in NICOLL's 3rd edition (1952). See, however, AVERY (*JEGP*, 1945, XLIV, 89-90), who makes one or two corrections and additions to the SCOUTEN-HUGHES listing and suggests that the evidence on which the NICOLL handlist is criticised needs further sifting.

MACMILLAN (1938, pp. 257-258) adds two performances to HEMINGWAY's list (p. 485) for Drury Lane: 28 April 1750-60 and 30 April 1761-62. The performance which HEMINGWAY lists for May 1765 is entered under 2 *Henry IV* by MACMILLAN.

SPRAGUE (1944, pp. 83-91) discusses at length

bits of stage business throughout the play and the actors who were responsible for such business, adding considerably to HEMINGWAY's comments (pp. 484-495). See Critical Notes at II. ii for an example of the sort of information SPRAGUE offers. See also A. C. SPRAGUE, *Sh'n. Players and Performances*, 1953, for further similar comment.

As supplementary to HEMINGWAY's treatment of the DERING MS. (pp. 495-501) see my discussion (*JEGP*, 1955, LIV, 498-503) of the fact that the first page of the manuscript is not only corrected by Sir Edward Dering but written as a whole by him. The significance of this fact for provenience and dating is fully considered.

The following eighteenth-century prologue (after Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, 1726) occurs in a commonplace book in the Folger Sh. Library (MS. 4621, leaves unpagged):

Why sure? where will you push me? pray
forbear,
What shall I do? o let me shelter here,
Pray let me in then I must turn to you,
Tho' quite asham'd and for your Pardon sue,
We little things to Hardships must submit
And do whate're these bigger Boys think fit
They make me in this publick View appear
To beg your Censures mayn't be too severe,
They've undertaken what they can't go
through
With proper Action and Decorum due,
For them your kind Indulgence to implore
I'm forc'd poor Child who never spoke before,
They say 'tis hard in falstaff to succeed
And so it is if I can Judge indeed
For this poor Stage can wth a court compare

No more than Loman-green wth Grovesnor-Square

The Court t'a Tavern turns, and what is strange

The Tavern will t'a Field of Battle change
There Troops engage, Drums beat, & Trumpets sound

And dying warriours strew y^e Crimson
Groung [*sic*]

They'll find hard Work, to play these medley
Scenes

Of Princes, Robbers, Rakes, Draw'rs, Chamberlains

Mad raving Percy and his gentle Dame
Glendour the Sputt'ring Welchman hot as
Flame,

The scolding Hostess too & fat Sr John
Who swells his pamp'rd Carcass to a Tun,
For this old gutting Knight has such a Belly
So monstrous large (tis true what I do tell
ye)

That ro such Liliputions as I
Within the most enormous Space may lye,
I fear they'll greatly fail—& yet foresee
If you should hiss they'll lay y^e Fault on me
I beg you then good S^r our Actors spare
Lest wth y^e blame I s^d a Drubbing bear
Finis

Later in the volume there are some verses headed "On a young Lady y^e petition'd [*sic*] / a play Day for Tiverton / Scholars" and from the references above to "We little things" and "these bigger Boys" it seems most probable that this prologue was written for a performance by the boys of the Grammar School (Blundell's) at Tiverton, Devonshire. The lack of any specific reference to the role of Prince Hal is significant.

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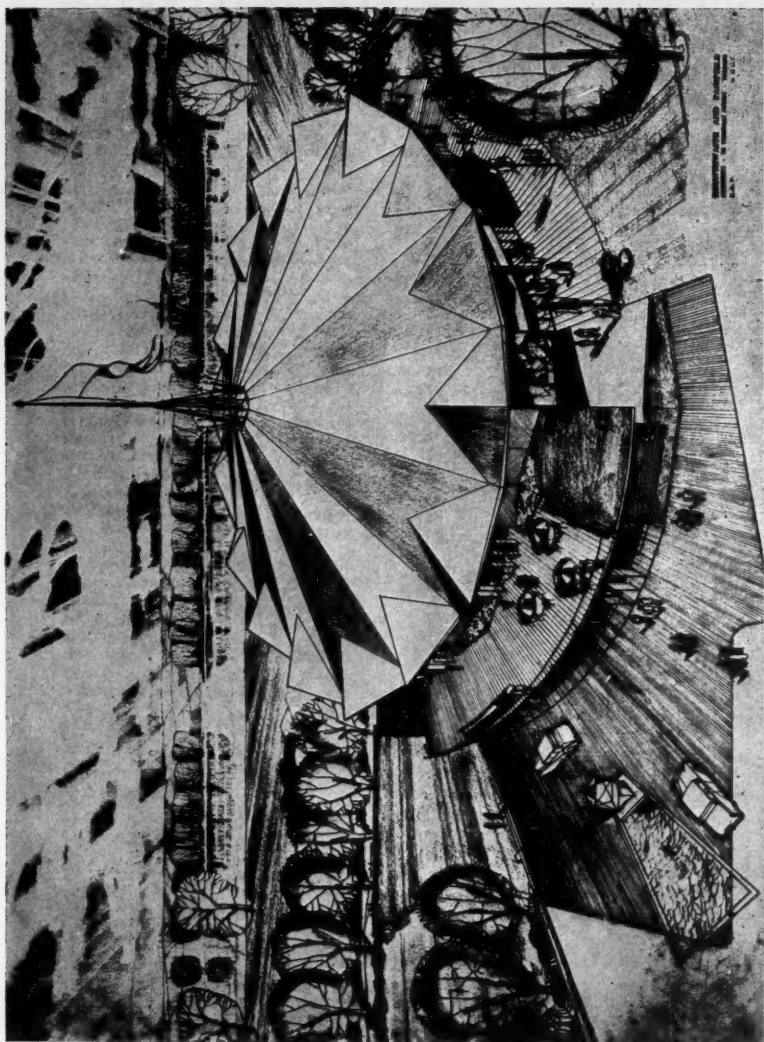
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Architect's plan for the proposed permanent Stratford (Ontario) Shakespearean Festival Theatre. Built on split levels, the theatre will have a steel frame, an exterior of masonry and glass, and a roof of copper. The building will be airconditioned, fireproof, and soundproof. The plan shows at the left the theatre entrance, with roof-lounge above, and exits at right.

"In My Mind's Eye, Horatio"

ALWIN THALER



NOT long ago, *The New York Times Book Review* underscored a pertinent question raised by President Griswold of Yale. It concerns the favorite illiteracy of our times. Is the future to belong to "men who do not read", to "empty men"—men of no vision but television? "We are succumbing . . . to technological illiteracy. We have traded in the *mind's eye* for the eye's mind" (February 10, 1952, p. 2). People who still read will not need my italics to experience the pleasure of recognition in Mr. Griswold's timely variation upon the famous passage from *Hamlet*. Strangely enough, no adequate account has hitherto been taken of the provenience and influence of this "mind's eye" phrase. I shall trace some of its major associations here. They range from Plato and St. Paul to Chaucer, Sidney, Spenser, and Milton, and from Edmund Burke and Dr. Johnson to Blake and Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, Thomas Hood, Granville-Barker, and Bernard Shaw.

"A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye", Horatio had said—in the opening scene (I.i.112)—of the portentous walking of the Ghost. In the next scene, the King and Queen depart, convinced that they have persuaded Hamlet that death is common, that black is white, that he will "obey" them and not go back to Wittenberg. Then, just at the tense moment before Horatio can bring himself to tell Hamlet of the Ghost's appearance, Hamlet seems to anticipate his friend's report: "My father—methinks I see my father." The startled Horatio exclaims, "O, where, my lord?" and Hamlet replies, "In my mind's eye, Horatio" (I.ii.184-185).

Most editors have let Hamlet's words stand without comment. A notable exception—and the only substantial one of which I know—is Furness. I quote in full the note in his *Variorum Hamlet* (I, 49), with citations from Jennens, Steevens, and Malone, respectively (to which I add essential quotations in square brackets):

MIND'S EYE] JENNENS: Thus ['Let us contemplate him'—the Father and Creator—'with our mind, let us gaze *with the eyes of our soul* on his long-suffering purpose.']—1 *Epistle of St. Clement*, cap. 19.¹ STEEVENS: See R[ape of] L[ucresse, 1422-]1426 [Much imaginary work was there . . . himself behind / Was left unseen, save to the *eye of mind*.'] Also Chaucer, *Man of Lawes Tale* [550-552: 'That oon of hem was blynd and myghte not see, / But it were with *thilke eyen of his mynde* / With whiche men seen, after that they ben blynde.'] MALONE: See [Shakespeare] *Sonn.* 113.1[-4:

¹ *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. and transl., Kirsopp Lake, London, 1919, I, 42-43.

'Since I left you, *mine eye is in my mind*'; i.e., his bodily eye 'seems seeing, but effectually is out.')

I have some things to add to these findings. For example: though Malone's citation of Sonnet 113 is valuable, more important perhaps are several other Shakespearian variations upon the mind's eye theme which have apparently escaped the commentators. One of these occurs in Sonnet 69. Here the superficial view of "the world's eye" is contrasted with the "farther" seeing, the truer vision of the friend's inward eye—"the thought of hearts", "the voice of souls":

Those parts of thee that *the world's eye* doth view
Want nothing that *the thought of hearts* can mend.
All *tongues (the voice of souls)* give thee that due. . . .
By *seeing farther than the eye* hath shown.
They look into the beauty of thy *mind*.

The most sublime quality of the inward vision, the imaginative-spiritual function of the mind's eye, is even more strikingly marked in Sonnet 27, especially if read—as it should be—in the light of another great passage from *Hamlet*. The sonnet opens:

Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed. . . .
Looking on darkness which the blind do see;
Save that *my soul's imaginary sight*
Presents thy shadow to my sightless view . . .
Makes black night beauteous and her old face new.

This, surely, is a situation in which the function of the mind's eye, searching inward, is equated with the soul's endeavor to see *imaginatively*. Beating against the verge of the finite, it refuses to accept blank darkness, shapes its vision by the compelling virtue of thought—that is to say, in Hamlet's phrase, of "thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls" (I. iv. 56).

The reader will scarcely need to be reminded that the fundamental concept underlying these passages—of the spiritual potency of the "seeing eye", the "hearing ear", even in those who may be physically blind or deaf, and, *per contra*, of the destruction that may come from the wicked "imagination of man's heart"—is at once older than Chaucer and newer than Shakespeare, because it is as old and as new as the Old Testament (e. g., Proverbs xx. 12, Genesis viii. 21, etc.) and the New (Mark viii. 18, etc.). "The mind's eye", at all events, antedates St. Clement, who lived about 100 A.D. It seems not to have been noticed that St. Paul used the phrase in his great Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 17-18). This contains the prayer—in the King James Version—that "God . . . may give . . . you . . . wisdom. . . . *The eyes of your understanding* being enlightened." But all versions of the Bible that Shakespeare knew (Cranmer's Great Bible of 1539, the Geneva Bible of 1557, and the Bishops' Bible of 1568) adopted Tyndale's rendering (1534), "*and lighten the eyes of youre myndes*".² Chaucer in his time

² Bishop Charles Wordsworth, in his book *On Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible* (London, 1880, p. 332), came close to noticing the phrase, but missed it after all. He fails to mention Ephesians i. 17-18 though he does list (p. 419) three other passages from this Epistle (ii. 2, iv. 27, v. 23) which he thinks Shakespeare remembered. Richmond Noble's *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (New York, 1935) does not mention our passage, though other passages from Ephesians are discussed (p. 297).

may have recalled the same passage; i. e., the Vulgate's "oculis cordis", the Wycliffite versions' "eyen of youre herte".³

The mind's eye, however, belongs not only to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Plato and the Platonists also knew and used it. Witness the *Phaedo* (99 E) and the *Republic* (7.527 E): "in every man there is an *eye of the soul* which . . . is more precious far than ten thousand bodily eyes, for by it alone is truth seen."⁴ The Elizabethan Platonists and later English masters in verse and prose echoed the phrase and elaborated the idea of the spiritualizing function of the imagination. A relatively early and important instance appears in Sir Thomas Hoby's translation (1561) of Castiglione's famous *Courtier*, the book Sir Philip Sidney never left behind. I quote summarily from its discussion of earthly and heavenly love and beauty in Book IV, *ad fin.*

"Love is nothing else but a certaine coveting to enjoy beutie . . . in our soul there be three . . . waies to know; namely, by sense, reason, and understanding . . . by the" last of "which man may be partner with the angels. . . ." By rising above "sense", with "the helpe of reason", the courtier may learn "to enjoy beutie without passion. . . . and . . . through the vertue of imagination. . . . he will take" earthly "love for a stayre . . . to climbe up to another farre higher. . . ." The "soule . . . purged . . . occupied in spirituall . . . understanding" may "come to beholde the beutie that is seene with the eyes of the minde."⁵

By the same token, Sir Philip Sidney in the *Arcadia*, *Astrophel and Stella*, and more especially in the opening pages of his *Apology for Poetry* (1595), hails the true poet as "a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting bewtie to be seene by the eyes of the mind."⁶

Brief notice must suffice for later glances of the mind's eye. To wit: Spenser, who throughout his *Four Hymns* is very close to the Platonic ideas and phrasing just recorded from Hoby's Castiglione, in his "Hymn of Heavenly Beauty" (23, 241, 284-285) specifically contrasts the gross view "of this base world[s]" . . . *fleshly eye*" with the "felicity" God's "own beloved . . . have written in their inward eye." Milton in his blindness again and again invokes "celestial light" to "Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers / Irradiate, there plant eyes" (*Paradise Lost*, III, 53); and his Samson triumphs at the last, "though blind of sight . . . / With inward eyes illuminated" (*Samson* 1687-1689). Dr. Johnson, according to Boswell,⁷ soberly "observed" that "the eye of the mind" is the faculty of "intuition", whereas to William Blake this same "inward Eye" was the indispensable instrument of mystic vision:

A double vision is always with me.
With my inward Eye 'tis an old Man grey;
With my outward, a Thistle across my way.⁸

³ Cf. *The English Hexapla*, London, 1841, under Ephesians i.17-18, and Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, *The Holy Bible* [transl. by] Wycliffe and his Followers, London, 1850, IV, 409. Cf. E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern, 1948, pp. 144-145.

⁴ *The Dialogues of Plato*, ed. B. Jowett, Oxford, 1892, II, 245; III, 230.

⁵ *The Courtier*, in *Three Renaissance Classics*, ed. Burton A. Milligan, New York, 1953, pp. 592-593, 595, 609-611.

⁶ Sidney, *Complete Works*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, Cambridge, England, 1916, I, 56; II, 244; III, 7.

⁷ *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. by L. F. Powell, Oxford, 1934, IV, 335.

⁸ "I know that This World is a World of Imagination & Vision. . . . As a man is, so he sees" (*Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, London, 1927, pp. 1039, 1067).

Upon this "mind's eye", this "inward eye", at once the solace and the bliss of solitude, flashed Wordsworth's grateful memory of the lonely leechgatherer and of the dancing daffodils. And the same inward eye—and ear—directed the sonorous periods of Edmund Burke's speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings: "My lords, no example of antiquity, nothing in the range of human imagination, can supply us with a tribunal like this. My lords, here we see, virtually in the mind's eye, that sacred majesty of the Crown under whose authority you sit and whose power you exercise."⁹ Most appropriately, too, the mind's eye pierces through Charles Lamb's essay "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare". There, in propounding the famous paradox that Shakespeare's plays are less calculated for stage performance than any other dramatist's, Charles Lamb specifically objects to the elaborate coronation robe worn by Macbeth in a contemporary performance: "just so full and cumbersome" as "that which our King wears" on state occasions in Parliament. In "acting, scenery, dress, the most contemptible things", preoccupy player and spectator. "The reading of a tragedy", on the other hand, "is a fine abstraction."—"Do we see in our mind's eye what . . . any . . . robe-maker could pattern?" Not so, says Elia; "our imagination is employed upon . . . greater and better" things. In similar vein, Elia's friend Thomas Hood, when dedicating his "Midsummer Fairies" to Lamb, wrote that "Shakespeare . . . has so intertwined the Elfin with human sympathies . . . that they are as real to the mind's eye as their green magical circles to the outer sense."¹⁰ So also—more recently and perhaps more realistically—Granville-Barker observes that David Garrick "saw the plays, with their lack of 'art' through the spectacles of contemporary culture; and the bare Elizabethan stage, if it met his mind's eye at all, doubtless as a barbarous makeshift."¹¹

One word more as to the kinship, old and ever new, between the vision of the mind's eye and the soul's imaginative striving for the highest good and beauty. The Elizabethans recognized this, but so do the moderns. The Latin original of Book I, chapter xx, section 8 of *The Imitation of Christ*, literally translated, reads, "Close thy door upon thee, and call to thee Jesus thy beloved." It is worth noting that the first complete English translation (ca. 1530) of the *Imitation*, by Richard Whitford, rendered this passage as follows: "Shut fast the door of thy soul, that is to say, thine imagination . . . and then lift up thy mind to thy Lord Jesus."¹² So in the first scene of Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*. When Joan asserts that her "voices come from God", Baudricourt answers, "They come from your imagination." Joan replies, "That is how the messages of God come to us." She speaks from the heart—for Shaw himself, in his prefaces, early and late, prided himself upon seeing most clearly in "my mind's eye."¹³

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⁹ *Works of Edmund Burke*, Boston, 1867, X, 142.

¹⁰ *Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. E. V. Lucas, London, 1903, I, 110-111. *Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Hood*, ed. Walter Jerrold, Oxford, 1920, p. 110.

¹¹ *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, First Series, London, 1933, p. ix. See also G. L. Kittredge, ed. *Macbeth*, (Boston, 1939), p. 146, note on II.iii.124; and *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 28, 1956, p. 11: "History through the Mind's Eye."

¹² Ed. Edward J. Klein, New York, 1941, p. 37.

¹³ *Saint Joan*, New York, 1924, pp. 16, xxiii, xxviii; *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant*, 1907, I, p. vii.

Imagery and Symbolism in *Richard II*

ARTHUR SUZMAN



THE fall of Richard and the rise of Bolingbroke provide the central theme of Shakespeare's tragedy, *The Life and Death of King Richard the Second*.¹ As William Hazlitt observes: "The steps by which Bolingbroke mounts the throne are those by which Richard sinks into the grave." Spiritually, one might add, as Richard rises, so Bolingbroke declines. This dual theme of rise and fall provides in turn the dominant imagery and symbolism of the play, indeed, it may justly be described as its *leitmotif*.

Perhaps in no other of Shakespeare's plays do imagery and action so closely correspond. The recurrent imagery of rise and fall goes far beyond a purpose of mere description. Throughout, it has a significance beyond its immediate context and bears a striking relationship to the central dramatic theme.

The imagery, in the language of Wolfgang Clemen (*The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery*) is functional and organic and plays a decisive part both in expressing the dramatic theme and in characterization.

This close relationship in *Richard II* between the action of the play and its iterative imagery appears somehow to have escaped attention in the numerous writings on Shakespearian imagery. Even Richard D. Altick, in his detailed study, "*Symphonic Imagery in Richard II*" (*PMLA*, LXII) makes no specific

¹ A personal note as to the origins of the present essay may perhaps prove of interest, since its thesis derives initially from the witnessing of a stage performance of the play.

In July 1951, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, I saw, for the first time, a performance of *Richard II*. It was Anthony Quayle's production, with Michael Redgrave as Richard and Harry Andrews as Bolingbroke. Towards the close of the play (with which at the time I had barely a passing acquaintance), I became vaguely conscious of its rhythmic theme of rise and fall. This was felt or sensed rather than consciously perceived. No doubt poetry and plot, staging and acting, all contributed in creating this feeling. In retrospect, however, it was the climax in the prison scene (to which Nevill Coghill also refers—see Note 9) which made the strongest impact in this regard.

Two years later, a cursory re-reading of the play (preparatory to seeing it for the second time) evoked an awareness of the rhythmic imagery of rise and fall in certain of the more obvious passages. While witnessing the play the following evening—it was John Gielgud's opening performance at the Theatre Royal, Bulawayo, during the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition—what I had but vaguely sensed during the Stratford performance two years earlier, now became consciously perceived. I should perhaps confess that even at this stage I was sublimely innocent of any knowledge of the considerable literature on Shakespeare's imagery: I had not so much as heard of Caroline Spurgeon's pioneer studies in this field!

This personal note tends, I believe, to support the view expressed by Allardyce Nicoll that in the playhouse an audience is more emotionally alert than any solitary reader can be, and that, as a result, many things are unconsciously appreciated which might well be missed in the perusal of a text (*Shakespeare* (1952), Chap. II). "The theatre", he writes, "is a strange place, where imaginations are quickened and where more is appreciated than the intellect will allow or acknowledge."

mention of the repeated use throughout the play of the imagery and symbolism of rise and fall, or of its constant relationship to the underlying theme of the tragedy.²

E. M. W. Tillyard, in his *"Shakespeare's History Plays"* (1946) emphasizes the marked ceremonial character of *Richard II*; indeed, he describes it as the most formal and ceremonial of all Shakespeare's plays and points out that the very actions tend to be symbolic rather than real and the language that of ceremony rather than of passion. "In *Richard II*", he writes, "with all the emphasis and the point taken out of the action, we are invited again and again, to dwell on the sheer ceremony of the various situations."

Almost throughout, however, the very ceremony itself, no less than the elaborate poetic language in which it is clothed, is symbolic or suggestive of this central theme of rise and fall.

This ceremonial, expressed in varying forms, but always with the same underlying symbolic motif, occurs in the play on four significant occasions: firstly, in the opening scene, at Windsor Castle, when Bolingbroke and Mowbray throw down their gages; next, before the lists at Coventry (I. iii), when the King throws down his warder—"His own life hung upon the staff he threw"; thirdly, at Flint Castle (III. iii), when the King, surrendering to Bolingbroke, descends to the "base court" from the castle walls; and, finally, in the deposition scene at Westminster Hall (IV. i), when Richard hands his crown to Bolingbroke and later, at the close of the scene, when he dashes the mirror to the ground where it lies "crack'd in a hundred shivers".

There is scarcely a scene in the play where the imagery of rise and fall does not occur. The dual imagery is achieved usually by means of antitheses—contrasting ideas of rise and fall being expressed by the use of pairs of words such as: "ascend", "descend"; "up", "down"; "high", "low"; "sky", "earth". Occasionally, the mere subject matter itself, such as "scale", "ladder", "two buckets in a well", suggests the two-fold imagery. Pregnant phrases, such as "jauncing Bolingbroke" and "plume-pluck'd Richard", convey in a word the changing fortunes—ascending or descending—of the characters.

The play is rich in colorful metaphor suggestive of the images of the rising Bolingbroke and the falling Richard. Thus, of Bolingbroke—"How high a pitch his resolution soars"; "The eagle-wing'd pride of sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts"; "How far brought you high Hereford on his way?"; "Great Bolingbroke, mounted upon a hot and fiery steed, which his aspiring rider seemed to know". And, of Richard—"I see thy glory like a shooting star fall to the base earth from the firmament. Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west"; "Down, down I come, like glist'ring Phaethon."

² When writing this essay I had not seen Paul A. Jorgensen's study: "Vertical Patterns in *Richard II*" (*SAB*, XXIII, 119-134).

Referring to the elaborate interplay of theme and image in *Richard II*, Jorgensen writes: "Vertical motions of various sorts pervade the play; and these, continually shifting, nevertheless suggest in their flux certain patterns relevant to important characters in the drama. What is more, these almost incessant motions—now upward, now downward—have a compelling kinesthetic effect upon the reader or audience." These vertical patterns, Jorgensen points out, unlike the conventionally accepted leading images, are not to be found appreciably in any other works of Shakespeare. Jorgensen suggests that the vertical activity which agitates the play may well influence our interpretation of the static pictures. "Richard and Bolingbroke move constantly up and down; with them move, often grotesquely, the picturesque symbols of their universe."

The thesis that Shakespeare secures the unity of each of his greatest plays not only by the plot, by linkage of characters, by the sweep of Nemesis, by the use of irony and by appropriateness of style, but by deliberate repetition through the play of at least one set of words or ideas in harmony with the plot, is propounded by F. C. Kolbe (*Shakespeare's Way: A Psychological Study*). "It is like the effect of the dominant note in a melody", writes Kolbe. "In some of the plays there are two such sets of ideas and then one is seen to be the dominant and the other the tonic."

Writing of *Richard II*, Kolbe states there are in the play four inter-woven strains, Sorrow, Life-blood, Inheritance, and England, and that the leading idea in the play is "England's Heritage of Blood and Woe". This, he adds, is in reality the key chord of the whole octave of plays from *Richard II* to *Richard III*.

A review of the imagery and symbolism in *Richard II* strikingly supports Kolbe's general thesis, for it reveals a deliberate repetition throughout the play of one set of words or ideas in harmony with the plot, namely, the dual theme of rise and fall, reflecting the conflict between the two protagonists, Richard of Bordeaux and Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster.

The play opens, it will be recalled, at Windsor Castle where Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford (son of "old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster") and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, both "high-stomach'd and full of ire", have been summoned before the King "to appeal each other of high treason". In the opening scene, as already mentioned, the imagery of rise and fall is expressed symbolically. Bolingbroke hurls his gauntlet at Mowbray's feet, challenging him to stoop and take it up. Mowbray takes up the gage and duly throws down his, which Bolingbroke, in turn, takes up. This ceremonial, accompanied by language appropriate to the symbolism, provides, as it were, an overture to the central theme of rise and fall.

Thus, Bolingbroke, answering Mowbray's charge:

Pale trembling coward there I *throw* my gage,
Disclaiming here the kindred of the king,
And lay aside my *high* blood's royalty,
Which fear, not reverence, makes thee to accept
If guilty dread have left thee so much strength,
As to *take up* mine honour's pawn, then *stoop*. (I. i. 69ff.)³

Mowbray replies:

I take it *up*, and by that sword I swear,
Which gently laid my knighthood on my shoulder,
I'll answer thee in any fair degree,
Or chivalrous design of knightly trial:
And when I *mount*, alive may I not *light*,
If I be traitor or unjustly fight!

When Bolingbroke returns to the charge, accusing Mowbray of plotting the death of the Duke of Gloucester whose blood, he says, cries to him for "justice and rough chastisement", the King significantly exclaims: "How *high a pitch* his resolution *soars!*" (I. i. 109). Richard, calling upon Mowbray to answer the

³ All textual references are to the Cambridge Shakespeare *Richard II*, edited by John Dover Wilson (1939). The italics are my own.

charge, proclaims his impartiality. "Such neighbour nearness to our sacred blood", he vows,

Should nothing privilege him nor partialize
The *unstooping* firmness of my *upright* soul. (I. i. 120-121)

Ineffectually, the King seeks to reconcile his quarrelsome subjects, and then calls on John of Gaunt:

Good uncle, let this end where it begun,
We'll calm the Duke of Norfolk, you your son. (I. i. 158-159)

The theme continues:

Gaunt. To be a make-peace shall become my age,
Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's gage.
K. Richard. And, Norfolk, *throw down* his.
Gaunt. When, Harry? when?
Obedience bids I should not bid again.
K. Richard. Norfolk, *throw down*, we bid, there is no boot.
Mowbray. Myself I *throw*, dread sovereign, at thy *foot*.
My life thou shalt command, but not my shame. (I. i. 160 ff.)

The combatants remain unmoved. Richard, addressing Bolingbroke, again commands: "Cousin, *throw up*⁴ your gage, do you begin", and Bolingbroke replies:

O God defend my soul from such *deep* sin!
Shall I seem *crest-fallen* in my father's sight?
Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my *height*
Before this out-dared dastard? ere my tongue
Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong,
Or sound so *base* a parle, my teeth shall tear
The slavish motive of recanting fear,
And spit it bleeding in his *high* disgrace,
Where shame doth harbour, even in Mowbray's face. (I. i. 187 ff.)

The same symbolism recurs—but with deeper significance—when Bolingbroke and Mowbray next appear, as commanded, on Saint Lambert's Day before the Lists at Coventry, their swords and lances "there to arbitrate the swelling difference of their settled hate".

Bolingbroke approaches the Lord Marshal, exclaiming: "Lord marshal, let me kiss my sovereign's hand, And *bow my knee* before his majesty." The King descends from his throne and ironically proclaims: "We will *descend* and fold him in our arms. Cousin of Hereford, as thy cause is right, So be thy fortune in this royal fight." Bolingbroke replies:

As confident as is the *falcon's flight*
Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight. (I. iii. 61-62)

Turning to his father, John of Gaunt, he adds:

O thou, the earthly author of my blood,
Whose youthful spirit in me regenerate

⁴ The First Folio reads "throw *downe*".

Doth with a twofold vigour *lift me up*
 To reach at victory *above my head*. . .
 Add proof unto mine armour with thy prayers. . .

The heralds announce their respective combatants; the Lord Marshal commands, "Sound, trumpets; and set forward, combatants." A charge is sounded. As the combatants are about to join battle, the Lord Marshal cries out, "Stay, stay, the king hath *thrown* his warder *down*!"

This dramatic moment presages the fall and death of Richard. In the later play of 2 *Henry IV* the incident is thus recounted, in the same symbolic language, by Thomas Mowbray's son:

Then, then, when there was nothing could have stayed
 My father from the breast of Bolingbroke . . .
 O, when the King did *throw* his warder *down*,
 (His own life hung upon the staff he threw!)
 Then *threw* he *down* himself and all their lives
 That by indictment and by dint of sword
 Have since miscarried under Bolingbroke. (IV. i. 123 ff.)

Bolingbroke and Mowbray are banished. John of Gaunt dies, foretelling that Richard's "rash fierce blaze of riot" cannot last. Richard, to replenish his coffers for his Irish wars, seizes Gaunt's possessions, thereby, as the Duke of York prophesies, "plucking a thousand dangers on his head and losing a thousand well-disposed hearts."

The King departs for his Irish wars. The King gone, Bolingbroke returns to England from banishment. The very news of Bolingbroke's return is expressed in language which heightens the image of his rising fortunes. Thus, Northumberland announces he has received intelligence that Harry, Duke of Hereford and others "With eight *tall* ships, three thousand men of war Are making hither . . ." (II. i. 286). Green thus informs the Queen: "The banish'd Bolingbroke repeals himself, And with *uplifted* arms is safe arriv'd, At Ravenspurgh" (II. ii. 49 ff.). The tidings are thus brought by Scroop to the King:

Like an unseasonable stormy day,
 Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,
 As if the world were all dissolved to tears;
 So *high* above his limits *swells* the rage
 Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land
 With hard bright steel. (III. ii. 106 ff.)

The image of the sagging fortunes of the King is portrayed by York (himself torn between conflicting loyalties) when he complains:

Here am I left to *underprop* his land. (II. ii. 82)
 . . . all is *uneven*,
 And everything is left at six and seven. (II. ii. 123)

Richard's followers, meanwhile, having heard no tidings from their King, would disperse, but Salisbury begs them stay but another day. In the Captain's

reply, the theme of the fall and doom of Richard is now given out in a minor key of foreboding:

'Tis thought the king is dead; we will not stay.
The bay-trees in our country are all withered,
And *meteors* fright the fixed stars of heaven,
The pale-faced moon looks bloody on the earth,
And lean-looked prophets whisper fearful change,
Rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and leap—
The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,
The other to enjoy by rage and war:
These signs forerun the death or *fall* of kings . . .
Farewell. Our countrymen are gone and fled,
As well assured Richard their king is dead. (II. iv. 7 ff.)

Salisbury takes up this theme and soliloquizes:

Ah, Richard! with the eyes of heavy mind
I see thy glory like a *shooting star*
Fall to the *base* earth from the firmament.
Thy sun *sets* weeping in the *lowly* west,
Witnessing storms to come, woe, and unrest.
Thy friends are fled to wait upon thy foes,
And crossly to thy good all fortune goes.

Richard returns to England. As he sets foot on his native soil, symbolically he stoops to touch the earth—to do it favor with his royal hands.⁵ "I weep for joy", he says,

To stand upon my kingdom once again:
Dear *earth*, I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horse's hoofs:
As a long-parted mother with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in meeting;
So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my *earth*,
And do thee favour with my royal hands. (III. ii. 5 ff.)

This earth shall have a feeling, and these stones
Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
Shall *falter* under foul rebellion's arms. (III. ii. 24 ff.)

Richard fondly believes that when the traitor Bolingbroke

Shall see us *rising* in our throne, the east,
His treasons will *sit* blushing in his face
Not able to endure the sight of day,

For every man that Bolingbroke hath pressed
To *lift* shrewd steel against our golden crown,

⁵ At this moment in the play, writes Allardyce Nicoll (*Shakespeare*) "by the strange alchemy of the imagination a great surge of sympathy sweeps over the audience. In a single powerful dramatic moment Shakespeare has achieved what might have been deemed the impossible. . . . Until half way through the drama, Richard's folly, his inadequacy, and even his evil alone are stressed, he is virtually the accused. . . . Then, suddenly, on the King's return from Ireland, the obverse of the picture is presented to us. Preparation for it has been made by the devotion to his cause exhibited by York, one of his accusers, and by the loving devotion of the Queen, but the effect owes its being largely to the skilful use of dramatic imagery."

God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
 A glorious angel; then, if angels fight,
 Weak men must *fall*, for heaven still guards the right. (III. ii. 50 ff.)

Richard's mood of self-confidence is but short-lived. When Salisbury tells him he has returned a day too late, that his Welsh followers "Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispers'd, and fled", he pales. Aumerle has but to remind him he is king—"Comfort, my liege, remember who you are", and Richard's self-confidence is restored; dejection gives way to elation and he exclaims:

I had forgot myself, am I not king?
 . . . Look not to the *ground*,
 Ye favourites of a king, are we not *high*?
High be our thoughts. I know my uncle York
 Hath power enough to serve our turn. . . . (III. ii. 83 ff.)

Yet no sooner is he told of the execution of Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire than he once again falls into a mood of deep dejection. His plaintive outburst of self-pity re-echoes, but now in inversion, the theme of his earlier words—"Look not to the ground, Ye favourites of a king, are we not *high*?"

. . . Of comfort no man speak:
 Let's talk of *graves*, of worms, and epitaphs,
 Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
 Write sorrow on the bosom of the *earth* . . .
 Let's choose executors and talk of wills:
 And yet not so, for what can we bequeath,
 Save our *depos'd* bodies to the *ground*?
 Our lands, our lives, and all are Bolingbroke's,
 And nothing can we call our own, but death;
 And that small model of the barren *earth*,
 Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.
 For God's sake, let us *sit* upon the *ground*,
 And tell sad stories of the death of kings—
 How some have been deposed, some slain in war,
 Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed, . . .
 Cover your heads, and mock not flesh and blood
 With solemn reverence, throw away respect,
 Tradition, form, and ceremonious duty,
 For you have but mistook me all this while:
 I live with bread like you, feel want,
 Taste grief, need friends—subjected thus,
 How can you say to me, I am a king? (III. ii. 144 ff.)

When Richard hears that York has "joined with Bolingbroke and all his northern castles yielded up", he discharges his followers and with Aumerle seeks refuge in Flint Castle.

In the following scene, Bolingbroke, York, Northumberland, and their forces appear on the plain before the Castle. Bolingbroke bids Northumberland go to the "rude ribs" of the ancient castle and "thus deliver" to the King:

Henry Bolingbroke

On both his *knees* doth kiss King Richard's hand,
And sends allegiance and true faith of heart
To his most royal person: hither come
Even at his *feet* to lay my arms and power;
Provided that my banishment repealed
And lands restored again be freely granted;
If not, I'll use the advantage of my power,
And lay the summer's dust with showers of blood,
Rained from the wounds of slaughtered Englishmen,
The which, how far off from the mind of Bolingbroke
It is, such crimson tempest should bedrench
The fresh green lap of fair King Richard's land,
My *stooping* duty tenderly shall show. (III. iii. 35 ff.)

A parley is sounded. King Richard appears on the battlements. Northumberland stands below. Richard looks down, waiting, in vain, for obeisance to his royal person. Addressing Northumberland, he says:

We are amazed, and thus long have we stood
To watch the fearful *bending* of thy *knee*,
Because we thought ourself thy lawful king:
And if we be, how dare thy joints forget
To pay their awful duty to our presence? (III. iii. 72 ff.)

"Tell Bolingbroke", he says,

That every stride he makes upon my land
Is dangerous treason: he is come to open
The purple testament of bleeding war. (III. iii. 92 ff.)

Richard's mood of defiance soon gives way to one of resignation, and he bids Northumberland tell Bolingbroke that "all the number of his fair demands shall be accomplished."

As Northumberland retires, Richard again vacillates and asks of Aumerle:

We do *debase* ourself, cousin, do we not,
To look so poorly and to speak so fair?
Shall we call back Northumberland and send
Defiance to the traitor, and so die? (III. iii. 127 ff.)

"Let's fight with gentle words", counsels Aumerle, "Till time lend friends, and friends their helpful swords." Richard, conscious of his deep humiliation, exclaims:

O God! O God! that e'er this tongue of mine,
That *laid* the sentence of dread banishment
On yon proud man, should *take it off* again
With words of sooth! O, that I were as great
As is my grief, or lesser than my name! (III. iii. 133 ff.)

As Northumberland returns from Bolingbroke, Richard in a flood of pathetic self-pity and helplessness, delivers those poignant lines, which yet again re-echo the theme of the earth and of graves. The imagery again matches his mood of utter dejection.

What must the king do now? must he submit?
 The king shall do it: must he be deposed?
 The king shall be contented: must he lose
 The name of king: a God's name let it go:
 I'll give my jewels for a set of beads:
 My gorgeous palace for a hermitage:
 My gay apparel for an almsman's gown:
 My figured goblets for a dish of wood:
 My sceptre for a palmer's walking-staff:
 My subjects for a pair of carved saints,
 And my large kingdom for a little *grave*,
 A little little *grave*, an obscure *grave*,
 Or I'll be *buried* in the king's highway,
 Some way of common trade, where subjects' *feet*
 May hourly *trample* on their sovereign's *head*;
 For on my heart they tread now whilst I live:
 And *buried* once, why not upon my *head*?
 Aumerle, thou weep'st (my tender-hearted cousin!),
 We'll make foul weather with despised tears;
 Our sighs and they shall *lodge* the summer corn,
 And make a dearth in this revolting land:
 Or shall we play the wantons with our woes,
 And make some pretty match with shedding tears?
 As thus to drop them still upon one place,
 Till they have fretted us a pair of *graves*
 Within the *earth*, and, therein laid . . . there lies
 Two kinsmen digged their *graves* with weeping eyes!
 Would not this ill do well? Well, well, I see
 I talk but idly and you laugh at me. . . .
 Most mighty prince, my Lord Northumberland,
 What says King Bolingbroke? will his majesty
 Give Richard leave to live till Richard die?
 You *make a leg*, and Bolingbroke says 'ay'. (III. iii. 143 ff.)

Throughout the scene, Richard's alternating moods of defiance and dejection, hope and despair, provide a rhythmic undertone to the imagery of rise and fall which now reaches a climax. The very setting heightens the imagery. Richard stands aloft on the battlements, looking down; Northumberland and Bolingbroke stand below, looking up.

In the following lines the word "down" is repeated no fewer than six times, and the word "base" recurs five times:

Northumberland. My lord, in the *base* court he doth attend,
 To speak with you, may it please you to come *down*?
K. Richard. *Down, down* I come, like glist'ring Phaethon:
 Wanting the manage of unruly jades. . . .
 In the *base* court? *Base* court, where kings grow *base*,
 To come at traitors' calls, and do them grace.
 In the *base* court? Come *down*? *Down* court! *down* king!
 For night-owls shriek where *mounting* larks should sing (III. iii. 178 ff.)

As the King descends, Bolingbroke kneels. The theme is resumed, but in lighter and sarcastic vein:

Fair cousin, you *debase* your princely *knee*,
 To make the *base* earth proud with kissing it:
 Me rather had my heart might feel your love,
 Than my displeased eye see your *courtesy*:
Up, cousin, *up*—your heart is *up*, I know,
 Thus *high* at least, although your knee be *low*. (III. iii. 190 ff.)

"My gracious lord, I come but for mine own", retorts Bolingbroke; and Richard replies:

Your own is yours, and I am yours and all.
 What you will have, I'll give, and willing too,
 For do we must what fate will have us do. . . .
 Set on towards London, cousin, is it so? (III. iii. 197 ff.)

"Yea, my good Lord", answers Bolingbroke; and Richard ends: "Then I must not say no."

The struggle is over. The climax of the play has passed. The imagery of rise and fall now takes on a new note.

The scene changes to the Duke of York's garden at Langley. In the interchanges between the Queen and her ladies and the gardener and his men, the whole tempo is slowed down; the iterative imagery is now more measured, more elaborate and is in allegorical form. Thus the gardener to his two men:

Go, bind thou up yon *dangling* apricocks,
 Which like unruly children make their sire
Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight,
 Give some supportance to the *bending* twigs,
 Go thou, and like an executioner
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
 That look too *lofty* in our commonwealth—
 All must be *even* in our government. (III. iv. 29 ff.)

Again, referring to the King, he says:

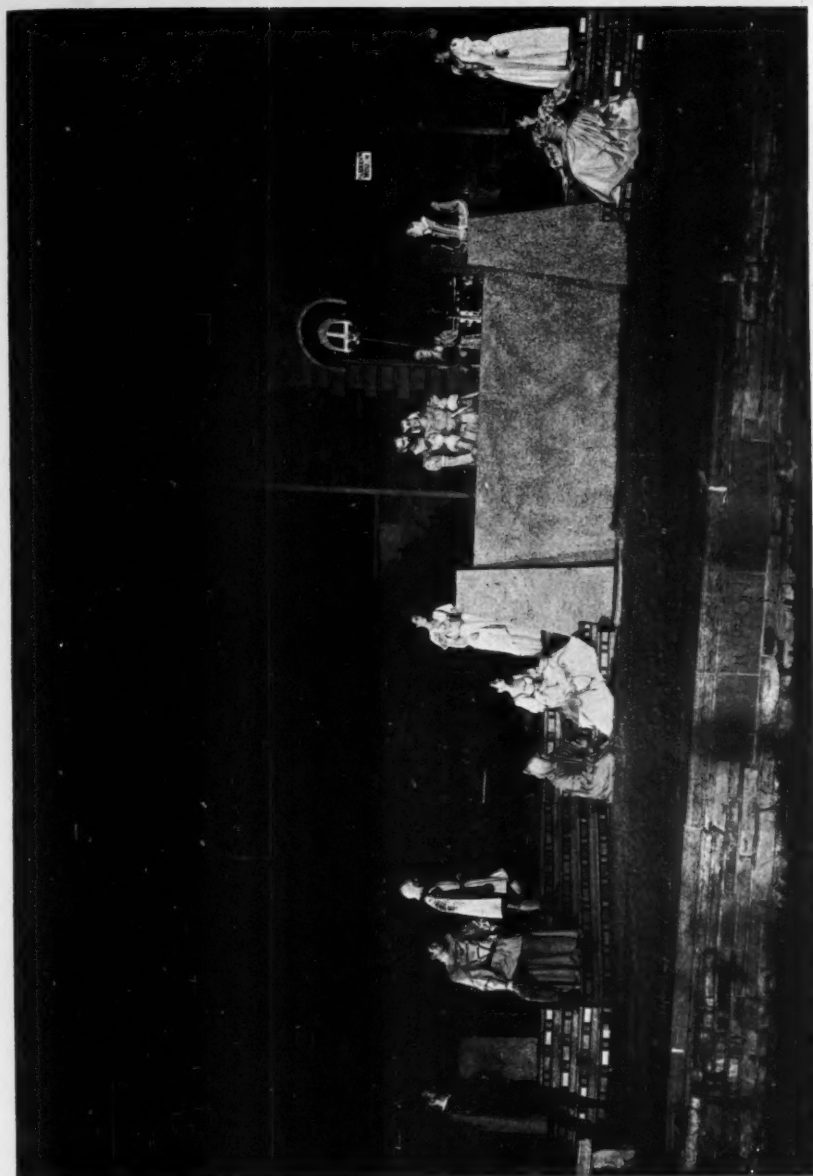
He that hath suffered this disordered spring
 Hath now himself met with the *fall* of leaf:
 The weeds that his broad-spreading leaves did shelter,
 That seemed in eating him to *hold him up*,
 Are *plucked up* root and all by Bolingbroke. (III. iv. 48 ff.)

The conversation between the gardener and his men continues thus:

First Servant. What, think you then the king shall be deposed?
Gardener. *Depressed* he is already, and deposed
 'Tis doubt he will be. . . .

The Queen, overhearing their conversation, comes forth and addresses her gardener in words which continue the imagery, again in allegorical form:

What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee
 To make a second *fall* of curséd man?
 Why dost thou say King Richard is deposed?
 Dar'st thou, thou little better thing than earth,
 Divine his *downfall*?



University of Colorado. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I, i, as presented in the Mary Ripon Outdoor Theatre, August, 1956, under the direction of J. H. Crouch. Antony, Ronald Wynn; Cleopatra, Molly Riley. Photo by Floyd G. Walters, Photographic Dept., U. of Col.



Oregon Shakespeare Festival. B. Iden Payne as Friar Laurence in *Romeo and Juliet*.
Ashland, Oregon.

The gardener, in his reply, uses the metaphor of Bolingbroke, in the one scale, weighing down Richard, in the other, pointing the declining fortunes of the one and the ascending fortunes of the other. The idiom changes but the imagery persists:

King Richard, he is in the mighty hold
Of Bolingbroke: their fortunes both are *weighed*:
In your lord's *scale* is nothing but himself,
And some few vanities that make him *light*;
But in the *balance* of great Bolingbroke,
Besides himself, are all the English peers,
And with that odds he *weighs* King Richard down.

Act IV opens with the historic deposition scene at Westminster Hall where Bolingbroke, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons are assembled. York's announcement of the King's abdication stresses in almost every line the two-fold imagery of rise and fall:

Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to thee
From *plume-pluck'd* Richard, who with willing soul
Adopts thee heir, and his *high* sceptre yields
To the possession of thy royal hand:
Ascend his throne, *descending* now from him;
And long live Henry, of that name the fourth! (IV. i. 107 ff.)

Proudly Bolingbroke exclaims: "In God's name, I'll *ascend* the regal throne."

From this moment, as Richard grows in spiritual stature, so Bolingbroke declines, and the imagery now reflects this spiritual transformation in the two central characters of the play.

The Bishop of Carlisle, alone of those assembled, raises his voice in protest, calls Bolingbroke a foul traitor and prophesies that if they crown him—

O, if you *raise* this house against this house,
It will the woefullest division prove
That ever *fell* upon this curséd earth. (IV. i. 145 ff.)

For his pains, Northumberland orders Carlisle's arrest for capital treason. "Fetch hither Richard", orders Bolingbroke, "that in common view he may surrender."

York returns with Richard, guarded and stripped of his royal robes; officers follow, bearing the crown and sceptre. "Alack," cries Richard,

Why am I sent for to a king,
Before I have *shook off* the regal thoughts
Wherewith I reigned? I hardly yet have learned
To insinuate, flatter, *bow*, and *bend* my knee:
Give sorrow leave awhile to tutor me
To this submission. (IV. i. 162 ff.)

As Richard takes the crown, he calls on Bolingbroke:

Here, cousin, seize the crown;
Here, cousin,
On this side, my hand, and on that side, thine. (IV. i. 181 ff.)

Victor and vanquished stand face to face, each holding the crown; Richard about to be unkinged, Bolingbroke soon to be enthroned. The poetic imagery of rise and fall—accentuated by the tenseness of the drama—now reaches sublime heights as Richard exclaims:

Now is this golden crown like a *deep well*
That owes two buckets, filling one another,
The emptier ever *dancing* in the air,
The other *down*, unseen, and full of water:
That bucket *down*, and full of tears, am I,
Drinking my griefs, whilst you *mount up on high*. (IV. i. 184 ff.)⁶

"I thought you had been willing to resign", protests Bolingbroke, and grief-stricken Richard replies:

My crown I am, but still my griefs are mine:
You may my glories and my state *depose*,
But not my griefs; still am I king of those.

As the dialogue proceeds, the theme of rise and fall recurs, contrapuntally, as it were:

Bolingbroke. Part of your cares you give me with your crown.
K. Richard. Your cares *set up* do not *pluck* my cares down.
My care is loss of care, by old care done,
Your care is gain of care, by new care won:
The cares I give, I have, though given away,
They tend the crown, yet still with me they stay.
Bolingbroke. Are you contented to resign the crown?
K. Richard. Ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be:
Therefore no 'no', for I resign to thee. . . .
Now mark me how I will *undo* myself:
I give this *heavy weight* from off my *head*,
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
With mine own hands I give away my crown,
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
With mine own breath release all duteous oaths:
All pomp and majesty I do forswear;
My manors, rents, revenues, I forgo;
My acts, decrees, and statutes, I deny:
Long mayst thou live in Richard's *seat* to sit,

⁶In a letter to the writer, Neville Coghill (to whom this essay was submitted for criticism), makes the following revealing observations on the above passage:

Richard II was written in 1595/6, the same year as *Romeo and Juliet* (just before) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (just after). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* there is Theseus, Hippolyta and Philostrate. This can only come from Shakespeare's reading Chaucer—*The Knight's Tale* (line 570). He could have got Theseus and Hippolyta elsewhere, but Philostrate is Chaucer's invention (from Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*). So, it is absolutely certain William was reading *The Knight's Tale* in 1595/6. Now in *The Knight's Tale*, describing the alternative moods of lovers, there comes the line

Now up, now down, as *boket in a welle* (675).

And that, I think, is where Shakespeare got what you call (and rightly) the moment when his imagery rose "to sublime heights". And Chaucer was a courtier to Richard II!

And soon *lie* Richard in an *earthy* pit. . .
 God save King Henry, unkinged Richard says,
 And send him many years of sunshine days. . .
 What more remains? (IV. i. 194 ff.)⁷

Northumberland demands that Richard read out the accusations against himself,

That, by confessing them, the souls of men
 May deem that you are worthily deposed. (IV. i. 226-227)

Richard protests:

Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see:
 And yet salt water blinds them not so much,
 But they can see a sort of traitors here.
 Nay, if I turn mine eyes upon myself,
 I find myself a traitor with the rest:
 For I have given here my soul's consent
 T' *undec* the pompous body of a king;
 Made glory *base*; and sovereignty, a slave;
 Proud majesty, a subject; state, a peasant.

Northumberland intervenes, "My Lord,—" and Richard retorts:

No lord of thine, thou *haught*, insulting man,
 Nor no man's lord; I have no name, no title;
 No, not that name was given me at the font,
 But 'tis *usurped*: alack the heavy day,
 That I have worn so many winters out,
 And know not now what name to call myself!
 O, that I were a mockery king of snow,
 Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke,
 To *melt* myself away in water-drops!

Richard commands a mirror, "That it may show me what a face I have, Since it is bankrupt of his majesty" (IV. i. 266-267). He gazes in it and laments:

No *deeper* wrinkles yet? hath sorrow struck
 So many blows upon this face of mine,
 And made no *deeper* wounds? (IV. i. 277 ff.)

As Richard dashes the mirror to the ground he exclaims:

A brittle glory shineth in this face,
 As brittle as the glory is the face,
 For there it is, cracked in a hundred shivers. . .
 Mark, silent king, the moral of this sport,
 How soon my sorrow hath destroyed my face.

Richard's final dramatic gesture in the deposition scene strikingly symbolizes his own disintegration.

Walter Pater, in his essay, "*Shakespeare's English Kings*" (1889) likens the

⁷ The deep irony of Richard's benison "God save King Henry . . . And send him many years of sunshine days" is heightened when one recalls Bolingbroke's first greeting to the King in the opening scene of the play: "Many years of happy days befall My gracious sovereign, my most loving liege!" (I. i. 20-21).

scene in which Richard divests himself of his crown and sceptre to "an inverted rite, a rite of degradation, a long agonising ceremony in which the order of the coronation is reversed." The imagery and ceremonial symbolism of the scene reflect this inversion.

As the dramatic deposition scene draws to a close, Richard begs leave to go. "Whither?" asks Bolingbroke, and Richard tauntingly replies, "Whither you will, so were I from your sights." On Bolingbroke's curt command: "Go, some of you convey him to the Tower", Richard is led away.⁸ With Richard's parting thrust, the imagery takes on a sardonic twist:

O, good! convey? conveyers are you all,
That *rise* thus nimble by a true king's *fall*. (IV. i. 317-318)

As Richard is led through the streets of London, we see the final meeting and parting with his Queen, who sadly awaits him on his way to "Julius Caesar's ill-erected tower". At his approach, she tenderly exclaims:

But soft, but see, or rather do not see,
My fair rose wither. . . .
. . . Thou most beauteous inn,
Why should hard-favoured grief be lodged in thee,
When triumph is become an alehouse guest? (V. i. 7 ff.)

Richard, still the absorbed spectator of his own tragedy—to borrow a phrase from John Palmer's *Political Characters of Shakespeare*—replies:

Join not with grief, fair woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden. Learn, good soul,
To think our former state a happy dream,
From which awaked, the truth of what we are
Shows us but this: I am sworn brother, sweet,
To grim Necessity, and he and I
Will keep a league till death. . . . Hie thee to France,
And cloister thee in some religious house.
Our holy lives must win a new world's *crown*,
Which our profane hours here have *thrown down*.

The Queen retorts:

What, is my Richard both in shape and mind
Transformed and weak'ned? hath Bolingbroke *deposed*
Thine intellect?

Northumberland appears on the scene. "My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke is chang'd", he tells Richard, "You must to Pomfret, not unto the Tower." Richard, addressing himself to Northumberland, uses yet another vivid metaphor to point the imagery, not merely of the mounting Bolingbroke, but of Northumberland, the means whereby Bolingbroke ascends the throne:

Northumberland, thou *ladder* wherewithal
The mounting Bolingbroke *ascends* my throne,
The time shall not be many hours of age

⁸Is this perhaps an unconscious echo of Gaunt's dying words: "Convey me to my bed, then to my grave" (II. i. 137)?

More than it is, ere foul sin *gathering head*
Shall break into corruption. (V. i. 55 ff.)

Northumberland is unmoved. "My guilt be on my head, and there an end. Take leave and part, for you must part forthwith." The Queen pleads with Northumberland: "Banish us both and send the king with me." "That were some love, but little policy—" is Northumberland's curt retort.

In the subsequent play of 2 *Henry IV*, Richard's prophetic admonition is recalled by Bolingbroke, now King Henry IV:

. . . . But which of you was by—
You, cousin Nevil, as I may remember—
When Richard, with his eye brimful of tears,
Then checked and rated by Northumberland,
Did speak these words, now prov'd a prophecy?
'Northumberland, thou *ladder* by the which
My cousin Bolingbroke *ascends* my throne'
(Though then, God knows, I had no such intent,
But that necessity so *bou'd* the state,
That I and greatness were compell'd to kiss):
'The time shall come', thus did he follow it,
'The time will come, that foul sin, *gathering head*,
Shall break into corruption': so went on,
Foretelling this same time's condition,
And the division of our amity. (III. i. 65 ff.)

We finally see Richard, in solitude, in the dungeon of Pomfret Castle. His poignant soliloquy, "studying how he may compare the prison where he lives unto the world", is interrupted by the entry of his former Groom. Even in this brief interlude, which momentarily seems to bring the light of the outside world into the gloom of the dungeon, the imagery of rise and fall, now charged with pathos, recurs. The Groom recounts how it yearned his heart when he beheld, in London streets, on coronation day, Bolingbroke mounted on "roan Barbary", Richard's fiery steed. "Rode he on Barbary?" asked Richard; "Tell me, gentle friend", he asks pathetically, "How went he under him?" And the Groom replies, "So proudly as if he disdained the ground", and Richard exclaims:

So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back. . . .
Would he not *stumble*? Would he not *fall down*,
Since pride must have a *fall*, and break the neck,
Of that *proud* man that did *usurp* his back?
Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee,
Since thou, created to be awed by man,
Was born to *bear*? I was not made a horse,
And yet I *bear* a *burthen* like an ass,
Spurred, galled and tired by *jauncing* Bolingbroke. (V. v. 84 ff.)

The tragedy draws to a close. The Groom departs and Richard's Keeper brings in his food. "Taste of it first", bids Richard, "as thou art wont to do." The Keeper declines: "My lord, I dare not. Sir Pierce of Exton commands the contrary." Striking his Keeper, Richard exclaims: "The devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee! Patience is stale, and I am weary of it."

Exton and his men, who have come to rid Bolingbroke of his "living fear", rush in. Richard is struck down. In his dying words, Richard gives expression to a final image, that of his own apotheosis:

*Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high,
Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die.* (V. v. 111-112).⁹

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⁹ In the letter previously referred to (see Note 6), Neville Coghill adds the following interesting footnote:

When John Gielgud produced *Richard II* for the O.U.D.S. in the late twenties (I think), he had a permanent set designed by Motley with a great staircase on the audience's left. In the last (prison) scene but one, this was in darkness and Richard was in a small circle of light (a spotlight) like the face of a clock, going round and round, downstage on the audience's right. All the rest was in semi darkness. The jailer and later Exton's men came out of the darkness into the ring of light, and Richard, after a *terrific* fight, killed them all. He then pounced on the dead jailer, tore the keys off his belt, and rushed off into the darkness across the stage. One could just see him *mounting up the stairs*. I nearly stood up in excitement, "My God, he's going to get away!" I thought and the tears rushed to my eyes. And as he reached the top of the steps, Exton stood out of the shadows and struck once. And Richard fell with a cry, *fell down, down, down* to the very bottom of the stairs. It was one of the finest "producer's touches" I ever saw, and shows how the greatest genius in English theatre acted upon an intuition which is fully supported by your thesis.

A Note on Banquo

S. NAGARAJAN



HE emphasis that the study of Shakespearian characterization once used to receive has almost disappeared. Indeed, anyone who now talks of Shakespearian characterization draws the suspicion of being little more than a mere surviving Bradleyite, and Bradleyism, till recently, was the very essence of reaction. But of late there have not been lacking a few independent voices bravely harking back, though, of course, with a difference, to Bradley's approach. Such for instance are Prof. Charlton and Mr. J. I. M. Stewart. Prof. Knights, who was one of the "rebels" against Bradley has himself freely acknowledged that if he were writing *How Many Children had Lady Macbeth* today he would make far more allowance for the extraordinary variety of Shakespeare's tragedies and that he would not write as though there were only one "right" approach to each and all of them. Knights's admission indicates, I believe, the end of the reaction against Bradley. To deplore the reaction entirely, as sometimes "a devout Bradleyite" is tempted to do, is to be ungrateful to the solid contribution to our reading of Shakespeare that the "new critics" made. One type of interpretative excess, at least, has disappeared, and there is a greater awareness of Shakespeare's use of the arts of language. We are now insured against Bradley's tendency to lift Shakespearian characters out of the dramatic context where they realize their being and meaning. Having said this, we are free to acknowledge the essential soundness of Bradley's approach. We can now declare without danger of misinterpretation that a Shakespearian play is more a poetic drama than a dramatic poem, letting the emphasis fall on the final product, the drama of the play, and treating the poetry as a means to an end. The end of a Shakespearian play often escapes the simplifying process of verbal definition. To describe it as the communication of a certain emotional experience is really not very helpful; what matters is the *nature* of that experience, and I do not believe that that can be defined without some damage to its complexity and subtlety.

Anyway, Bradley's study of Shakespeare's characters included an attention to the poetry of his plays; that is obvious from his penetrating discussion of the characters. Bradley was able to win such an insight into the motivation of the characters surely because he responded fully to the language of Shakespeare. His approach was partial; of course, it was bound to be, since in a study of Shakespearian tragedy, it is not possible to give equal attention to all the aspects of Shakespearian tragedy. Are we sure, even now, that we have discovered all the facets? The question, therefore, is rather whether a particular critic, whatever

aspect of Shakespeare he has selected, has succeeded in communicating the richness of his subject. The aspect studied must be, naturally, of some fundamental importance. To deny this kind of importance to Shakespearian characterization in order to exalt language or imagery is frivolous today when the objective of the Great Rebellion Against Bradley has been gained. A character is not devoid of existence independent of the words of the play; for when all their speeches and even some of their dramatic situations have been forgotten, a certain impression of Macbeth or Lear or Antony lives on in our memory. Indeed, it is a measure of the dramatist's success that he can penetrate to that part of the mind where the memory is situated. I have therefore in what follows tried to adopt Bradley's approach and attempted a minor explanation of the character of Banquo. I have written rather elaborately on Bradley so that if I am found disagreeing reluctantly with that great critic, I should not like to be accused of Bradley-phobia.

The crux of Banquo's character is his inaction after Duncan's murder.

Before the murder he is determined to lose no honour in seeking to augment it; and after the murder with suspicion of Macbeth in his mind, he declares:

In the great hand of God I stand; and thence
Against the undivulg'd pretence I fight
Of treasonous malice.

Yet at the beginning of the third act we find that he has done nothing to implement his vow and Bradley argues that: "He alone of the lords knew of the prophecies but he has said nothing of them. He has acquiesced in Macbeth's accession and in the official theory that Duncan's sons had suborned the chamberlains to murder him."¹

It is this crux that I wish to examine here.

Prof. Muir says that King James had no legitimate reason to complain of the portrait of Banquo who in the *Chronicles* was Macbeth's accomplice. May we not conclude, therefore, that if Shakespeare, in spite of this, does not make Banquo an accomplice, it is surely because the dramatic purpose does not require it. Before we seek worldly considerations to explain the alterations from his sources that Shakespeare makes, I submit that we should first try to discover the dramatic propriety of such alterations; only if such justification cannot be found within the context of the play itself should licences be freely issued for the import of theories, however exotic. The need to satisfy a patron is generally squared with the need to write a good play; for if it is a poor play, a patron is not likely to be satisfied and then the alterations, however unctuous, do not matter much.

Bradley himself recognizes that the dramatic function of Banquo's character is to serve as a contrast to Macbeth. My complaint is that he does not persevere with this conception of Banquo's character. "... It seems to be supposed that this contrast must be continued to his death; while, in reality, though it is never removed, it is gradually diminished." It is this conclusion that I wish to examine here.

¹ Kenneth Muir, *New Arden ed.*, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

Dr. Dover Wilson has already criticized Bradley's interpretation as "Bradley at his weakest". To salvage Banquo's character, Wilson proposed his theory of an earlier *Macbeth*. Kenneth Muir dismisses the theory of "a cut" as too convenient to be convincing. Muir examines the character of Banquo and, after bringing in King James's theories of kingship and loyalty, ends, however, in puzzlement.

If we forget that Shakespeare is at pains to make Banquo a dramatic contrast, all kinds of irrelevant doubts and botherations about what the Jacobean believed or did not believe of rebellion, arise. I may be permitted, therefore, to recapitulate the extent and closeness of the parallelism developed between Banquo and Macbeth. Whereas Macbeth betrays his fundamental affinity with the witches by echoing their Foul is fair and Fair is foul, Banquo doubts the very existence of these creatures of evil (I. iii. 39-47, Muir's edition). After listening to their greeting, Banquo is still skeptical (ll. 52-54). The witches speak to Banquo only when he insists on it, for they recognize in him an alien to evil. Again, whereas Macbeth requests them to speak more—he has no doubt that they are real and can look into the future—Banquo harshly bids them:

If you can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow and which will not,
Speak then to me who neither beg nor fear
Your favours nor your fate.

After listening to them, Banquo's skeptical comment is:

The earth hath bubbles, as the water has
And these are of them.

And:

Were such things here, as we speak about,
Or have we eaten on the insane root,
That takes the reason prisoner?

When he hears that Macbeth has been made Thane of Cawdor, his startled question is "Can the Devil speak true?" Again, when Macbeth asks him whether he does not hope his children shall be kings, Banquo's reply is:

But 'tis strange
And oftentimes to win us to our harm,
The instruments of Darkness tell us truths;
Win us with honest trifles, to betray's
In deepest consequence.

Banquo never gives up his doubt, hesitation, and steady refusal to surrender to evil. Even when the truth of the witches' prophecy is overwhelming, he has the clear-sightedness to perceive that Macbeth played most foully for it. Banquo murmurs to himself, deeply troubled by the doubt and question that are such prominent features of the play:

. . . If there come truth from them
(As upon thee, Macbeth, their speeches shine)
Why, by the verities on thee made good,
May they not be my oracles as well,
And set me up in hope?

He merely wonders if he may not hope; he is not prepared even, in theory, to play most foully for it.

My object in citing all this rather obvious evidence is to emphasize that Shakespeare is anxious to prove that the fundamental difference between Macbeth and Banquo consists in their attitudes toward evil; Banquo never believes wholeheartedly in the existence of evil, and when he is troubled by temptation in the form of the cursed thoughts that nature gives way to in repose, he prays devoutly to the merciful Powers for protection. If Shakespeare had made Banquo completely devoid of the temptations to which Macbeth falls a prey, the contrast would not have been quite effective. On the contrary, Macbeth not only readily responds to evil with sympathy but when assailed by temptation, *his* prayer is:

Stars, hide your fires!
Let not Light see my black and deep desires.

In Act II, Shakespeare has continued the contrast between the frankness and directness of Banquo's

I dreamt last night of the three Weird Sisters:
To you they have showed some truth

and Macbeth's "I think not of them." Again, the honesty of Banquo is reiterated in his reply to Macbeth's

If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis
It shall make honour for you.

For Banquo, as Bradley rightly interpreted, senses a treasonable proposal. Malcolm has just been made Prince of Cumberland and Macbeth has hardly any chance of becoming King except in the way he became Thane of Cawdor—by the violent death of the incumbent.

Bradley has noted the silence of Banquo, after hearing of Duncan's murder; for forty lines Banquo stands still. For he is deep in thought; the words of his conversation with Macbeth now assume a strange signification. At last, addressing ostensibly the company in general, but one man in particular, he invites them all peremptorily to meet and question "this most bloody piece of work to know it further:

Fears and scruples shake us.
In the great hand of God I stand; and thence
Against the undivulg'd pretence I fight
Of treasonous malice.

But even after this assurance of integrity and loyalty, Malcolm and Donalbain shift away, without any dainty leave-taking. The crown naturally goes to Macbeth, since the legal claimant has repudiated his duty of claiming it. Macbeth, who ought to have been deterred by Malcolm's title as Prince of Cumberland from murdering Duncan, commits his crime, for he hoped to buy Banquo's support without which the young Prince is nowhere. But Banquo makes it publicly clear that his loyalty is not for sale, and yet Malcolm flees the land.

And so at the beginning of Act III, we have a Banquo who is at a loss what to do, since the claimant whom he is prepared to champion has abandoned the battlefield even before the battle began.

The dramatic function of Banquo's character needs to be stressed at this point. I do not believe that Shakespeare would have given up or changed the dramatic purpose without some indication, especially when we bear in mind the explicitness of his technique. Such evidence, I do not find at all. If we continue the interpretation that has been elaborately sustained for two acts, how does this crucial soliloquy at the beginning of the third act read?

Banquo now is in the same position as Macbeth was when he heard that Malcolm had been made Prince of Cumberland. Macbeth's reply to the announcement was that it was a step on which he must fall down or else overleap—a conclusion entirely different from,

If Chance will have me king, why, Chance may crown me
Without my stir.

Banquo, who in this crowning of Macbeth is similarly confronted with a step on which he must fall down or else overleap, merely wonders whether the witches, if there come truth from them, may not be his oracles as well—which is the same as "If Chance . . .!"

Therefore this speech proves not that Banquo has compromised with Evil but precisely the opposite, that he has refused to surrender. He has encountered Evil, that may come and go into the mind of man or God so unapproved and leave no spot nor blame behind, and he has conquered. Bradley's misconception of this key-speech arises from his hasty abandonment of the dramatic function of the character.

Additional support for the view I have suggested is not lacking in the dialogue that follows. Mr. Roy Walker (for the reprinting of whose book I appeal) has suggested (quoted by K. Muir) that Banquo in this dialogue is anxious to tell Macbeth nothing and get away as quickly as possible. That is the impression that I also obtain. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth realize that they must go all out to capture Banquo; indeed, Macbeth later on counsels his wife, who does not know his secret plans, to be especially attentive to Banquo. He is the chief guest at the banquet. Lady Macbeth is even more unctuous:

If he had been forgotten
It had been as a gap in our great feast
And all thing unbecoming.

Compare Macbeth's address to Banquo with Duncan's mode towards him and Macbeth's own in the past. Macbeth wants Banquo's counsel but Banquo merely listens without offering to cancel his ride. In reply to Macbeth's query Banquo curtly raps out:

As far, my Lord, as will fill up the time
'Twixt this and supper.

He goes further and hints that he may be even late for this feast that the King is giving him—though he will not fail, for the King is afraid he may not care to come at all. Further, to Macbeth's talk of bloody cousins, their cruel parricide, and their strange invention, Banquo's sole reply is that it is getting late for his ride!

Macbeth's tribute to Banquo that, to that dauntless temper of his mind, he hath a wisdom that doth guide his valor to act in safety is not entirely a product of fear-ridden imagination. Macbeth has quite understood that Banquo cannot be won over, that he must either destroy him or be destroyed by him. There can be no co-existence of good and evil. That is one of the reasons for the passionate hatred that burns in his soliloquy before he speaks to the murderers.

In conclusion, I submit that if the dramatic function of Banquo's character is consistently borne in mind, there is no need either for speculation or erudition.

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The Date of *The Comedy of Errors*

SIDNEY THOMAS



HE well-known reference in the *Gesta Grayorum* to a performance at Gray's Inn, on the night of December 28, 1594, of "a Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his *Menechmus*)",¹ is universally accepted as an allusion to Shakespeare's play. It is extremely unlikely, to say the least, that two works with the same title and the same basic plot could have been in existence at about the same time. The evidence of the *Gesta Grayorum*, therefore, indicates that Shakespeare's comedy, in more or less its present form, had been written by the end of 1594. Few, if any, scholars, however, would grant that the Gray's Inn performance was a first or even a very early production of the play. *The Comedy of Errors* has been dated anywhere from 1588 to 1593, with 1592 perhaps the most widely-supported date. The late Hazelton Spencer, in an attempt to assess the evidence, was compelled to fall back on the statement: "Sometime between 1584 and 1594 Shakespeare wrote *The Comedy of Errors*—of that only can we be certain; possibly its date falls about halfway between these limits."²

The argument for dating the play before 1594 rests entirely upon internal evidence; in fact, it is based mainly on one bit of repartee. Dromio of Syracuse, who has been finding out countries in the globular kitchen-wench, is asked by his master, "Where France?" and replies: "In her forehead; armed and reverted, making war against her heir."³

We have here an obvious allusion to the French civil war between Henri IV and the forces of the League. With the single prominent exception of Professor Peter Alexander, who interprets "heir" in a precise, legalistic manner, and therefore assumes that Shakespeare could not have written these lines after Henri had claimed possession of his throne in August 1589,⁴ all scholars believe that the civil war allusion dates the play some time before the actual conclusion of the conflict between Henri and the League. And all of them, further, take July 1593 as the end of this civil war and therefore the terminal date of *The Comedy of Errors*. Chambers declares that "the struggle of the League against [Henri IV] was ended by a truce of 19 July 1593."⁵ Similar statements have been made by such notable scholars as Spencer (p. 130), Kittredge,⁶ Gaw,⁷ and many others.

¹ *Gesta Grayorum* (Malone Society Reprints, ed. by W. W. Greg, 1914), p. 22.

² Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 130.

³ *The Comedy of Errors*, III. ii. 126.

⁴ Peter Alexander, *Shakespeare's Life and Art*, p. 68.

⁵ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, I, 310.

⁶ G. L. Kittredge (ed.), *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 133.

⁷ Allison Gaw, "The Evolution of *The Comedy of Errors*," *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 645.

In fact, on no other topical reference in the plays of Shakespeare is there such wide agreement.

There can be no doubt that the truce of July 19, 1593, marked an important stage in the development of the French civil war; we may even, with our gift of historical hindsight, see in it the beginning of the end of the great conflict between Henri IV and his opponents.⁸ To the Elizabethan, however, the truce was no more than an incident in the war, and not a particularly decisive incident either. In contemporary English accounts of the French struggle, the truce is given no more than cursory mention, and the emphasis is on its instability and lack of finality. Thus, in a long narrative of the principal events of French history, published in 1598, there is the following entry for 1594:

The king considering that his enemies, which required a prolonging of this truce, sought no other thing, then meanes to continue the Realme in miserie, resolved no longer to beare the same. . . .⁹

Somewhat later, discussing the events of the summer of 1594, the author observes:

The Spaniards being desirous to continue the fire of discention in France, instantly solicited the Duke *de Mercoeur*, one of the chiefe of the league, and an vsurper of a part of the Duchie of *Brittaine*, alwaies to continue warre. . . . Certaine troubles hapning in the meane time, broke all that was done. (Sig. 3A4^r)

Another work on the history of France, published in 1597, also characterizes the 1593 truce very clearly as a temporary thing, of no great importance:

[The Leaguers] sent their deputies to treat of a peace for three moneths, wherto the king assented in July 1593. and afterwards continued the same for two monethes more, *videlicet*, vnto the ende of the moneth of December following. . . .¹⁰

The same work supplies rather striking evidence that English interest in the French civil war was at a high pitch as late as 1597:

Their vnfortunate warres, and wofull miseries [are] the vsuall subject of all mens speach, and nothing is more lystened after, then to what ende matters of so great waight and importance are likeliest to tend. (Sig. A1^r)

These are no isolated references. It is impossible to read through the works of the period without finding one indication after another that the Elizabethans regarded the French civil war as in full swing years after the 1593 truce. Sir George More, for example, addressing England in the introductory section of a book published in 1597, states:

I doubt not therefore but thou mayest be as Rome was, or as Fraunce is embrewed in thine owne blood, wounded with thine owne hand, and torne in peeces by thine owne strength. . . .¹¹

⁸ It is worth pointing out, however, that even modern historians are wary of taking the 1593 truce as the end of the conflict. See, for example, the *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 661-664.

⁹ *An historical collection, of the most memorable accidents, and tragicall massacres of France . . . untill this present yeare*. 1598 (London, 1598), Sig. 3A1^r.

¹⁰ *The mutable and wauering estate of France* (London, 1597), Sig. N3^r.

¹¹ George More, *A demonstration of God in his workes* (London, 1597), Sig. C2^r. This introductory section is dated Feb. 1596 (D2^r).

And William Covell, in his *Polimanteia* of 1595, refers to "Fraunce, howsoeuer thou art now distracted into small peeces" (Sig. 2A4^{r-v}).

Finally, in a 1595 translation of a letter of Henri IV of the same year, the Elizabethan reader could have noted the statement:

The king of Spaine . . . hath rayseed vp and sette on fire dissentions and partes taking in the same, whereby he thought to bring the realme to vtter ruine: and yet doe the same dissentions greatly trouble the realme.¹²

Clearly, therefore, the French civil war reference in *The Comedy of Errors* would not have been outdated after July 1593; it would have been a meaningful and effective topical reference for at least several years after that time. We may go even further: at the time of the first recorded performance of the play on December 28, 1594, one of the chief topics of conversation in London, to judge from the spate of ballads which it had produced,¹³ was the attempted assassination of Henri IV by one of his subjects. It is hardly necessary to point out that for the Elizabethans a political assassination was the preeminent symbol of civil war. Far from being pointless, then, the civil war reference in *The Comedy of Errors* would have been a particularly telling hit at the end of 1594.

Nothing in this reference, therefore, makes it necessary for us to assume that the Gray's Inn performance was not the first one. If anything, it is strong evidence for the contrary assumption. There are, it is true, other bits of evidence which have been interpreted in such a way as to date the play prior to 1594. Professor J. Dover Wilson, some years ago, observed the striking similarity between Dromio of Ephesus' exclamation, "Money by me! heart and good-will you might; / But surely, master, not a rag of money",¹⁴ and the phrase "heart and good will, but neuer a ragge of money", in Thomas Nashe's *Four Letters Confuted*.¹⁵ The Nashe pamphlet was registered on January 12, 1593,¹⁶ and certainly published within a few months of that date. Shakespeare, however, was just as likely to have borrowed from Nashe as Nashe to have borrowed from Shakespeare. In fact, it is quite possible that what we have here is a popular catch-phrase of the time picked up and used by two writers independently of each other. The resemblances which have been noted between *The Comedy of Errors* and *Arden of Faversham* are so tenuous as to mean very little.¹⁷

There is, finally, Professor T. W. Baldwin's theory that the proposed execution of Aegeon in *The Comedy of Errors* was meant by Shakespeare to symbolize the execution of the young priest, William Hartley, on October 5, 1588.¹⁸ Professor Baldwin's entire theory is based upon the argument that "the melancholy vale, / The place of death and sorry execution", was intended to indicate a specific place of execution in London, that this place had been used for the hanging of two Catholic priests in 1588, and that Shakespeare therefore intended Aegeon to suggest one of the two priests. It is hardly necessary to say that this

¹² *The copie of a letter sent by the French King to the people of Artoys and Henault* (London, 1595), Sig. B2^r.

¹³ E. Arber, *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, II, 668.

¹⁴ *The Comedy of Errors*, IV. iv. 88-89.

¹⁵ Thomas Nashe, *Works* (ed. by R. B. McKerrow), I, 301.

¹⁶ Arber, II, 624.

¹⁷ See Chambers, I, 310-311.

¹⁸ T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare Adapts a Hanging*.

theory, ingenious as it is, is based upon pure conjecture, and that there is not a shred of evidence to support it. The nature of Professor Baldwin's reasoning may be exemplified by the paragraph in which he argues that "the place of . . . execution" was meant to recall to the audience at a presumed performance at the Curtain Theatre, an actual place of execution near the theatre:

In this play, Shakespeare is rigidly obeying the unities. Surely the idea of unity of place has suggested to him not only unity of place, but even localization of the place of action to the neighborhood of the place of acting. (P. 9)

If we abandon the preconceived notion that *The Comedy of Errors* must necessarily have been written before 1594, then it will be seen that everything is in favor of the assumption that the Gray's Inn performance was the first one. There is, first of all, the circumstance of the performance itself. These famous revels were extraordinarily elaborate; they had been at least several months in preparation; and they were presented before an audience of the most literate intellectuals in London, many of whom were inveterate play-goers. It is hardly likely that the play chosen for presentation during the course of these revels should have been an old one, familiar to at least a considerable section of the audience.

But there is more than probability to go upon. *The Comedy of Errors*, as is well known, is the shortest play in the canon, only 1777 lines long. It is, moreover, a play which was obviously constructed for performance on a limited stage; there are no scenes for an inner stage, and all the action seems to be set in the same place. The brevity of the play and the limitations of staging are precisely what we would expect in a play written for performance at the Gray's Inn Revels.¹⁹ It is, of course, possible to explain away these features of the play by assuming that the surviving text represents a version of the work cut down for provincial performance. In any such cut text, however, we would expect loose ends and clumsy transitions, sudden breaks, and strange ellipses of a sort which are conspicuously absent from *The Comedy of Errors*. If this play, as we have it, with its complex but always coherent plot, its doubling and redoubling of mistaken identities, is an abridged form of a longer and differently staged play, then it is certainly a miracle of adaptation. It is much simpler and infinitely more plausible to assume that the play was written by Shakespeare in its surviving form; and it is difficult to see how so short a play, so rigorously confined in setting, could have been written for other than a private performance, such as that at Gray's Inn.²⁰

It is also worth remarking that *The Comedy of Errors* contains perhaps a greater number of legal terms than any of Shakespeare's other plays. These terms and references were first noted almost fifty years ago by Henry Cunningham in his edition of the play.²¹ It is unnecessary, therefore, to catalogue them once again; but it is important to point out, as neither Cunningham nor any

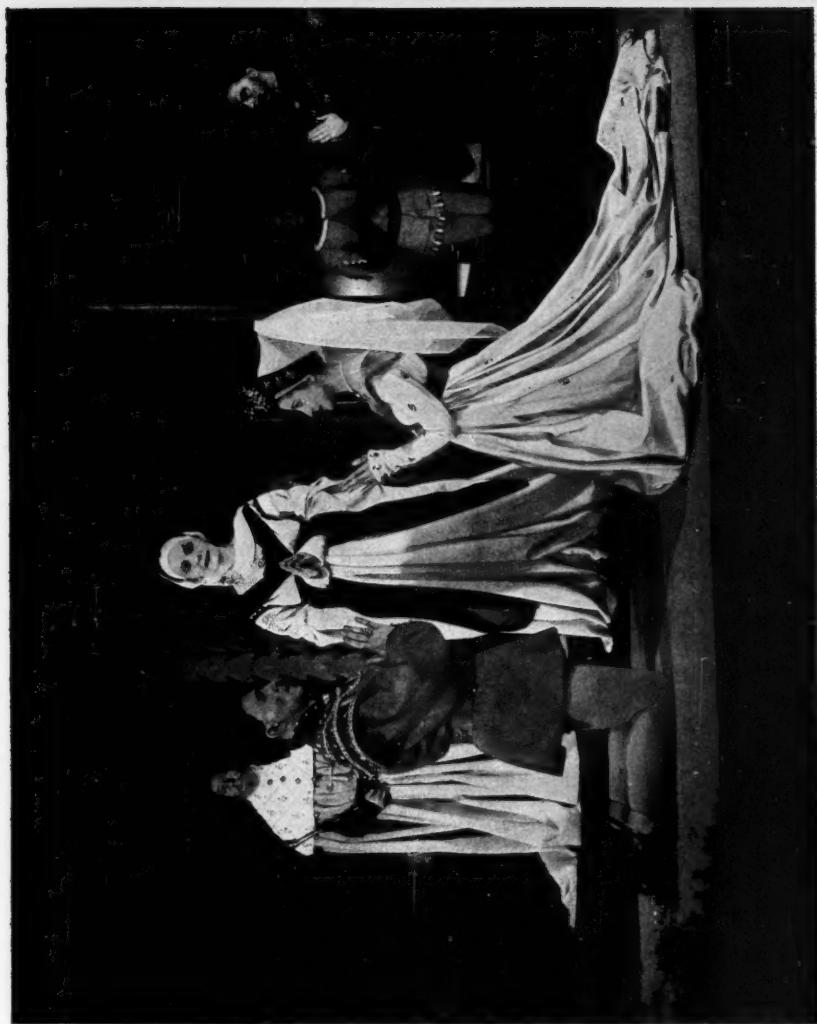
¹⁹ It is interesting to note that a performance of *The Comedy of Errors* by the Elizabethan Stage Society in Gray's Inn Hall, on December 7, 1895, impressed Bernard Shaw as remarkably effective. See his *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, I, 274.

²⁰ R. C. Bald, "Macbeth and the 'Short Plays'", *RES*, IV (1928), 429-431, instances *The Comedy of Errors* as one of a definite class of short plays, given at private performances.

²¹ Introduction to the English Arden Edition.



American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy Production of *Measure for Measure* at Stratford, Connecticut. Prison scene, with Arnold Moss as the disguised Duke, John Houseman, director, Photo by Eileen Darby—Graphic House, New York City.



Stratford Shakespearean Festival in Ontario, Canada, directed by Michael Langham; costumes designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. Scene from *Henry V*, with Gratien Gelinas as Charles VI, Christopher Plummer as Henry V, Eleanor Stuart as Queen Isobel, and Ginette Letondal as Katherine. Photo by Herb Nott, Toronto.

subsequent editor seems to have done, that the abundance of legal terminology in the play has obvious significance in connection with the Gray's Inn performance. It is undoubtedly true that a number of Shakespeare's plays not written primarily for a legal audience employ the phrases of the law. But in no other play are the legal quibbles and puns, the technical and learned jargon of the courts, so densely woven into the dialogue; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Shakespeare was here writing for an assembly of lawyers.

The classical source of the play is also an argument in favor of the assumption that it was written for the Gray's Inn Revels. In no other play of his does Shakespeare so closely and deliberately imitate a Latin drama. To Professor Alexander²² and others, the paraphrase of Plautus is what we should expect in a first work by a country schoolmaster, cautiously trying his hand at dramatic composition. That Shakespeare could have begun his career with so skillful and adroit a piece of dramatic construction is incredible: this is no slavish copying of Plautus, such as we would expect of a dramatic tyro; it is a self-confident and successful attempt to outdo Plautine farce in complexity and swiftness of intrigue. Much of the fun in *The Comedy of Errors*, as the *Gesta Grayorum* reference indicates, lies in the way it deliberately challenges comparison with Plautus. No audience could so well savor this kind of virtuosity as the group gathered at Gray's Inn on December 28, 1594. Certainly, it would have been mainly lost on a popular audience, particularly a provincial one.

In conceiving the idea of a play based on the *Menaechmi*, Shakespeare may have been stimulated by William Warner's English translation of Plautus' play. There are, as is generally recognized, certain verbal similarities between *The Comedy of Errors* and the Warner translation,²³ which make it seem likely that Shakespeare had seen the latter work before writing his own play. However, the first known edition of Warner's translation is dated 1595, so that those who argue for a relationship between the two works have been compelled to assume that Shakespeare saw Warner's translation in manuscript, a convenient but somewhat dubious supposition. But it is not at all improbable that Warner's work was in print by June 10, 1594. On that date, it was entered in the Stationers' Registers as follows: "... a booke entituled menachmi, beinge A pleasant and fine Conceyted Comedye taken out of the moste excellent wittie Poett. Plautus chosen purposely from out the reste as leaste harmefull and yet moste delighfull."²⁴ Compare this entry with the title-page of the 1595 edition: "MENAECMI. / A pleasant and fine Con- / ceited Comaedic, taken out of the most ex- / cellent wittie Poet Plautus: / Chosen purposely from out the rest, as least harmefull, and / yet most delighfull. / . . ."²⁵

This word-for-word identity between the long S.R. entry and the 1595 title-page, suggests the probability that the 1594 S.R. entry was transcribed directly from the title-page of an edition earlier than the surviving one of 1595. This, at least, is the conclusion we should reach if we accept the dictum of G. B. Harrison: "I suggest . . . that when a 'long-tailed title' is accurately transcribed in the

²² Peter Alexander, p. 68.

²³ See Chambers, I, 311.

²⁴ W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, I, 11.

²⁵ Greg, I, 220-221.

Register, then the entry was made from a *printed copy*.²⁶ If we do accept the possibility that Warner's translation was in print by June 1594, then the argument for a late 1594 date for the writing of *The Comedy of Errors* is further strengthened.

Shakespeare's play draws also upon other sources than Plautus. The idea for the framework plot seems to have come from the Apollonius of Tyre story, which Shakespeare later used in *Pericles*; and one of his sources for the Apollonius story was probably Laurence Twine's *Patterne of painefull Aduentures*. Of this work, entered in the S.R. as early as 1576 and presumably published then, the earliest surviving edition is an undated one, printed by Valentine Simmes for the Widow Newman (S.T.C. 709). Thomas Newman published from 1587 to 1593, and his widow seems to have been active as a publisher only in 1594.²⁷ Moreover, the 1594 edition of Barnabe Rich's *Farewell to Militarie Profession* printed by Simmes²⁸ uses exactly the same title-page border and the same initial-letter ornament, in virtually the same state, as does Simmes's printing of Twine's work. It seems certain, then, that the undated edition of Twine appeared in 1594. If Shakespeare drew some hints from it for *The Comedy of Errors*, then we have another bit of evidence pointing to a 1594 date for the play.

There is still another fact, slight and inconclusive in itself, which points to the latter part of 1594 as the date of Shakespeare's work. The name Dromio almost undoubtedly comes from Lyly's *Mother Bombe*. This play was probably produced around 1589, and Shakespeare could have seen it then and could have used the name Dromio at any time after that. The play was first published, however, in 1594; its S.R. entry is dated June 18, 1594,²⁹ and presumably it was issued on or about that date.

All of the arguments for December 28, 1594, as the first night of *The Comedy of Errors* would have little meaning if the play itself were, as has frequently been asserted, so immature and crude as to make so relatively late a date impossible. To read this play without preconceived notions, above all to see it on the stage, is to discover that this is far from being apprentice work. The remarkably able and ingenious handling of the farcical complications of the plot has already been commented on; and many critics have recognized that no beginner in playwrighting could have constructed this comedy.³⁰ The objections to the play have been mainly on grounds of poetic style: the uninspired verse, the rhythmic monotony, the heavy use of rhyme, above all, the lapses into doggerel.

No one could maintain that *The Comedy of Errors* is a first-rate poetic achievement. After all, its dominant mood is that of farce, and a consistently lyric or impassioned style would be completely inappropriate. The very doggerel for which the play has been criticized could very well, as Chambers has said, be the result of Shakespeare's "consciously experimenting with an archaistic form for comic effect" (I, 308). The language of the play is throughout admirably suited to its purpose. The prose dialogue in III. ii, between Antipholus

²⁶ G. B. Harrison, "Books and Readers, 1591-4", *The Library*, 4th Series, VIII (December 1927), 278.

²⁷ The S.T.C. gives a conjectural date of 1594 to this edition.

²⁸ This is not listed in the S.T.C. I have used the Folger copy.

²⁹ Greg, I, 11.

³⁰ See, for example, R. A. Law, "Shakespeare's Earliest Plays", *Royster Memorial Studies*, p. 102.

and Dromio of Syracuse concerning the kitchen wench has a comic gusto and robustness that need no apology.

And it must be added that the lyric poetry in the play is far better than it has been made out to be. Consider such a passage as the following:

Against my soul's pure truth why labour you
To make it wander in an unknown field?
Are you a god? would you create me new?
Transform me, then, and to your power I'll yield.
But if that I am I, then well I know
Your weeping sister is no wife of mine,
Nor to her bed no homage do I owe:
Far more, far more to you do I decline.
O, train me not, sweet mermaid, with thy note,
To drown me, in thy sister's flood of tears:
Sing, siren, for thyself, and I will dote:
Spread o'er the silver waves thy golden hairs,
And as a bed I'll take them, and there lie;
And, in that glorious supposition, think
He gains by death that hath such means to die:
Let Love, being light, be drowned if she sink! (III. ii. 37-52)

This lacks the originality and mastery of the best lyric verse of Shakespeare's middle period; but it is of a piece with the verse of such works of 1593 and 1594 as *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*.⁸¹ Further, Shakespeare has already achieved in this play a command of blank verse that can produce such lines as the outcry of Antipholus of Ephesus:

Justice, most gracious Duke, O, grant me justice!
Even for the service that long since I did thee,
When I bestrid thee in the wars, and took
Deep scars to save thy life; even for the blood
That then I lost for thee, now grant me justice. (V. i. 190-194)

While not yet a fully formed style, this is equally far from "the stylistic poverty" which Spencer speaks of as characteristic of *The Comedy of Errors* (p. 135).

Finally, within the play itself, there is an interesting link with *Romeo and Juliet*, a play which is generally dated in 1595. Each play introduces, for a brief spot appearance, a character who plays a relatively minor role, but whose part is obviously built up to call attention to the grotesque thinness of the actor playing the role. This is the description of Pinch in *The Comedy of Errors*:

... Along with them
They brought one Pinch, a hungry lean-faced villain,
A mere anatomy, a mountebank,
A threadbare juggler, and a fortune-teller,
A needy, hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch,
A living dead man: that pernicious slave,
Forsooth, took on him as a conjurer;
And, gazing in mine eyes, feeling my pulse,

⁸¹ See the New Variorum edition of the *Poems*, edited by Hyder E. Rollins, for numerous parallels between *Venus and Adonis* and *The Comedy of Errors*.

And with no face, as 'twere, outfacing me,
Cries out, I was possess'd. . . . (V. i. 236-245)

Compare these lines with Romeo's words:

I do remember an apothecary,
And hereabouts a' dwells, which late I noted
In tatter'd weeds, with overwhelming brows,
Culling of simples; meagre were his looks:
Sharp misery had worn him to the bones. . . .
Art thou so bare and full of wretchedness,
And fear'st to die? famine is in thy cheeks,
Need and oppression starveth in thy eyes,
Contempt and beggary hangs upon thy back. . . .
Farewell: buy food, and get thyself in flesh. (V. i. 37-41; 68-71; 84)

It is only a guess to say that, the living skeleton bit having gone over well in the one play, Shakespeare and his company decided to use it again in the other play. But some such guess seems warranted by the similarity of the two characters and the way in which they are used.³²

In summary, it can now be said that there is nothing in the play itself or in what we know about the circumstances of its production to make impossible or unlikely the acceptance of December 28, 1594, as the date of its first performance. Until we have something better to go on, I would suggest that this date offers as firm a basis as any we possess on which to erect a reliable chronology of Shakespeare's plays.

New York City

³² Allison Gaw, in his article on "John Sincklo As One of Shakespeare's Actors", *Anglia*, N.F. XXXVII (1925), 289-303, argues that Sincklo was the actor who played the part of the Apothecary, since he is identified in the 1600 Quarto of *2 Henry IV* as the actor who plays an extremely thin officer. He also suggests him for Starveling in *MND*.

The Original Music of a Song in 2 *Henry IV*

JOHN P. CUTTS



HEN so very little original music for Shakespeare's earlier¹ plays is extant, considerable interest must be attached to the discovery of the melody of a song, part of which is sung by Silence in 2 *Henry IV* in the drinking scene in the orchard behind Justice Shallow's house.

Silence sings almost continually during the first part of the scene before the entry of Pistol from the Court returns the drunken revellers to a more sober realization of the affairs of the world. His singing is for the most part an extempore adaptation of well known songs, and it is with the last example of these that we are now concerned. At the climax of the drinking scene Silence dubs Falstaff a knight of Bacchus in words which are meant to recall a familiar song of the day—

Falstaff. Why, now you have done me right.

Silence. (sings). Do me right,

And dub me knight,

Samingo.²

The discovery of the melody of the song "Monser Myngo", of which these lines by Silence constitute the refrain, makes it possible to utilise the inner parts, which have long lain in the Bodleian Library untouched as music, though they have elicited interesting literary references, and to construct the four-part setting in full,³ thus providing splendid incidental music for 2 *Henry IV*.

G. E. P. Arkwright⁴ drew attention to the existence of the song in a set of Bodleian Music books from which he printed the last lines for the sake of the gloss on SAMINGO. Miss Eleanor Brougham⁵ printed the whole text of the

¹ Music is extant for the later plays, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest* by Robert Johnson, King's Musician, who seems to have been a composer for the King's Men c.1609-1617. (Cf. Cutts, John P., "Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment", *Music & Letters*, XXXVI (April 1955), 110-125.

² Cf. Wilson, John D., ed., 2 *Henry IV* (New Cambridge, 1946), p. 106, V. iii. 73-77.

³ The information given by Shaaber, M. A., ed., 2 *Henry IV* (New Variorum, 1940), p. 424, that "a setting in four parts" is extant in "MS Mus. School f.18 in the Bodleian", is inaccurate. Only three parts of what is intended as a four-part song are extant in the Bodleian, namely Altus, Tenor and Bassus.

⁴ Cf. Arkwright, G.E.P., "2 *Henry IV*. V. iii. 79: SAMINGO", *Notes & Queries*, VII (March 16 1895), 203.

⁵ Cf. Brougham, Eleanor, *Corn from Olde Fieldes* (London, 1918), pp. 279-280. Miss Brougham's reference to the MS is incorrect. The correct designation is MSS f.17-19 (Altus, Tenor and Bassus parts).

song from "MS. Mus. School f.18, Bodleian Library, Oxford", with the note that "This is an English translation of a song by Orlando di Lasso, in 'Songs of 3, 4, and 5 parts, English and Latten. Composed by severall Authors. Newly collected and finished and sowne together in the yeres 1655 and 1656'". In 1921 James Walter Brown,⁶ commenting on Miss Brougham's printing of the song, drew attention to a MS by "Thomas Smith Jan : 8 : An : 1637" in his personal possession, which contained on page 20 a slightly different version of the song. Brown had earlier⁷ described the MS in a little more detail, from which the significant fact emerges that Bishop Smith's MS, as it came into Brown's possession, constituted only the *Altus* and *Bassus* parts. Thus musically we were no nearer to having the full score of the song, though textually further light was thrown on the problem of glossing SAMINGO.

Brown's article closed with the promise to give the MS (whether as a gift during his lifetime or as a bequest he does not say) to the Bodleian. Mr. Hunt, the Keeper of the Western MSS in the Bodleian Library, has kindly assisted me in my search for the MS there, but he, likewise, was unsuccessful and formally states that the MS is *not* in the Bodleian Library.

Brown still held the manuscript in his possession ten years later when Peter Warlock⁸ was granted permission to quote two of the poems from transcripts sent to him by Brown. There was just a chance that Brown had decided to entrust the manuscript into the keeping of Queen's College Library, Oxford, since its author Thomas Smith had been fellow and tutor there, but the present library authorities⁹ assure me that they do not hold the manuscript. The discovery of Bishop Smith's manuscript,¹⁰ though contributing little to our corpus of early seventeenth-century secular music, would afford valuable information on textual criticism of seventeenth-century lyrics, since some of its contents Brown mentions only by first lines were play songs, texts of which were not printed until 1647 and later.

The melody of the song "Monser Myngo" occurs in an early seventeenth-century manuscript of "Pastoral Ballads etc", which once formed part of the MSS of the Advocates Library and is now to be consulted in the National Library of Scotland under the designation Adv. MS 5.2.14. The manuscript was rescued by John Leydene¹¹ from the sale of the library of the Revd. Mr. Cranston, Minister of Amriam in the Presbytery of Jedburgh, and consigned to Mr. Heber at Edinburgh on March 5, 1800. The manuscript contains thirty-seven secular songs¹² written out in the Treble alone, of which "Monser

⁶ Cf. Brown, James Walter, "Some Elizabethan Lyrics", *Cornhill*, LI (1921), 285-296.

⁷ Cf. Brown, James Walter, "An Elizabethan Song-Cycle", *Cornhill*, XLVIII (1920), 572-579.

⁸ Cf. Warlock, Peter, *Giles Earle His Booke* (London, 1932), p. 120. Warlock describes the song "Sleep, sleep, though grief torment thy body, sleep" as also to be found "in the song-book of Thomas Smith, fellow and tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, which is dated 1637. The *altus* and *bassus* part-books of this collection of songs for three, four and five voices, formerly in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, are now in the possession of Mr. James Walter Brown, to whom the present editor is greatly indebted for his kindness in providing two transcripts of two of the poems they contain, and for permission to quote them."

⁹ Private letter.

¹⁰ I should be very grateful for information of its present whereabouts.

¹¹ "I drew it from a heap of loose papers, in the room where they were deposited and seeming to value it as a curiosity received it as a present from one of the executors, who told me he supposed it had belonged formerly to some schoolmaster in the Border". Written on the fly leaf of the MS.

¹² These include Morley's "It was a lover and his lasse", ff.18, 18"; and Jones's "Fairwell deire love, since thou wilt needs be gon", f.8, songs also associated with Shakespeare's plays.

Myngo" is the last. This version in Adv. 5.2.14 antedates both manuscript versions hitherto described by a good many years, since the manuscript as a whole has been cautiously dated 1625.

One or two interesting textual variants are afforded, but the main consideration must be that here we have for the first time the melody which can be assembled with the three other parts extant in the Bodleian Library to provide the complete four-part setting.

The setting catches something of the very swagger of the boisterous drinkers. There seems to be a steady progression from the sobriety of the opening bars with their staid movement to the rollicking rhythm¹³ of the final refrain "god bacchus do me right / and doub me Knight / doe mingoe" sung in the play. I see no reason why Silence should not hum parts of the song previous to his actually singing the refrain. The whole four-part setting, "apt for voices and violls", would provide splendid incidental music for the play's drinking scene and before and after the curtain, since it is so thoroughly within character and period. In default, too, of incidental music for the drinking scene in *Twelfth Night*, I suggest that this music might be used. The relation between Falstaff and Silence and between Sir Toby and the Fool is sufficiently similar to warrant this. The music, of course, would have even greater appropriateness in any production of Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*,¹⁴ for the whole scene of the merrymaking begins, centers around, and concludes with the song and its dramatic action.

The following is the text of the song in Adv. MS. 5.2.14, f. 25^v., collated,¹⁵

¹³ This is suggested by the repeated alternation from E flat to D.

¹⁴ Cf. McKerrow, R. B., *The Works of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1905), III, 264.

*Enter Bacchus riding vpon an Asse trapt in luie, himselfe
drest in Vine leaues, and a garland of grapes on his head:
his companions hauing all lackes in their hands, and luie
garlands on their heads; they come in singing.*

The Song.

*Mounsieur Mingo for quaffing doth surpasse,
In Cuppe, in Canne, or glasse.
God Bacchus, doe mee right,
And dubbe mee knight Domingo*

*Here Will Sumer drinks, & they sing about him Bacchus
begins.*

*All. Mounsieur Mingo for quaffing did surpasse,
In Cup, in Can, or glasse*

*All. God Bacchus doe him right,
And dubbe him knight.
Will Summer is duly dubbed and bidden—
Rise vp, Sir Robert Tospot*

and at line 1115 the Bacchus episode is brought to an end as it began with the singing of Mounsieur Mingo.

¹⁵ Apart from spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, for which there was no consistent rule. The collation is made more difficult by the random lining of the song by both previous editors. It will be seen from the above printing that the song resolves itself into five sections: A 1-7, aaabbbb; B 8-14, a(a)abbc(c); C 15-18, aaab; D 19-25, aaabbbb; E 26-28, aab, of which sections A and D are alike. It is possible, I suppose, to divide the song text otherwise, but the division here outlined is that indicated by the music.

where possible, with those printed by Miss Brougham from the Bodleian MSS and Mr. Brown from Bishop Smith's MS.

Monser myngo for quaifing does passe	
ane cup cress can or glasse	
in seller never was,	
his fellow found	
to drink profound,	5
by task and turne so round	
to quaife corās so sound	
and that beir so fresh a braine	
¹⁶ (fresh a braine)	
¹⁷ sains staint or staine	10
or foyll requyll or quarrell	
bot to the beir & barrell	
q ^{k18} he wirks to wine his name,	
¹⁶ (q ^{k18} he wirks to wine his name,)	15
& stout does stand	
in Bacchus band	
wt pott in hand	
to purchase fame,	
q ^{k18} he calls wt cup and can	
come try my couradge man to man,	20
and let him óquer me that can,	
& spair not	
I cair not,	
whose hands can have the pott	
no fear falls to my lott.	25.
god bacchus doe me right	
and doub me Knight	
doe mingoe.	

2 In cup B(rougham) & JWB(rowne); 6 by tap JWB; 7 to drinke JWB; 8 And yet B: And doth JWB; 9 omitted B & JWB; 11 refoile B (a silent emendation); 12 ye good Beare Barrell JWB; 15 doth B & JWB; 17 a pott JWB; 19 for he B: Hee calls "Come off for shame" JWB; 20 And try my cunning JWB; 22/3 I care not, Nor spare not JWB; 24 while B: whilst JWB; 28 Domingo¹⁹ B: Don Mingo JWB.

Arkwright suggested that the words were written to fit the music because in his opinion they read far from smoothly. His real quarrel, I feel, is with the verbal text which is far from smooth, though not devoid of structural pattern.

¹⁶ These repeats are probably due to musician's licence.

¹⁷ The MS reading is strange here, preserving in bars 19 and 20 "n" underneath G, G (crotchets) and F sharp (minim), and "hath" under G (minim) bar 20. An obvious reading of "nor hath" does not make sense here in context. I have emended on the strength of the two other extant versions.

¹⁸ The interlined letter is far from clearly written in the MS.; "h" or "k" seems intended.

¹⁹ I wonder if a reference to the West Indies is at all possible here. Cf. *Every Man in his Humor*, Pis. S'blood would his match, and he, and pipe, and all
Were at Sancto Domingo. (III. ii. 94-95)

Perhaps SAMINGO is a telescoping of San(cto) Domingo. It is, however, also relevant here to point out an allusion to the song in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, "Doe me right, and dub me Knight Balurdo" (Malore Soc Repr. Sig. H4), where *Balurdo*, the name of the singer, has been substituted.

His feeling of the incompatibility of the words and music arises from his assuming that the name of Orlando di Lasso at the top of the relevant leaves in the Bodleian MSS indicates the composer, for he concluded that there would be

Treble in Adu. MS. 5.2.14. f. 25.
 Altus } in Bod. MS. Mus. f. 17-19.
 Tenor }
 Bassus }

2 Henry IV

Monser myngo for quaffing does passe, one cup cress can or glasse in seller neuer

Monsier Mingo for quaffing doth pass, in cup, cress can, or glasse, in siller neuer

Monsier Mingo for quaffing doth pass, in cup, cress can, or glasse, in seller neuer

Monsier Mingo for quaffing doth pass, in cup, cress can, or glasse, in seller neuer

was, his fellow found to drinke profound, by task and turne so round, to quaffe carars so

was, his fellow found, to drinke profound by task a turne so round, to quaffe carouse so

was his fellow found, to drinke profound, by task a turne so round, to quaffe carouse so

was, his fellow found, to drinke profound by task a turne so round, to quaffe carouse so

no difficulty in identifying the song among the works of Orlando di Lasso. Miss Brougham writing years later stated categorically that the song represented an English translation of a song by Orlando di Lasso, but did not substantiate this. I have examined the Bodleian copy²⁰ of the complete works of Orlando di Lasso, paying attention specifically to the songs *a 4*, but have not found the

The musical score consists of four systems, each with four staves (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the staves, with English and French versions provided for each line of music.

System 1:
 sound and that beir so fresh a braine fresh a braine saint saint or staine or fayll requyll or
 sound, & yet beare so fresh a braine, fresh a braine, saint saint or staine, or fayll, requelle or
 sound, a yet beare so fresh a braine, saint saint, or staine, or fayll, requelle or
 sound, a yet beare so fresh a braine, saint saint, or staine, or fayll, requelle or

System 2:
 quarrell but to the beir & barrell q^k he wrks to wite his name q^k he wrks to wine his
 quarrell but to ye beare & barrell, where he wrks to win his name where he wrks to win his
 quarrell, but to ye beare & barrell, where he wrks to win his name, where he wrks to win his
 quarrell, but to ye beare or barrell, where he wrks to win his name

²⁰ *Magnum opus musicum Orlandi de Lasso capellae bavaricae quondam magistri. Compertens omnes cantiones quas motetas vulgo vocant, tam antea editas quam hactenus nondum publicatas . . . Monachii, MDCIV.*

music concerned, and feel certain that Arkwright, too, must have looked in vain, otherwise we should surely have had the complete setting of "Monser Myngo" long ago.²¹

name a stout does stand in Bacchus band w^t pott in hand to purchase fame, q^k he calls w^t cup and can

name a stout doth stand in Bacchus band, w^t pott in hand, to purchase fame, for he calls w^t pott a

name a stout doth stand in Bacchus band w^t pott in hand to purchase fame, for he calls w^t cup and

a stout doth stand in Bacchus band with pott in hand to purchase fame, for he calls w^t cup a can,

come try my courage man to man and let him gesser me that can, a spare not I care not, while

can, come by my courage man to man, a let him conquer me y^e can a spare not I care not, while

can, come by my courage man to man, a let him conquer me y^e can, a spare not I care not, while

come try my courage man to man, a let him conquer me y^e can, a spare not I care not, while

²¹ All this is not to say that the music is not Orlando di Lasso's, but any attribution to him must wait for specific evidence. MSS f.17-19 contain no other of his works, and it is my belief that the compiler of the MSS wished to write in an Orlando di Lasso work, marked the leaves ready, and either changed his mind without striking out the head ascription, or had it changed for him by the writing in of "Monsieur Mingo" by another hand. This is purely speculative, however.

The transcript now following is a faithful copy of the originals, only obvious mistakes being corrected and whenever this has happened there is an explanatory note.

State University of Iowa

hands can heale the pott no feare falls to my lett, god Bacchus doe me right and doe me knight Domingo.

hands can heale ye pott, no feare falls to my lett, god Bacchus doe me right and doe me knight Domingo.

hands can heale ye pott, no feare falls to my lett, god Bacchus doe me right and doe me knight Domingo.

hands can heale ye pott, no feare falls to my lett, god Bacchus doe me right and doe me knight Domingo.

Errors in MSS.

Bar 11 The first minim is given as F in MS. f. 19 (Bux).

Bar 19 A semibreve rest occurs in MS. f. 17 (Alto) before the minim rest.

Bar 25 Heber's MS has sharp signs in front of those Fs asterisked

Bar 27 Heber's MS has only a crutch E flat

Shakespeare on the New York Stage, 1955-1956

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE

EARLY in September 1955, the Brattle Shakespeare Players visited the Civic Theatre, giving *Othello* and *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*. This company in the course of its exciting history has not infrequently appeared in Shakespearean plays and some, certainly, of their productions—and I think first of a brilliant *Troilus and Cressida* in 1948—have deserved the very high praise they received. The two present plays, together with a well-acted but egregiously over-produced *Much Ado About Nothing*, composed the company's repertory at the Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, last summer, and I saw *Othello* there and not in New York. Conceivably, the transition from an intimate theatre to a spacious one caused harm. On the first night in New York William Marshall's speaking of Othello's lines was sharply criticized; in Cambridge it had not been wanting in either intelligibility or music. Indeed, as played by this actor, a negro of commanding presence and great sincerity, Othello had dominated the scenes in which he appeared.

The Moor, however, is easier to act nowadays than his ancient. Jerome Kilty, an accomplished comedian who has shown himself capable on occasion of playing serious parts—Richard II, for instance, and Ulysses—failed to make Iago even remotely plausible. A Tartuffe rather than a bluff soldier, his hypocrisy was transparent. In the third act, before addressing Othello, he knelt at a *prie-dieu*, flourishing a huge book of devotions and blessing himself as he rose. The audience of course laughed. For compensation we were given a refreshingly uneffeminate Roderigo and an Emilia (Cavada Humphrey) who for once rose to the opportunities of the last scene, which she played with extraordinary power. One or two passages sometimes omitted in acting versions of the play were included, but III.iv and IV.ii were, quite preposterously, telescoped, I suppose to avoid shifting scenery.

In *Henry IV* there were scattered modernizations of the sort employed in last year's *Twelfth Night* at the Jan Hus Auditorium. Thus, "robe of durance" in Falstaff's first scene became "prison robe", and "buff jerkin", with somewhat less accuracy, "prison garb". Later, Sir John's scornful reference to the shirts supplied him at need by Mrs. Quickly was altered from "dowlas" to "sacking" and the word "angel" in Bardolph's despondent "this bottle makes an angel" became "guinea". The lines assigned to Bardolph and Peto were continually shifted about, so that it was only by the flaming countenance of one of them

that they were distinguishable. A new personage, the Bishop of Wells, figured in the first scene, borrowing his speeches—he had two or three—from the authentic characters (He was present, too, with Falstaff, at the King's council of war but unlike the irrepressible Knight kept his mouth shut). Finally, the really startling transformation of an earlier passage must be recorded. Peto (or was it Bardolph?) had attempted to correct a detail in Falstaff's account of the robbery: the travellers were not bound. Whereupon Falstaff instead of protesting that they were—"I am a Jew else, an Ebrew Jew"—spoke clearly and distinctly: "You rogue, they were bound, every man of them, or I am an Arab else—a Muslim Arab."

Some of the scenes in this production had substantial settings (others were represented before plain hangings) and ended with business of much inventiveness. Falstaff, having concealed himself under the table instead of behind the arras, was kissed and made comfortable there by the Hostess. Falstaff, having been brought his breakfast instead of merely calling for it, eagerly removed the cover of a huge dish, to discover a single egg. Or, more finely conceived, a disorderly little procession passed at the back of the stage, just before the play's concluding speech: first, two or three of Falstaff's recruits whom we had seen before, now obviously "for the town's end"; then Peto (or was it Bardolph?) carried on a bier, dead or dying; finally, Falstaff, grinning, with Hotspur's body on his back.

Of the individual performances, that of Bryant Haliday as Hotspur was the most interesting and consistent; a Hotspur, in whose speech were suggestions of the north, who seemed appreciably older than the Prince, with a small beard, towelled greying hair and sad eyes. A tragic figure, then, rather than one brimming over with eagerness and love of fun; a romantic Hotspur still and an aristocrat. Kilty's Falstaff seemed by comparison never quite believed in—or as if Falstaff to the actor were merely a comic part to be played for as many laughs as possible. "It is much", Sir John remarks significantly, "that a lie with a slight oath, and a jest with a sad brow, will do with a fellow that never had the ache in his shoulders." Yet the actor chuckled continually. His best moments, and they were genuinely amusing, were those in which action accompanied or complemented speech: Falstaff's demonstration of how he fought at Gadshill; his ludicrous exhaustion after uttering the climactic "vile standing tuck"; above all, his magnificent plunging fall after crossing swords momentarily with the Douglas.

As at Stratford four years ago, the play put on by Falstaff and the Prince darkened in mood as it proceeded, with the knocking interrupting words which on the Prince's lips were grave indeed. It should be added that the Glendower Scene was included, but not (alas!) that of the Carriers. The very beautiful costumes were designed by Robert Fletcher.

In neither of these productions were the Brattle players at their best and neither was well received in New York, whereas the "Shakespearewrights" quite outdid themselves in *Macbeth*, October 19. The open stage which had served this company so well, last year, in *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice*, was now put to more daring use. For *Macbeth* is full of episodes, at once spectacular and momentous, in which the least slip destroys all illusion. And it is more, I believe, for this reason than for the notorious difficulty

of the chief role that the play has come to be regarded as an unlucky one. In the present production there was no upper stage, and no trap for the Ghost and Witches. Yet with tact and skill on the director's part and lighting which could be poetic as well as utilitarian, most of the play's problems were solved triumphantly. The Ghost appeared as if from nowhere in Macbeth's place at the table. The murders shown—and that of Banquo is a particularly dangerous passage—were swiftly and savagely accomplished. In the Cauldron Scene, the warnings issued by the Apparitions now came from the Witches themselves, who spoke them impressively. As for the battle, this was reduced, wisely, no doubt, in view of the limited resources of the company, to "noises off" and a single combat, fiercely contested with heavy swords, between Macbeth and Macduff.

Chiefly, it was the directness and speed of this production, the swiftness with which scene followed scene, which gave it the command it assumed over a popular audience, an audience, it should be remembered, in the closest proximity to the stage. Poetry was sacrificed to blood and clamor. The text, as already suggested, was heavily cut; one scene in particular, that between Malcolm and Macduff in the fourth act, to the point of unintelligibility (Yet we were given, curiously enough, a moment or two of the unwanted Hecate).

Pernell Roberts, who earlier had been playing minor parts at the Brattle Theatre, was a forthright, soldierly Macbeth, but the subtleties of the character largely escaped him. Mel Dowd had a firmer grasp. Her impressively evil Lady Macbeth was still very young, pale, with red hair, and dressed, when she entered reading the letter, in grey-green. Resolute and strong, she would allow no doubting of their success.

Glamis thou art and Cawdor, and *shalt be*
What thou art *promis'd*,

had the heavy stresses of the Siddons tradition. "We fail" was loud, defiant, incredulous. One might have guessed already that the swoon when it came would be merely pretended! The conception was clear and definite. There were not infrequent lapses in the execution, but one scene at least, that of the sleep-walking, was better done than I have seen it for years. Laurinda Barrett, an accomplished speaker of verse, last year's Portia, was happily cast as Lady Macduff. The Witches fared unusually well and the Porter badly.

Macbeth was kept on for many weeks. It was succeeded, on January 13, by *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The stage remained unchanged for this production, except that some light trellis-work with flowers served as a permanent background. There was, however, a different director, Norman Peck, who last season staged *Twelfth Night*, and a very different approach to the play. A desire to economize on the number of characters might explain, I suppose, some of the cuts and transpositions and, significantly, the roles of Theseus and Oberon, of Hippolita and Titania, were doubled, but many seemed wholly capricious. The opening speeches, with their almost musical introduction of themes, was wanting, being replaced much in the manner of Augustin Daly's notorious productions of two generations ago by an interpolated song and episode in pantomime, as Lysander attempting to serenade Hermia was driven off by Egeus. Then, lest the audience be kept waiting for

its low comedy, we passed at once to Bottom and Quince and the distribution of parts for "Pyramus and Thisby". Scene One, much cut, with a minimum of time wasted on the poetry, followed, and we found ourselves next in the wood witnessing the rehearsal. Upon Bottom's exit, the other actors lay down and fell asleep. Robin now appeared, at last, and spoke some of the lines from II.i, about troubles in the Fairy state, to be answered, of all things, by the drowsing mechanicals! I shall not attempt to describe the changes further, except to note that Theseus and Hippolyta no longer entered to awaken the lovers, nor the fairies at the end of the play to bless the bride-bed. To anyone unacquainted with Shakespeare's text, it must all have been as puzzling as possible.

The lovers were, of course, made broadly farcical, which was the more to be regretted since Donald Mork (as Lysander) and Laurinda Barrett (as Helena) both know how to speak verse. In the role of Titania, Mel Dowd was made up to look malevolent, as Oberon usually is, nowadays, for no sufficient reason, and her costume suggested that of the "principal boy" in a Christmas pantomime. Puck's old acquaintance, the Fairy of Act II, scene i, was omitted, and Peaseblossom, Cobweb, and Mustardseed were assigned, not regrettably, in this instance, to three very small boys. The Puck (best forgotten) seemed to have designs on Hermia. Such satisfaction as the performance afforded came chiefly from the "Pyramus and Thisby" actors, especially one of them. Starveling the tailor was, as Ellis Rabb represented him, very tall and very lean. His face was pallid and cadaverous; his melancholy, that of an aging Hamlet. What was more, he had a small yellow dog ("All that I have to say is to tell you that the lanthorn is the moon; I, the man i'th' moon; this thornbush, my thornbush; and this dog, my dog"), a real dog, for once, and one almost as doleful as his master.

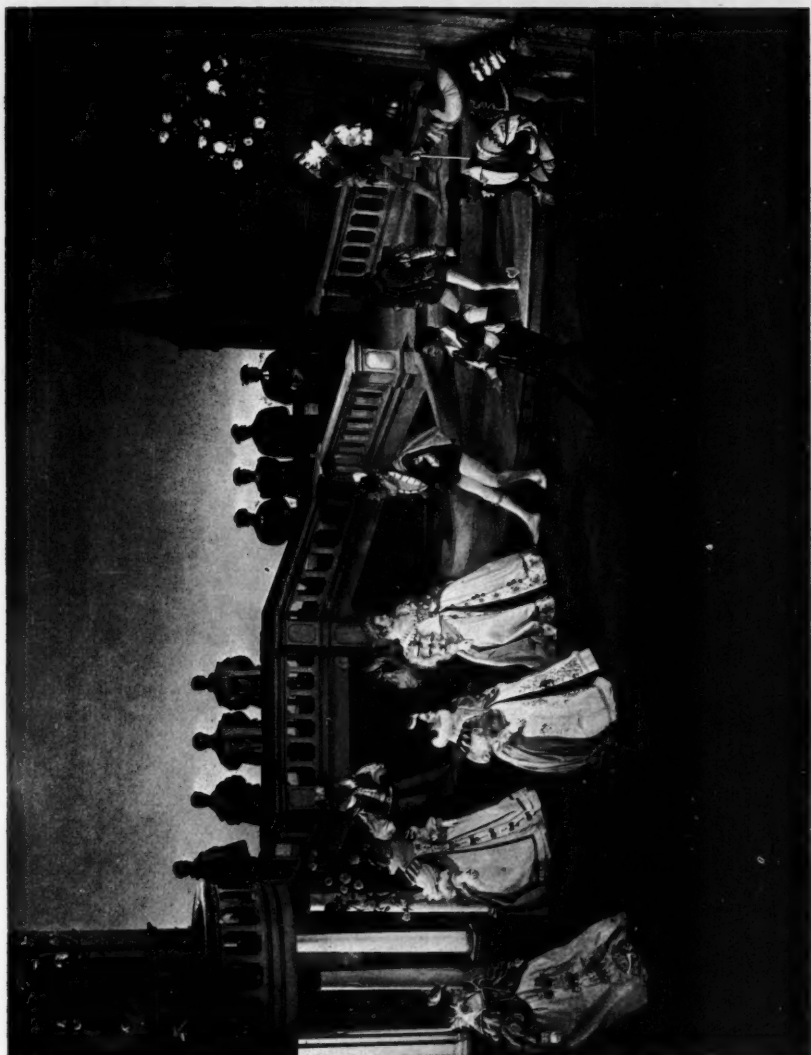
There were things to praise in Orson Welles's production of *King Lear* at the Civic Center in January, but not many. There was speed. The tragedy was played straight through without a break and novel though this was it seemed to be accepted as a matter of course. (*Othello* was so performed at the George Inn, Southwark, two years ago, but on that occasion the audience was obviously restless and wanted its tea.) Such frequent and prolonged intermissions as were considered obligatory in the Victorian theatre have, of course, become unthinkable today. There was a well-conceived Edmund by John Colicos, whom I had seen to even greater advantage, as Lear, at the Old Vic; a smiling Edmund, good natured enough on the surface for purposes of deception, and as clearly evil beneath. The best spoken words in the performance were his:—

Yet Edmund was beloved.
The one the other poisoned for my sake,
And after slew herself—

a great cry of exultation. (The worst-spoken, certainly, were Cordelia's "Use well my father", at the end of the first scene, which were fairly bawled.) Finally, Welles's own King Lear, performed in a wheel chair in consequence of injuries suffered in rehearsal, was not without dignity and occasional force. Nor did this actor suggest, through incessant shakings of the head, or otherwise, that Lear was a weak, senile old man at the beginning of the play. Such a



The Od Vic. Final scene in *Othello*, directed by Michael Benthall. John Neville (kneeling) as Iago, Anthony White as Cassio, Charles Gray as Lodovico, Richard Burton as Othello, Wendy Hiller as Emilia, and Rosemary Harris as Desdemona. Photo by Angus McBean, London.



Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Scene from *Love's Labour's Lost*, directed by Peter Hall. Photo by Angus McBean, London.

Lear, it is needless to point out, would very quickly have been released from "the rack of this tough world".

The production was remarkably old-fashioned, with heavy, pictorial settings (the Gothic Hall shown at the rise of the curtain was applauded) and with Shakespeare's lines shifted about on the Mahomet and Mountain principle, to match. Indeed, it is many years since I have known the text of a Shakespearian tragedy to be treated with such disdain. Cordelia's asides in the opening act were unbecomingly addressed to Kent, and the conference between Goneril and Regan was overheard by the Fool, as it might have been in a melodrama. The Storm Scenes were run together, and the words were so obscured that the whole idea of the mad trial (I believe this was now conducted on the heath) was lost. Goneril took an active part in the blinding of Gloucester, and Edmund was also present, skulking in the background. The more the merrier! The later scenes were completely rearranged. Edmund and Goneril stayed on at the castle with Regan, and their story was followed up to the point at which Edgar gives Albany the letter (V.i). This avoidance of scene-shifting was occasion for one extraordinary moment in which Edmund embraced Goneril in the presence of her sister, who was not unnaturally offended. The Gloucester-Edgar plot was picked up next and carried forward in an attenuated state through Gloucester's attempted suicide. Oswald, however, no longer reappeared, to molest the fugitives and be killed for his pains, so that one was left quite at a loss as to how Edgar came into possession of the compromising letter. We turned now to the King, who was shown with Gloucester and, presently, Cordelia. But even the scene with her was tampered with, Edmund and soldiers appearing a little before it ended, and Lear upon seeing them speaking without further ado the lines beginning "Come, let's away to prison."

Romeo and Juliet in the Jan Hus Auditorium, opening February 23, was a relief. Brian Shaw, who received credit for the company's *Macbeth* earlier in the season, directed this production, which had many of the same virtues. This time, however, the cutting was less skilfully done and partly because of the use of heavy properties—Juliet's bed, for instance—with no inner stage where they could be shown or concealed at will, there were pauses of increasing length between scenes. The audience relaxed and applauded.

In an effort to cut costs—even *Macbeth*, which had an excellent reception from the critics and ran for eighty-five performances, had been unprofitable—a number of roles were doubled or omitted. Friar Laurence appeared as prologue. The quarrelling servants were reduced to one on each side: a somewhat composite Abraham for the Montagues, and Peter, no less, for the Capulets. Yet the fighting, as it developed with Benvolio and others joining in, was carried on savagely, and we were swept, as we should be, into the action of the play. Mobs of contending supers are no more needed here than a *corps de ballet*, or what may pass as such, at the Capulets' ball. The dancing, on the present occasion, was at first merely suggested by a strain of music off stage, then confined to grave and ceremonious movements of three couples in the background. There was no distraction; no filling in of corners with bits of decorative detail. Romeo, standing quietly on one side of the stage, saw Juliet on the other side and presently moved quietly across to her—

If I profane with my unworthiest hand
This holy shrine. . . .

Pernell Roberts, the Macbeth of the earlier production, played both the Prince and Mercutio in this. The Prince's appearance at the end of Act III, scene i, was understandably left out, to make this doubling of parts possible; but I could see no reason for the cutting of lines at the end of the Balcony Scene or, almost worse, for the omission of the entire episode in which the Nurse advises Juliet to marry Paris—"O! he's a lovely gentleman".

This production had the directness of the *Macbeth* and sometimes its speed. It concentrated upon essentials. The scenes involving action were brilliantly executed. The cast was a good one. Romeo (Robert Rietz) and Juliet (Carlotta Sherwood) had youth and sincerity in their favour. Pernell Roberts was a satyr-like Mercutio, at his best in the mock conjuring of Romeo and the teasing of the Nurse. Both Friar Laurence and the Nurse were younger than they are usually represented, and the former had a good, Italian look. Interestingly, he seemed never wholly confident in himself and at the moment of parting with Romeo suggested that he dreaded what the future might be for them both. The fat hen of a Nurse was bustling and goodnatured. Donald Mork, playing her man, Peter, and Romeo's sinister, pathetic Apothecary, made much of both parts. As Peter, his varied grunts when the names of the different guests were read to him—

The lady widow of Vitruvio;
Signior Placentio and his lovely nieces,

and the rest—was a particularly happy stroke.¹

The three seasons during which I have had the pleasure of reviewing Shakespearian productions for the *Quarterly* can be safely characterized as transitional. In Houseman's *Coriolanus* at the Phoenix, and more conspicuously in the better productions at the Jan Hus Auditorium, new approaches have been explored with success. But older ways have been persisted in, as well; sometimes out of honest preference, as in Clarence Derwent's *Merchant of Venice*, sometimes out of mere perverseness or eccentricity, as in the Old Vic's *Dream* or Welles's lamentable *King Lear*. In acting, the variety of method and accomplishment has been even more conspicuous; as witness, in a single season, the performances of Shylock by Clarence Derwent, of *Coriolanus* by Robert Ryan, and of Shylock, once more, by James Barbour. The insufficiency of a merely naturalistic technique has been shown repeatedly, but many of our actors know no other, as many of our directors recognize no other purpose than that of making these strange old dramas as much as possible like successful, realistic plays of today. "Shakespeare", Mr. Brooks Atkinson once wrote, "is not worth playing if the directors and actors do not think he is a great poet and dramatist."

Bryn Mawr

¹ I missed seeing another off-Broadway *Macbeth* (with Basil Langton) which ran briefly in October. Several of Shakespeare's plays were also produced before "invited" audiences by a group called the Shakespearean Theater Workshop. Of these I saw only *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, given in modern dress, which did not become it, and with the ending deliberately travestied. The Launce was amusing and would, I am sure, have been even more so had he had a dog.

The Second Season at Stratford, Connecticut

RICHARD HOSLEY



HIS year's repertory of the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre consisted of *Measure for Measure*, *King John*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. The season was a highly successful one, credit for which must go chiefly to John Houseman, the new Director of the Festival Theatre. Mr. Houseman, rejecting the star system, assembled a company of actors capable of first-rate performances in the smaller as well as the larger roles, designed (in collaboration with Rouben Ter-Arutunian) a new stage eminently suitable for Shakespeare, co-directed two of the plays, and encouraged a mode of staging that was imaginative, restricted to essentials, and above all swift and fluid. Without question the Festival Theatre is now living up to its high artistic ideals. The choice of two less well-known plays was gratifying, and one hopes that it will be possible for the Theatre to continue to present (if only in a limited run) at least one play a year which, like *King John*, is worthy of performance but rarely seen.

The new stage is an almost rectangular slab, tapering slightly to a width of about twenty-five feet at the front and extending forward over fifteen feet beyond the proscenium-arch. It is not strictly an "open" stage, for all but a handful of the audience necessarily sit only in front of it, but it is probably the closest thing to an open stage that can be managed in a proscenium-arch theatre. One tends to forget the proscenium and to imagine himself in the same "room" as the actors. The result is an intimacy that must be as satisfying for the actors as it is for the audience. The illusion of an open stage is due not only to the pronounced projection of this stage into the auditorium but also to its unity, which is made more apparent by a slight rake: since the stage is a single entity, it does not tend to break apart into areas before and behind the curtain, as so often happens when this illusion is sought after simply by attaching an apron to the front of a proscenium-arch stage.

In addition to dragging the action out from behind the proscenium, the new stage also makes generous provision for entrances and exits. These can be effected not only, as usually, by the wings and stage-rear, but also by four separate stairways leading beneath the stage, one descending away from the audience within a large trap in the middle of the stage, another descending toward the audience from the front edge of the stage, and two descending away from the audience along the sides of the stage from its front corners. The two center

stairs are wide enough for processions, and the top of the front stairs is occasionally used as a seat. Since the various stairways eliminate the long walk between the front of the stage and its rear or the wings, they enable actors to get themselves on or off stage with astonishing speed. In function they therefore correspond to, and in fact improve upon, the stage-doors of the Elizabethan tiring-house. They permit the action to remain at the front of the stage as long as desirable, regardless of interrupting exits and entrances; and when used in conjunction with the wings and a rear-stage exit they make it possible to clear the stage of a large number of actors in jig time.

With a few exceptions, the proscenium-curtain was used only before or after intermissions, and no curtain corresponding to that of an Elizabethan "discovery-space" was used. The staging was frankly of the open-stage variety, chairs, tables, and other properties being set within view of the audience by servants or soldiers, and occasionally even by principals: in the scene of *The Shrew* in which Kate binds Bianca, she dragged her to the front of the stage with one hand, carrying in the other the stool on which she immediately seated her sister. Thus minimal time was expended in handling properties. In a few cases blackouts were used, generally not, however, to cover the removal or setting of properties (which were usually being handled before or after the blackout), but rather to "discover" actors of the subsequent scene, as in *King John's* yielding up of the crown, which began with John prone at the feet of Cardinal Pandolph.

A feature of all three productions this year was a background of some ten or a dozen panel-drops, each made up of narrow slats about four feet long and resembling an overlong Venetian blind. These hung at the back and sides (within the proscenium) of the stage, thus providing a stylized, neutral backdrop that could be adapted to a number of purposes. (Occasionally a second series of panels was also employed at mid-stage.) In *King John*, window-like sections in the three center panels opened on an upper level to serve as the "walls" of Angiers, on which citizens appeared to parley with the two kings. In *Measure for Measure* the same openings served as "windows" overlooking a street. Later in *King John* three panels were raised about eight feet from the stage to serve as the "gates" of Angiers. And occasionally two or three panels were raised sufficiently to provide entrance-ways suggestive of Elizabethan stage-doors.

Since *King John* does not have a strong plot-line, the play was carried in the present production (directed by Houseman and Jack Landau) by a series of good scenes and the sheer virtuosity of the acting. Perhaps most memorable were the skirmishes of Constance (Mildred Dunnock) and Eleanor (Edith Meiser), the soliloquy on "commodity" by the Bastard (Fritz Weaver), and the scene in which the King (John Emery) suborns Hubert (Rod Colbin) to kill Arthur of Brittany. (Colbin played Hubert with a limp, an effective symbolic touch.) The last was a stunning scene. John sits facing the audience as far downstage as possible; he has turned his back on Hubert, who stands behind him. He wishes to avoid an explicit order for Arthur's death, but Hubert does not conceive his lord's terrible meaning. In his emotion John is reduced to a bare noun: "Death". Still Hubert does not follow him: "My lord?" John: "A

grave." Finally Hubert understands: "He shall not live." Emery immediately covered his ears.

The attempted escape of Arthur (Rhoden Streeter) was preceded by a black-out, Arthur being discovered by a night light in process of climbing down one of the panels at the back of the stage. He climbed to within a few feet of the stage, jumped, and gave the impression of a great fall by rolling over several times.

The Shrew (directed by Norman Lloyd) was a good production of that box-office favorite. The rendition of Kate by Nina Foch was somewhat less violent than has become customary and therefore fresher. Pernell Roberts played Petruchio capably if conventionally. (The name was consistently mispronounced "Petrukio".) Both performances were overshadowed by Morris Carnovsky's as Grumio. It was surprising to learn that Carnovsky had never before played Shakespeare; it would be interesting to see him as Lear. Fritz Weaver did a fine job as Gremio, and Whitford Kane, who doubled as the First Player and Vincentio, was excellent as always.

There was a gallery over the stage for Sly (Mike Kellin), who remained aloft as a spectator throughout the play except when, shortly before the second intermission, he broke into the action to run across the stage calling for a cup of small ale. Sly was dressed in a nightgown, which seemed incongruous after he began to watch the comedy; it suggested something not intended, that he was "dreaming" the play-proper. A foreshortened "bed" about four feet long was provided as a seat for Sly and his "Lady" while viewing the play. In Induction ii, however, this piece of furniture was used not as a property-bed but simply as scenery, for the dialogue, as the director evidently realized, precludes Sly's being in a bed: initially Sly walked into the gallery, and later the Lord pointed out the bed when he asked Sly, standing at the front of the gallery, whether he would sleep. Accordingly this bed-that-was-not-a-bed (and the nightgown too) might well have been dispensed with.

Measure for Measure (directed by Houseman and Landau) was the best of the three productions. It was done in brilliant Graustarkian costume (by Ter-Arutunian), which had the effect of closing the distance between the audience and the play, deepening both meaning and comedy at several points by making the types more familiar. The scholar who recently called it a very "modern" play was certainly right. One might suppose that this out-of-period dress was only a stunt: anything to keep the minds of the audience off Shakespeare. But such was not the case. The period costume added a significant dimension to the play and in no way interfered with its meaning. One concludes that if Shakespeare is well done the period of the costume doesn't matter.

Norman Lloyd as Lucio was a proper "fantastic", a dude in white gloves, bowler hat, four-button suit, spats, and (in the dénouement) carrying a bamboo cane. His scenes with the Duke (Arnold Moss) were riotously funny. Moss played the Duke-Friar rather as the intriguer of stage-convention than as the Christ-like teacher of some interpretations. His performance was criticized as too broad, but many of the Friar's laughs would be unavoidable even in a more austere handling of the role. The audience may laugh *with* the Friar, but at all costs he must avoid their laughing *at* him. Morris Carnovsky was an excel-

lent Provost, and Hiram Sherman was superb as Pompey. Nina Foch was a beautiful and competent Isabella. She carried off the difficult business of silently accepting the Duke's proposal of marriage, and somehow, since one had so recently seen the novice conniving with the Friar (their religious garb throws them together in the audience's mind), the match seemed less incongruous than it does in reading the play. Conceivably Isabella might have fallen in love with the Friar; what matter, then, if he proposes to her as the Duke? Kendall Clark played Angelo in a quiet manner of foregone conclusions that subtly conveyed his complacency and determination. His reaction to Isabella's offer to "bribe" him clearly showed the germination of an idea, and later Clark succeeded in getting across Angelo's sensuality without leering: in an agony of desire and restraint he wishes to touch her but can only snatch the kerchief from her head. As Mistress Overdone, Tomi Romer smoked a cigar and rode herd on a group of sportive ladies pleasantly reminiscent of Toulouse-Lautrec.

The staging was attentive to symbolic values and occasionally stylized to the degree of ballet. At the end of the scene in which Isabella and the Friar arrange the bed-trick with Mariana, the three are grouped at the front of the stage. The ladies curtsy simultaneously and begin to exit by passing each other en route to the opposite wings; the Friar is descending the front stairs. Suddenly Isabella stops, exclaims "Oh!", and holds up the key to Angelo's garden, which she has forgotten to give Mariana. Mariana, having also stopped, turned, and seen the key, echoes her "Oh!" and returns to receive the key from Isabella. The Friar, having turned to see what is happening, says "Oh!" in benevolent understanding. The actors then continue their exits three several ways.

In this production *Measure for Measure* was unequivocally a comedy, and an excellent one at that. Some properties and business might seem, in their successful appeal to laughter, inappropriate in a "dark" or "sombre" or "problem" play: the "feelthy peectures" that Pompey casually offers to an evidently interested police officer, the hatbox for Ragozine's head, or the bystanding lady's shriek of shocked indignation when Isabella accuses Angelo of being, among other things, a "virgin-violator". But the play itself is never dark or sombre for long, nor is its concern with a "problem" incessant: again and again the text requires our laughter. The humor of the bawdy-house world is thematically indissoluble from the main action of the play, Lucio's asides repeatedly punctuate the first interview between Angelo and Isabella, and the comic irony of the scenes between Lucio and the Duke is exquisite. This is not to deny the seriousness of the play, and the seriousness was also in this production. Nor is it to deny that the play has inconsistencies, and some of these were also present. But since the play for all its seriousness has an unreal quality about it, a production that took the Duke's disguise, the bed-trick, Barnardine's refusal to be executed, Ragozine's head, or the marriage of Isabella and the Duke too seriously would surely fall flat. One feels that Shakespeare attempted to do in a comedy what according to all the rules should not have been done in a comedy. In any case, on the stage (where one cannot, as in the study, abstract the serious elements from the comic) it is evidently possible for *Measure for Measure* to be rather a "thoughtful" comedy than a "dark" one.

University of Missouri

Consolidation In Stratford, Ontario

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH



HE Shakespeare Festival in Stratford, Ontario, faced its most critical year this year. It was started artistically by the combined efforts of Tyrone Guthrie and Miss Tanya Moiseiwitsch in 1953, Miss Moiseiwitsch designing the stage from suggestions by Dr. Guthrie, who has directed all the plays but one of the first three seasons.

Last October it was announced that Dr. Guthrie had resigned and that, though he was to act as consultant if necessary, his direct connection with the festival had ceased. This announcement was followed almost immediately by the news that the tent which had housed the theatre from its inception was rapidly nearing the end of its waterproof life. The governors therefore decided to launch a campaign for funds to build a permanent theatre.

Now a permanent theatre might be an ossifying influence; the proscenium arch might creep in if only to make the theatre useful for other functions during that part of the year when it would otherwise be idle. There was also a vague feeling of uneasiness that the festival could not perhaps afford to lose Guthrie whose drive and energy had done so much. One remembered the modern dress production of *All's Well* which had started the festival off along with Guinness' *Richard III*, the exciting classical interpretation of *Oedipus Rex*, which had run for two seasons, and the elaborate pantomime of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Fortunately none of these gloomy forebodings was substantiated. The architects' sketch of the projected permanent theatre reassured everyone that the tent theatre's excellent features would be retained and that even the outside of the building, to be constructed of concrete and glass, would still be reminiscent of the carnival atmosphere of the original tent.

The model of the permanent theatre was exhibited early this year and very quickly the fund grew. The provincial government contributed \$100,000, an Ontario charitable foundation undertook to build the gallery at a cost of a quarter of a million dollars and, within a few months, nearly three quarters of the million odd dollars needed had been subscribed. This was not only a triumph for the organizers of the fund, it was a triumph of the festival itself and proof of how much it had become a national and not just a local affair.

With the permanent building assured the governors still had to face the problem of whether their new director would be as good a draw as Guthrie and whether they could manage without an imported star. The subsequent festival banished this anxiety too.

The new director at Stratford is Michael Langham, an Englishman who

did a spell last year with Guthrie, producing *Julius Caesar* in a rather pedestrian fashion. His wife, Helen Burns, made more of a hit than her husband, in fact, by playing a lively Nerissa to Frances Hyland's Portia in Guthrie's production of *The Merchant of Venice*.

In sole control, however, and in charge of his own casting (which was not the case last year), Mr. Langham has made a most propitious start to his Stratford career.

In the first place he decided to exploit to the full the group of actors that has been gradually gathered at Stratford, many of whom come back year after year to do small parts even though they are featured television and stage actors in their own right in the winter. Secondly, at a stroke, he did what a native Canadian might have balked at even if he thought of it (which is unlikely), and that was to decide on *Henry V* as one of the plays and then invite the most distinguished members of the Quebec theatre to take the French-speaking roles. This was to prove one of the great inspirations of the whole festival.

Thirdly, with Gratien Gelinas, the finest actor in Quebec, under contract, it seemed only natural to arrange for him to play Doctor Caius in the *Merry Wives* when Douglas Campbell, an English actor who has made his name at Stratford, was aching to play Falstaff.

On balance, *Henry V* and the *Merry Wives of Windsor* combined to make a good and interesting couple of plays for a season's run.

In the playing *Henry V* has far outshone the comedy. Part of this excellence is due directly to the acting of the French-Canadians of the Theatre du Nouveau Monde in Montreal. They bring a flair and a theatricality which most of the more phlegmatic English-Canadians lack. They pirouette around the stage, they drink with an élan which underlines their jibes at the thin beer of the muddy English, they declaim and posture and rant. The clothes they wear, beautifully designed by the ever-present Miss Moiseiwitsch, are neat yet gaudy, impressing the audience with their concern for the higher things of life compared with the stolid Puritan, shopkeepers' values which the English are concerned with.

For other things, too, this importation of the French Canadians was most successful. Ginette Letondal made a ravishingly beautiful Katherine whose speech was a delight to listen to. Gratien Gelinas made a credible figure of the old king which became such a caricature in Sir Laurence Olivier's film. For Canadians the play also became an extremely vital political tract as the last act slowly worked out a compromise between the beaten French and the victorious English. Burgundy's speech and the final speeches of the play echoed the theme of any number of after-dinner speakers in Canada since Confederation, even since the Treaty of Paris, when the French lost Canada for ever.

Yet there were other things which were not so good. The marked accent of the French-Canadian players strained the blank verse beyond its metrical limits. By reversing many of the word-stresses, as an untutored French tongue is apt to when it speaks English, some of the actors, notably the Dauphin, made a complete shambles of the rhythm, which in so comparatively early a play as *Henry V* robs the verse of almost its sole merit.

There was also a curious change in the character of the Constable. In his own way the Constable is the thoughtful *homme moyen sensuel*—an early prototype of Enobarbus or, in another context, of Menenius. There is so much of the bluff

honest Englishman in these characters that a French accent seemed odd, and French posturing seemed even odder.

Henry V would, of course, even with these advantages, be nothing without a strong central character. With the French-English conflict looked after as it were, by itself, Mr. Langham could concentrate on the growth of Henry's character. This he did, not by making him the mirror of all Christian kings, nor even by making him a symbol of England, either of which is a valid approach to this most patriotic and rhetorical king. Henry V in this production was allowed to grow as a man and as a king in equal proportions. With an actor like Christopher Plummer to undertake the role, this was a most right and proper approach.

Mr. Plummer is of somewhat stolid appearance, his face being sensitive rather than mobile. His voice is musical enough but it is still a good vibrant continuo rather than a brilliant operatic solo. Above all, there is a quality of sincerity in his playing which shines through whatever he has to say and whatever situation he is in.

Thus Mr. Plummer was able to make Henry V seem a positive saint when confronted by his casuistical bishops, a warrior when compared with the vaunting and empty French nobles, a man of quick temper when he walked amongst his private soldiers, and a humble but ardent lover when he confronted Kate.

It was Mr. Plummer's festival, in fact, for nothing else at Stratford could begin to approach this polished, sincere and wholly admirable creation of Henry V. If a prediction is in order, I think it would be fair to say that Mr. Plummer is destined to become the leading Shakespearian actor on this continent within a very short time.

There was one notable lack in *Henry V*, and that was something which has been lacking ever since the festival started. There was very little poetry. The chorus, played by William Needles, was only pedestrian at best, and of the great set speeches only Henry's rose to the noble heights to which they should. Burgundy was prosy, and William Hutt, playing the Archbishop of Canterbury, dispensed with the honey-bee simile entirely. One can only think that this was because Mr. Hutt was not capable of sustaining the speech. Certainly the direction of the rest of the play was such that one became conscious of the gap left in the moral argument by missing this speech out. After all, if the play centers on the moral growth of Henry and his capacity as a king, it seems very remarkable to leave out the speech which enlarges, in exquisite detail, on the way in which one can "teach the act of order to a peopled kingdom".

It may be that this lack of good poetic speakers was responsible also for the choice of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as the accompanying play. If you have a good group of actors who can all act character parts well and yet none of whom, as was proved last year in *The Merchant of Venice*, can speak lyric lines, then the only comedies to choose are those which can be acted rather than spoken.

Douglas Campbell, a versatile actor who played Oedipus in last year's revival of that production and has also played such diverse roles as Pompey in *Measure for Measure* and Cinna in *Julius Caesar*, was an obvious choice for Falstaff, and very well he played it. But the direction was such that he lost our sympathy right from the beginning and seemed to be indulging in his amorous antics more from a compulsive obsession induced by his age than by the sheer devilry

which so enlivens the lechers in the cartoons of, let us say, *Esquire* magazine.

The wives, too, though they were beautifully mannered and glamorous for their age and worthy of the old knight's affections, seemed to encourage him more to discomfit him than their husbands.

All in all, the production lacked the glee and sheer high-spirited joy which makes it such a good actors' play. I last saw the *Merry Wives* when it was played in England by Violet and Irene Vanbrugh. Those two talented dames made it a comedy of manners, which it should be, and even at times made it high comedy. It may be too much to make high comedy out of Falstaff in love, but to do so gives the play a *raison d'être* which it surely otherwise lacks.

Again Gratien Gelinas, with a most mercurial and quick-tempered interpretation of Doctor Caius, made his part high comedy, but Nym, Pistol and Bardolph were too shoddy even for low comedy, and the whole play fell somewhere between the two stools.

With Mr. Langham now in charge we hope that Stratford, Ontario, will move away from the mere theatricality of the Tyrone Guthrie regime (which culminated in the ill-fated production of *Tamburlaine*) and towards a quieter and more thoughtful interpretation of some of the greater plays. In *Henry V* Mr. Langham has made a start. But he will need to concentrate more on the text and not cut it arbitrarily to accommodate his actors, and he will need to attract people to the company who can make poetry the living language of the men and women whom Shakespeare created. It is a tall order, but so much has been achieved so far that we have high hopes that this will be soon accomplished, especially since an invitation to appear at the Edinburgh festival this year should ease any box-office worries next year.

Kingston, Ontario

Shakespeare Festivals in Britain, 1956

JOHN RUSSELL BROWN



HIS year the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon seems to have pursued a policy of individualism; all concerned were allowed to work in their own ways and no effort was made to create a consistent style of acting or production. This policy was apparent as soon as the program was announced: five plays, five scene designers, five producers. Each play was to succeed or fail on its own, and, instead of building the company round three or four star actors, there was a dozen of them and their experience was very varied: half of them were either making their debut in Shakespeare or had made their reputations in modern plays, radio, or television. Mr. Emlyn Williams told a newspaper reporter that he had never seen and never read *Othello* before he came to play Iago this year.¹ Clearly any kind of success was going to be acceptable.

In the theatre individualism usually means the survival of the strongest, and in *The Merchant of Venice* the producer, Miss Margaret Webster, was dominant; with business-like efficiency she did everything possible to make the play bright, light, and pretty. The curtain went up on strolling, lolling, and singing youths and when Antonio's friends were trying to cheer him up two nuns were haggling over the purchase of fish and an eastern gentleman, presumably the Prince of Morocco, was selecting a length of silk. Miss Webster was always ready to add some detail of this calibre; twice characters walked into each other, a page was frightened and had to be comforted, a bird in a cage had to be fed while Portia was talking of Bassanio, and music was played while Stephano announced a new arrival. Miss Margaret Johnson, as Portia, seemed happiest among this busy, trivial gaiety, but more outstandingly individual were Mr. Clive Revill and Mr. John Garley, the former as the Prince of Arragon—the critics generally agreed that he played him as a retired army officer half-heartedly trying a new wheeze for getting rich—and the latter as Launcelot Gobbo who made all his points with Shakespeare's words and who brought the comedy of character into this trinket of a production.

The most remarkable aspects of *Love's Labour's Lost* were the comics and the costumes. As Costard, Mr. Revill roguishly yet bluntly maintained the "simplicity of man", and the other comics, led by Mr. Mark Dignam, Mr. Toby Robertson, and Mr. Patrick Wymark, were highly amusing in a ripe and inventive way. Mr. James Bailey's set ignored the references in the text to the King of Navarre's park and consisted of a spreading, curving staircase arranged for the display of a succession (rather than a variety) of Elizabethan costumes; to realize his designs the wardrobe department must have worked night and day,

¹ Cf. *The Stratford-upon-Avon Herald*, May 4, 1956.

for they sparkled with a multitude of colors—it is reported that fourteen distinct colors were used in a single costume. Nevertheless the courtly scenes were the duller half of the play; for one thing, most of the actors seemed unable to rise to the courtly style of the dialogue, and for another the producer had had the notion of making them move in unison like an elegant but elementary ballet. The gentlemen were dominated by Mr. Alan Badel as Berowne who, with a destructive, earthy humor, made the others seem merely elaborate fools, and the ladies were dominated by Miss Geraldine McEwan as the Princess who conformed to the intricacies of the production with cool detachment, and in her last speeches sounded, against many an obstacle, the true style and feeling of the play. Miss McEwan might have made all well had she not been followed by a Rosaline who contrived to speak with the colorless emphasis of a large and beautiful numbskull.

For *Othello*, the producer, Mr. Glen Byam Shaw, and the designers, "Motley", were content to be unobtrusively resourceful; apart from a penchant for the splendid—the scene in the council chamber resembled a portrait group by Van Dyck or Rembrandt rather than an emergency meeting under threat of war—they were chiefly intent on showing off the chief characters. As *Othello*, Mr. Harry Andrews movingly presented perplexity and soldierly qualities, but was unable to rise to the vocal demands of the last acts. What was consistent and moving in this production came from the integrity of Mr. Andrews' performance; even without the full penons of rhetoric this would have held the play with an indifferent Iago. But the Iago of Emlyn Williams was clear and forceful, and quite opposite to Mr. Andrews' reading of the drama. He was an unsubtle, selfish villain—these traits were typified in the way in which he consistently "up-staged" almost every other character and in the readiness with which he raised laughter from the audience, especially in the penultimate scene. Never for a moment could Mr. Andrews maintain his individual performance against Mr. Williams' Iago, and the great central scenes failed in their impact. With such division among the principles, Miss Johnson as Desdemona stood in a fair way to rule the production, and some critics hailed her for this feat; hers was a fresh performance, chin-up in happiness and chin-up in defiance, with a touch of hysteria at the end.

Mr. Anthony Quayle's production of *Measure for Measure* almost overcame the lack of common purpose in the season as a whole. From the majority of players he produced a bustling, bragging idiom, and, in a sewer-like set by Tanya Moiseiwitsch, the under-world of Vienna was brought to lively, crowded, and raucous life. In criticism, one might wonder whether vice is quite so lively and energetic, but Mr. Wymark's Pompey, Mr. Badel's Lucio, and Mr. Emrys James's Claudio spoke for the sinful in such authentic terms that the idiom of the scenes as a whole was readily accepted. But full success was lost by individual elements which were not subdued to the over-all purposes of the production—or rather which were not raised to those purposes. As Angelo, Mr. Williams was thick and unpleasant and, as Isabella, Miss Johnson was thin-shouldered and fearful; never did Angelo shine angel-like in seeming virtue and never did Isabella's voice glow or ring with the praise of mercy. Their scenes together hung fire until Angelo forced his body upon hers and tore apart her tensely self-protecting arms. Mr. Anthony Nicholls as the Duke acted with considerable dignity but perhaps too

easy an assurance; but his task was impossible, for the part is more concerned with Angelo and Isabella than with the under-world where, in this production, the chief interest of the audience was forced to lie.

The most complete artistic success of the Stratford season was *Hamlet*; scholars who know the full text of the play and playgoers who are used to the conventional stage *Hamlet* would alike be disappointed, but that part of the play which the producer, Mr. Michael Langham, and the chief actor, Mr. Badel, had sought to portray was presented with an assurance and attention to detail which made some of the other productions look like rummage sales, with anything passing muster. For once the whole production stemmed from one creative conception of the play, for Mr. Badel and Mr. Langham worked closely together and, perhaps because it was the first production of the year, the individual demands of the other actors took second place.

The stage designer, Mr. Michael Northern, also had to curtail his ideas within an ideal of an open stage on the lines of the Stratford, Ontario, theatre of which Mr. Langham is Director. Of course he could not reshape the theatre on the Avon, but Mr. Langham called for a design which placed within its proscenium arch a raised octagonal stage, so that, with actors grouped on a lower level behind the raised portion, the hero could appear to hold the "centre" of the theatre in an "Elizabethan" manner. The hangings and properties were kept to the barest minimum—the traditional thrones, bed, altar, and gravestones were all gone—and the action moved rapidly and continuously across the bare stage. The result was not the dull stage-picture one might have feared, for by vivid costumes and cunning lighting interest was focused on the essential conflicts of the action. Dramatic anticipations, surprises, and contrasts were all given full value and the gain in comprehension, in one's grasp of the play as a whole, was tremendous.

Such a setting deserved a superb portrayal of *Hamlet*, but Mr. Badel, obviously with Mr. Langham's approval and co-operation, only gave a part of the prince; he was the ineffectual intellectual in a stupid, brash, misunderstanding society; he had to fight against "them", but chiefly he had to fight against himself; his chief difficulty lay within himself. There was no suggestion of the "expectancy and rose of the fair state"; *Hamlet* was an unromantic prince, an egotistical neurotic, the sort of man for whom nothing ever goes right and who is always resenting it. He was passionately concerned only with himself and his own frustration; he looked straight through Ophelia, turned away from Horatio when he considered the "man that is not passion's slave", and scarcely looked at the Ghost. It was symptomatic of the interpretation that the Ghost was more real in *Hamlet's* mind than in his presence on the stage.

Hamlet was so concerned with problems of self-confidence that the moral theme of Shakespeare's play was scarcely touched upon. The memory of Christian order, of "that season . . . wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated", was cut from the first scene. And *Hamlet's* dialogue with Horatio before the final duel was gone except for the apology for forgetting himself with Laertes; *Hamlet* never told how Rosencrantz and Guildenstern died, and how they were "not near" his conscience, and, worse still, the speech

. . . is't not perfect conscience,
To quit him with this arm? and is't not to be damn'd,

To let this canker of our nature come
In further evil?

was cut in its entirety. "To be or not to be" was spoken in self-pity and resignation, not in resolution, and, throughout, Mr. Badel's performance missed the fire-spark apprehension of honor; his voice was constricted with frustration and half-suppressed disgust and resentment.

This interpretation is obviously far from a complete view of Hamlet, but it was truly felt and created with the greatest skill. And the other characters were suitably cheapened to fit it; Claudius was a mere front of royalty, a man whom anyone in full possession of his senses could have tricked; Gertrude was nervous and quick in movement, "amazement" in the closet scene being registered in her bearing rather than in her actions or speech; Ophelia was truly a "green girl" and Hamlet seemed to love her only because he could be cruel to her. Time and again such interpretations robbed the play of its full dramatic tensions and excitements; indeed the worst feature of the production was that even if one followed the whole play through the focus of Hamlet—which indeed was the only way to understand the production—there were patches that remained unvitalized, and Hamlet's character was too consistently on one note.

But the producer and actor had provided a climax to their interpretation, not Shakespeare's climax but one fitting this portrayal of Hamlet; at the end of the play the prince took a self-sufficient pleasure in mastering his dilemma—the almost aesthetic pleasure of an intellectual who performs, for once, an act which answers to his understanding. This resolution was hinted at throughout the performance in certain confident theatrical gestures, and, more specifically, in the pass before the throne of the king, with a sword and the red cloak of the bull-fighter; this image seemed to be repeated at the end as Hamlet stood momentarily poised before the bull which he had mastered.

Although *Hamlet* alone among the Stratford productions had an over-all unity, it was, like the others, a triumph through individualism—one was seeing some person's interpretation rather than the play; if this was justified artistically, it still is far behind the ideal for a performance of Shakespeare. It may be on this point which we would dwell on surveying this season as a whole, but a comparison with the Old Vic season brings out other considerations. And here the positive achievement of Stratford in caring for what it does, in its determination that nothing but the best will do, in its ability for hard work, comes clearly before us.

The Old Vic works on a much smaller budget than Stratford but that cannot be wholly responsible for the slap-dash air that too often pervades its productions. Indeed it seems to court disaster, as in its attempt to play *Othello* with two young actors exchanging the roles of the Moor and Iago on successive nights. Its best offerings, in quality of understanding and care for words and character, were *Richard II* and *Macbeth*, both resurrections of earlier productions and therefore more intensively prepared. The new production of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was produced especially for a tour to the United States, is cumbered with an ambitious impractical set and indulges in crowd scenes of hackneyed complexity. If such things must be done, Stratford is in a far better position to do them.

Birmingham University

Shakespeare At Antioch

JUDSON JEROME



ANTIOCH has finished Shakespeare—or, at any rate, has produced thirty-six Shakespearian plays, one of which was a telescoping of the three parts of *Henry VI*. In its fifth season¹ under the direction of Arthur Lithgow, the Shakespeare Festival at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, has offered *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Measure for Measure*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. More remarkable than the curiosity of a production of all of Shakespeare is the fact that a large public has been convinced that Shakespeare, from beginning to end, makes a good show. The ambitious project, which creaked uncertainly in 1952 with the Chronicle Plays, has been a practical success. This year the Festival expanded to two companies, dividing the plays between them, and performed them tandem fashion on alternate weeks on the multi-level, wide-ramp outdoor stage at the College and on a similar stage in the Toledo Zoological Gardens amphitheatre. Audiences have come. The plays have an immediacy which more recent and less modern attempts at entertainment fail to provide.

The euphuism and topicality of *Love's Labour's Lost* make it a delight for the connoisseur—but only in professional production can one see how astonishingly well it holds together as a play. This company attacked the frothy waves of satire with energy and buoyant gaiety. The four pairs of lovers twinkled through a fandango of swollen sentiments and language, not quite kidding themselves, while the curate (a fine portrayal by Jack Bittner) and the schoolmaster croaked their Latin from the swamp. Armado and Moth (Kelton Garwood and Helen Fox) exhausted all wittiness. But it was Costard, the clown, who emerged as a kind of central figure: a peasant reminder of some rational center in a fashion-mad world. Ralph Drischell, a veteran with the company and a rapidly developing comedian, played the part with wise illiteracy. In the song at the end, certainly one of Shakespeare's richest lyrics, the earthy theme dominates, bringing the play laughingly back to reality, where milk freezes in the pail and spring brings not Petrarchanism but cuckoos.

All's Well, another puzzling and difficult play, comes through as a surprisingly quick-paced yarn. Bertram, a bloodless and perverse snob, is, like Prince Hal, in the clutches of a *miles gloriosus*. But the theme which is benevolently treated in *Henry IV* is more bitterly realized in *All's Well*. Parolles (also played by Drischell) is at first only coarsely amusing, but he shows himself clearly a corrupter of youth when he encourages Bertram to desert his unbedded

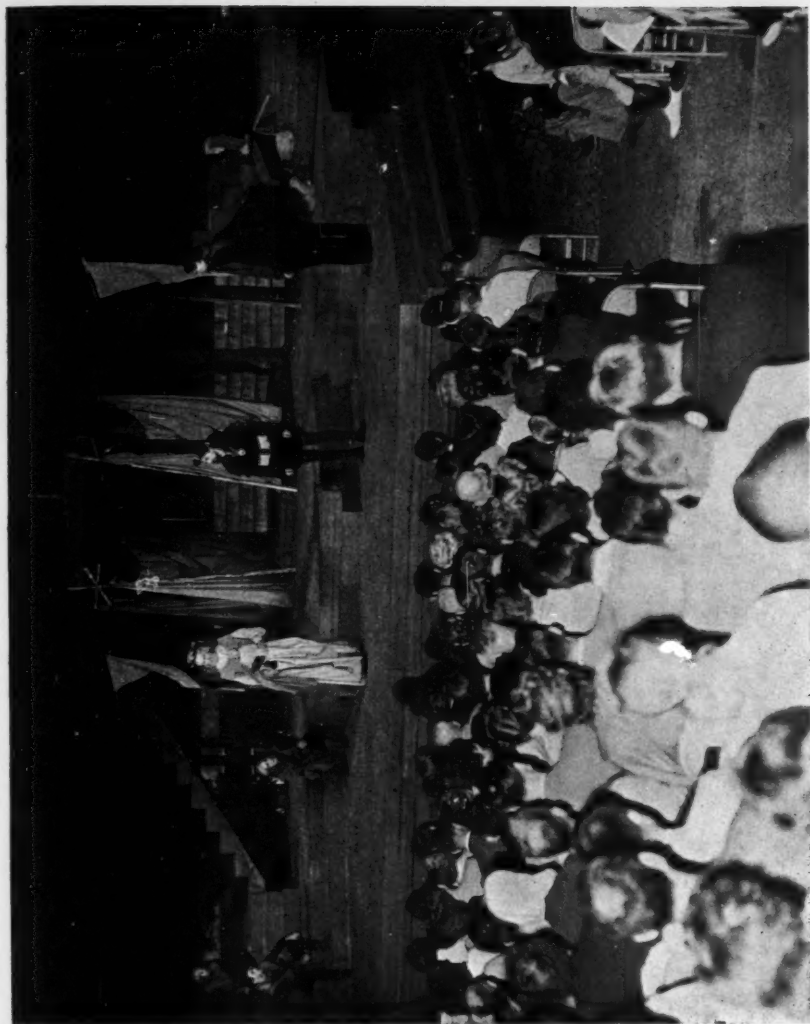
¹ For reviews of other seasons, see *SQ*, IV, 57-58; VI, 453-454.

wife. Parolles' self awareness—like Falstaff's—is the key to his character. One of the lords, overhearing him announce his phoniness to the moon, remarks "Is it possible he should know what he is, and be that he is?" He is trapped in his own bluster, bound and blindfolded by his comrades, who are pretending to be the enemy, and in this plight Parolles hysterically slanders his friends in order to win favor with his captors. In the text the reactions of the officers are barely suggested. To see them straining, one after another, to revenge themselves on this babbling ape is to recognize how deeply they are touched. For all we know, all of Parolles' vilification is true; his defamation of Bertram's character is plainly accurate. When the trick is exposed and the lords have left him beaten and deflated, what does he say? "Yet I am thankful"—not only for being alive but for being abused. He knows he can "live/ Safest in shame." He is only more clearly what he was all along, a role which suits him; the real shame is to the lords and, especially, to Bertram, who cannot take it, and who hurls himself off-stage not laughing but with a desperate need to reform. I enlarge upon this because this emphasis upon Parolles in the central and hilarious scene of his capture and questioning does a great deal to remove the problem of unity in the play. Beat the scapegoat, and the rest of the play is somewhat absolved of its mood of undefined evil. Reveal to Bertram the depths of Parolles' character, and he is motivated to begin his shuffling repentance.

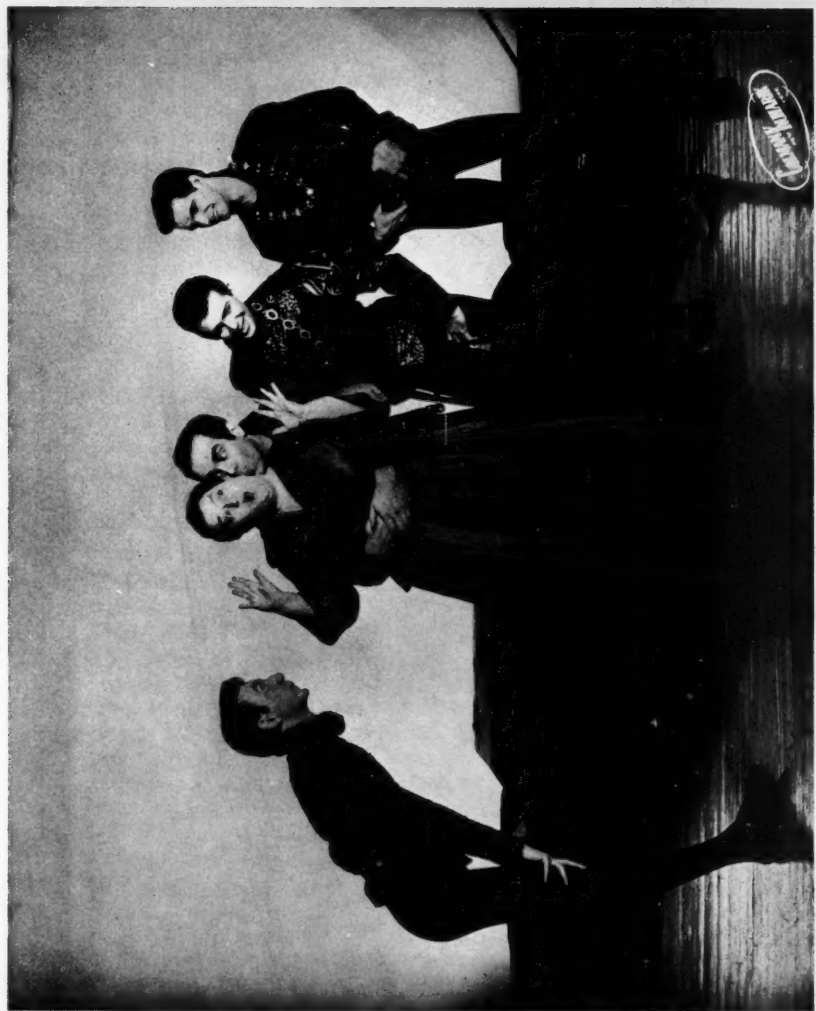
One might add that Helena (played by Bronia Stephan) appears to be not a romantic figure, irrationally persecuted, but a forward girl who knows how to play a simple air and yet has a good mind for politics and stratagem. Her suffering, in a hierarchical society, is no more than is due her presumption, and her reward, a reconditioned hero, is proper for a girl with an eye for the main chance.

The very fact of the production of these plays is exciting news; one of the special talents of the Antioch group is salvaging what has been regarded as an impossible play. But one might expect a thumping show in *Comedy of Errors*—and the production here was just that, graced by some virtuoso pantomime by a coarsened and English-flavored Marcel Marceau: Kelton Garwood, who played Dromio of Syracuse. The director, Reuben Silver, was liberal with his shenanigans, but managed to retain the artful grace and balance which cushion even pratfalls on golden air. There is no sillier play—and no better entertainment.

Measure for Measure was relatively dull, lacking both viewpoint and energy. Containing, as it does, some of Shakespeare's most searching poetry, the play is somewhat weighed down by its intellectuality and moralism, which this production did little to relieve. Nothing happens. One suspects that even had Isabella (played by Pauline Flanagan) valued her brother's life above her chastity, she and Angelo would have gone to bed like fish to a freezer. I doubt that the play justifies it, but it would spice things up a bit to see these pious lovers as burning with repressed passion, willing to sacrifice lives because they are afraid of themselves. But Lester Rawlins read Angelo the way Shakespeare must have meant him: too much contained, too intellectual; basically, rather than a hypocrite, a man too moral to endure this world, who surrenders himself to his urge with the disgust and reluctance of a Stoic. As a personality, he is rich and provocative: but it is difficult for him to hold the stage. Robert Blackburn, large and strong, plays the Duke as the hearty sadist which his pointless scheme implies. Lucio,



Shakespeare under the Stars, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Ellis Rabb as King Lear, under the direction of Arthur Lithgow. Photo by Marvin Blosser, Yellow Springs.



The Shakespearewrights, Jan Hus Auditorium, New York City. *Romeo and Juliet*, with Phil Lawrence as Peter, Gertrude Kinnell as Nurse, Pernel Roberts as Mercutio, Burt Douglas as Benvolio, and Robert Rietz as Romeo. Photo by Colman Kuharik, New York.

acted by Albert Corbin, comes to unexpected prominence in this production, a fly batting about the heads of the principals, a foul mouthful of flattery, the worst sore of the decaying society, and neither the blunt justice of the Duke nor the codified morality of Angelo can touch him.

Much Ado was brilliant. It is simply that kind of play. The intertwined high and low comedy keep all elements of the audience bubbling and alive. Claudio, like Bertram, is one of those rather pompous and over-serious young men, all too willing to escape the fearful demands of their glands when the chips are down. It is good to see him shamed into recognizing the integrity of a woman. Ellis Rabb, as Benedick, so dominated the stage with his swaggering, witty misogyny that the rest of the cast had trouble making itself felt, but Barbara Waide was a sharp yet warm Beatrice, and Lester Rawlins was the perfect ass as Dogberry.

Seeing the plays at Antioch has made me realize how the comedies, which are sometimes tough going in the study, are sure-fire on stage. It is the clowns, the rude characters, the fools (like Reuben Singer's fine Pompey in *Measure*), who are most vivid when the play is before an audience; and very often they provide a core of reasonableness, of bumbling but earthy sense, which contrasts with the extravagant whirligigs of the well-born. Tragedies are another matter. They take months to grow; but in this rushed summer (a result of the financial need to do seven plays a season) *Hamlet* opened after two weeks of rehearsal, *Lear* after three. A single weak character can turn rhetoric to tedium. A single distraction (to which the outdoor stage is particularly susceptible) can dispel the tragic mood. The very familiarity of the great tragedies is a burden: the actual never matches the ideal each playgoer brings with him.

A repertory company has some advantages. Many of the cast in this year's productions are by now seasoned not only in Shakespeare but in their working conditions and colleagues. They have finally come to considerable mastery of blank verse, neither losing it in prose nor arriving at each line division as at a station on a local. They are proficient at batting a play into shape, giving it professional polish and, usually, a creative interpretation. But in the hurly-burly of a repertory season one can hardly expect them to encompass the largess of major tragedies: making all the more understandable what they did with *Hamlet*, all the more amazing what they did with *Lear*.

Hamlet, of course, was *the* play awaited by the audience: and it could not help being a disappointment. At its best moments it had a clarity and restraint which *Hamlet* too often lacks; at its worst it was merely tedious and fuzzy. Michael Higgins, imported to the company for the part, read the Prince as a rather normal fellow, albeit intelligent and sensitive, repressed in speech and action by his elders, those in power. He matter-of-factly states his misgivings about life to the audience, with excellent diction, and abides the opportunity and resolution for action. This comes in the dueling scene, and Hamlet springs alive, like Macomber, in his last moments, as though he had been uncomfortable all along in the world of introspection, and his heroic moment is carried off with the camaraderie and dash of a tennis champion. I don't mean to make fun. This strikes me as an interesting and legitimate interpretation: but it makes for several hours of bad theatre. Whether we like it or not, Hamlet is everything in this play, holding the stage by main force of personality, with a mind as febrile as a sunset.

Not mad, but insightful to the point of madness, and cagey enough to disguise his perception by pretending to be beyond the brink. There is some justification in the play for seeing him as a well-rounded young fellow, inexplicably involved in a cloak-and-dagger affair not quite to his taste. But to present him this way drains him of color. Not quite, of course. With time to grow in the part, Higgins might become a very absorbing Hamlet. The production was, on the whole, competent enough to fill its place in the program; it could never have been all the things people would have liked for it to be.

I hardly have words for *Lear*. It has received rave notices from all quarters, Henry Hewes comparing Rabb (who played Lear) to Gielgud and calling the play the "best American production . . . in our time."² Raymond Massey saw it in Toledo and, backstage, told Rabb that he had been seeing *Lear* since 1909 and that this was the best yet. Much of the credit is due Rabb himself, an actor to watch for in the future. Now only 26, a stalk of a fellow with a tremendously wide range of voice and behavior and the subtlest, most graceful gestures I have ever seen on a stage. Two seasons ago he was an astonishingly delicate and amusing Ariel. Now *Lear*. Where ever could one find an actor who could succeed in both parts? But more important than his virtuosity, he has the single qualification most important for a Shakespearian actor: intelligence. He always knows what he is saying on stage, knows in the deepest sense its every implication. Every phrase for *Lear* is a matter of life and death, and without rhetoric and fustian, Rabb is able to communicate this, trembling with significance.

He sees *Lear* as a tottering king, entered upon the peevishness and jealousy and self-centeredness of his second childhood, until garment by garment he is stripped by adversity to the bare man. Only then, at Dover, fully aware of the bestiality of man, is he able to rise to man's full dignity: and, I tell you, when Rabb raises his naked arm ten feet in the air and says with the belladonna clarity of madness, "Ay, every inch a King", the audience shudders. It is a moment in stage history.

He was well-supported. Lester Rawlins, as Gloucester, was soft, almost sweet, and proved most graphically that only when his senses are extinguished does man begin to see. Robert Blackburn was a sturdy, worthy Kent. Tucker Ashworth, with an inspired job of make-up, was definitive as the Fool, certainly the most heart-rending of all Shakespeare's heart-rending fools. Except for the storm-scene, which was confusingly rather than bewilderingly staged, the production and direction (by Arthur Lithgow, who also directed *Hamlet* and *Much Ado*) were splendid. Why *Lear* is called unplayable I cannot imagine: provided you can find a *Lear*.

It has not yet been decided what next summer will bring to Antioch. Many people, including the local tradesmen, are somewhat startled to find that there is an end to Shakespeare. One of the possible future plans is to do the whole thing again, this time, perhaps, in chronological order. I have heard of a dream of climaxing such an endeavor by a summer in which the whole canon would be run through twice, a different play every night for thirty-eight nights. Scholars would undoubtedly have to be admitted by invitation only, pitch their tents in the nearby glen, and endure, endure, like the strong men we know they are.

Antioch College

² "The Bard Finds a Home in Ohio", *Saturday Review*, September 1, 1956, p. 24.

The Oregon Shakespeare Festival, 1956

ROBERT D. HORN



HE originators of the Ashland Shakespeare Festival, established in 1935, take honest pride in being "American's oldest organization devoted to the production of Shakespeare's plays on the stage for which he wrote them". However, it is their actual achievement, rather than mere survival, for which they are most to be commended. Next year's productions of *Henry VIII* and *Pericles* and the 1958 *Troilus and Cressida* will mark completion of the full canon of Shakespeare's accepted plays. It would be very apt if Professor Angus Bowmer, sole begetter of this fine enterprise, should speak the prologues in these performances. His constant purpose has been to catch Shakespeare's song and to convey to ever-growing audiences as much as possible of the delight he brought to those who first saw the plays. This year's season was marked by the now traditional variety, four plays running in cycle, so that on any four successive evenings patrons could enjoy *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Cymbeline*, and *Richard III*. As is customary with the more esoteric plays, *Titus Andronicus* was offered in two performances at the end of the season. This robustly sanguinary production was directed by Mr. Hal J. Todd, also director of *Romeo and Juliet*. Aaron, the sinister Moor, was ably portrayed by William Oyler, whose interpretations of Tybalt and Cloten established his versatility and technical skill. Irene Baird, as Tamora, always effective, was striking in Douglas Russell's very convincing headdress and costume based on the unique Peacham sketch.¹

Actually there are no "stars" in the Ashland company, except for those which hang aloft overhead. The Great Bear, suspended directly above the balcony, times the unbroken sequence of scenes as it swings around the Pole Star. On the place beneath, some fifty performers, drawn from all parts of the country, combine to bring the plays to life. Joan Kugell flitted through *Love's Labour's Lost* as Moth, dominated *Cymbeline* with her deeply felt Imogen, and then receded into the aged Margaret in *Richard III*. Rosalyn Newport achieved a delicately shaded Juliet, which was the most appealing feature of what was otherwise perhaps the least compelling production, appeared as Katherine in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and served as a mere curtain page in two other plays. Particular evidence that some of the best acting and actors were to be found in minor parts came in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Two of the directorial staff nicely

¹ See *SO*, I, 22-29, where T. M. Parrott argues cogently against the attribution. The use of the sketch by the Ashland costumer is good evidence of sound relationship to scholarship. (But the neat-soled shoes of headless Cloten were a lapse!)

justified their right to instruct others. Angus Bowmer, a beady-eyed and dim-witted Nathaniel, and Hal Todd, as an adenoidal Holofernes, set a mark of their own. With the other Nine Worthies they brought all to a hilarious close.

Quiet assurance of the veteran's command of the stage was notably supplied by the presence of Mr. B. Iden Payne, who was director at the Stratford-upon-Avon Memorial Theatre for eight years (1935-1943) and also directed at the San Diego Globe Theatre in its initial four years. His production of *Cymbeline* revealed the sensitivity and inner illumination of the art that conceals art. The endless succession of scenes surrounding Imogen's misfortunes flowed with an easy, firm articulation, gently evoking the romantic charm of story and setting, and yet probing into the deeper apprehensions of life. As Friar Laurence, and happily as the Prologue as well, Mr. Payne showed that "modesty of nature" which Hamlet pointed to as the essence of good playing. The gap between art and artifice was sharply defined when as Friar Laurence he fumbled about among his meager stock of vials, only picking out the potion to hand to Juliet after reaching for several wrong ones. Here was the warm-hearted benevolist, dangerously called to action by dire emergency. The same play supplied one of the really rare examples of artifice, of forced effect. Mercutio in the midst of a well modulated reading of the Queen Mab speech sought to point up the phrase, "drums in his ear", by pummeling a drum which was conveniently at hand. There is a certain neatness in the fact that a drummer is logically present, prescribed by Benvolio's curtain line, "Strike, drum." However, suiting the action to the word is not the same as subjecting it to the word. Instead of Mercutio and his snoring soldier, we were momentarily given histrionics.

It must at once be said that art, not artifice, is the special triumph of the Ashland plays. The entire series paid the highest tribute to both Shakespeare and the audience by absorbing the observer into the production along with the players. It is the unity of tone, within each play and in the series, a kind of unassuming, joyous, and quietly intense devotion to Shakespeare and his utterance that identifies what may be called the Ashland style. No production or role is subordinated to any other; all are part of a handsomely proportioned pagentry. The staging, which with minor modifications follows the specifications of the Fortune Theatre (see *SQ*, V, 5-11; VI, 447-451), the properties, never skimmed, the costumes, always fresh, ample, and expressive, and the performing, always surging with youthful energy—it is solid components such as these that distinguish this theatre and identify it with the beautiful region of southern Oregon in which it has grown.

Among an abundance of fine performances, that which gave the greatest opportunities was generally considered the most distinguished. Mr. Don Gunderson, the Antony and Orlando of the 1950 season, returned to play Iachimo and Titus, but particularly Richard III. With astonishing facility, he heaved up his left shoulder, attaining the effect of Richard's deformity, and brought forth a villain of considerable power. Since Mr. Gunderson is among the ablest performers in the company, it may not be amiss to take his fine work as occasion for asking even more. The Ashland company assuredly gives some of the cream of fantasy and comic foolery, some of the most sweeping and eloquent spectacle in the chronicle-history plays, but it tends to let itself be over-

awed by the challenge of tragedy. The resources are there, and there is no reason why such players as Gunderson, Oyler, and Richard Graham, who this year was restricted to walk-ons, should not storm the emotional heights. Richard could have had more menace, more of the savage animosity such as would cause dogs to bark at him, more of the hunchback in his mind, and withal more of the glint of intellect and humor. Perhaps Mr. Gunderson needed to find Richard's voice, rather than listening to his own strong and well-projected resonances. But this is only asking the best to be better. As Mr. Payne wisely remarked, "Shakespeare is to do, not to write about."

Next year, with *Othello*, the company will have another opportunity to exploit the dark passions and sumptuous language of Shakespeare at the peak of his strength. It may be hoped that they will maintain their admirable *esprit de corps* and at the same time win the garland for individualized high passion. Since Shakespeare is a poet, a master of language, this can be accomplished not alone by deft directing and technically skilled acting. Though it is Holofernes who voices it, there is Shakespearian wisdom in his injunction, "For the elegancy, facility, and golden cadence of poesy, caret." Only because they have built up a style of genuine facility, the Ashland players are in a position to move further with the "golden cadences". More respect for the full-sounding of vowels, always more for the deep-hidden meanings of words, their concrete impregnations with the stuff of life, and their virtue as repositories of profound insight into human nature, and particularly more awareness of the swing of the blank verse—all this may be asked only because so much has been attained. Certainly directors should insist upon the accented "-ed" and other stresses essential to the beat. The more actors listen to each other, the better that interplaying, which is the very framework of the whole structure of dramatic projection. Although Shakespeare raises difficulties, as with the stresses in Posthumus's name, these can be resolved, and certainly a consistent pronunciation should be followed by all.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the heavy schedule prevents the performers from attending the associated activities of the Institute of Renaissance Studies which is a growing offshoot of the Festival of plays. Dr. Margery Bailey, recently retired as professor of English at Stanford University, is the embodiment of the best that scholarship has to offer here. The players could learn much from her, not merely because she is a first-class scholar, but because she is an equally able actress with an astute comprehension of the kind of performing they are seeking. Her grasp of human nature is almost terrifying, and her command of full-bodied speech and precise, clear enunciation, as well as her wide acquaintance with the plays and critical scholarship enable her to conduct courses that are a brilliant corollary to the staging of the dramas. Her classes at the Institute are devoted to lectures and studies relevant to the plays of the season, and have begun to bear fruit in an annual mimeographed volume of papers.

Actually, doing and writing, acting and scholarship, are very closely associated at Ashland. One sees plays of all types and generally conceived levels of importance. Yet this recognition that all is important, that every detail counts, is the essence of true scholarship. Over 20,000 people yearly are enjoying the Oregon plays, devouring both the roast beef and the caviare, since all is Shakespeare, and all is bright, quickened with vitality, and enriched by color and gaiety and unpedantic sobriety. Don Armado, played by Mr. Gordon Wickstrom, a

gaunt tower of desiccated courtliness and verbosity, delighted the audience of tourists, local citizenry, and devoted pilgrims, no less than the noble utterances of the kings and dukes, or the impassioned yearnings of Romeo and the other lovers.

Shakespeare needs to be played on his own stage. The emotional unity of the Oregon productions is made possible by the fluidity of action in the seven or more playing areas of the Ashland-Elizabethan stage. Instances of this abound. Juliet appears in the windows of a side balcony, her eyes and soul looking upward to the stars. Later we see her in her bedchamber, fully set on the central balcony. She takes the potion, succumbs to it, and as the curtains of the lower stage part we see her parents busting about with preparations for the wedding. As Miss Bailey points out, the Nurse's exclamations give her just time enough to ascend to find the prone body of Juliet. The effect of a swift shift in scene is felt in *Cymbeline* when we first see Imogen, on the lower stage, questioning Pisanio concerning her husband's departure. Then in one movement the curtains close and those on the balcony are flung savagely open, and we now see the group of sophisticates in Philario's house as they discuss Posthumus' arrival in Rome. Frequently scenes overlap, performers entering for a new scene while the curtains are closing the page on the preceding, like the film "dissolve". In *Richard III* the difficult tent scenes, which point up the presence of the rival forces, are vividly etched by thrusting the tents outwards through the side doors while Richard discourses on the forestage. Soliloquies and speeches calling for direct address to the audience are readily projected by calling the speaker down to put a foot on the rail. Possibly there is a temptation to overindulge in this effect. Mr. Allen Fletcher, who merits much for his direction of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Richard III*, at times hazarded the integration of the scene in using this device.

The thirty-one performances which make August the month of Shakespeare in Oregon are more than a tourist attraction. They reflect much honestly won wisdom in staging Shakespeare and also an artless charm that gives point to the Princess's remark in *Love's Labour's Lost* "That sport best pleases that doth least know how." The magic of that which transcends knowing is all about. During this year's performance, at least at one of them, as Mercutio discoursed of magic a meteor slid downwards. As Iachimo remarked that "the crickets sing", crickets were audible, rasping out the same sharp notes that penetrated Imogen's bedchamber. Bats occasionally flitted across the stage; in the distance the barking of dogs and other sounds, and perhaps most of all the quiet stars overhead, were reminders that there is no dividing line between Shakespeare's stage and "great Nature".

University of Oregon

The Old Globe's Sixth Season in San Diego

PRISCILLA M. SELLMAN



HERE is a prevailing opinion that San Diego in summer is very near paradise. Delightfully breeze-swept, the city has an atmosphere all its own. Centered among a host of inviting cultural activities, the native or visitor has to choose carefully what offerings to savor. Foremost in the preference of thousands of people for several years has been the Shakespeare Repertory at the Old Globe in Balboa Park. Here, in a grove of eucalyptus and surrounded by colorful semi-tropical shrubbery, stands the theatre that has long been billed as "the world's only functioning replica of Shakespeare's original Bankside playhouse". It is flanked by the Old Curiosity Shoppe which, curiously enough, deals solely with the business of running this Community Theatre, and by another period structure, Falstaff Tavern, where, during the contemporary winter productions, coffee is served at intermissions.

The buildings were planned in 1934 by Thomas Wood Stevens in order to house his streamlined versions of Shakespeare at the forthcoming California Pacific International Exposition, and he, joined by B. Iden Payne, directed his company there for two years. On their departure, public enthusiasm saved the structures from being wrecked, and, in 1937, The San Diego Community Theatre was officially chartered. When the Navy took over the whole of Balboa Park on Pearl Harbor Day, however, the walls echoed with matters of more timely concern. Soon the cots of the wounded overflowed onto the Old Globe Green and the theatre itself was used to show moving pictures dealing with the grim details of survival.

The Old Globe reopened in October of 1947. As a reward for solvency, plans were soon under way for a summer of Shakespeare. Recollections of the atmosphere surrounding the original Globe Theatre soon resulted in the inclusion of little pageants on the Green preceding each performance. Traditional dances were attended by Queen Elizabeth herself, who sometimes joined the revellers, and costumed vendors strolled among the crowd selling typical sweets and pasties. Furthermore, at the instigation of Hunton D. Sellman, San Diego State College joined the Community Theatre to import B. Iden Payne as director of *Twelfth Night*, which became the first summer's offering in 1947. Two productions each graced the next two seasons, then Mr. Payne's college connection was discontinued and the theatre has produced solely as a community project ever since. Mr. Payne gave hundreds of students the benefit of his enthusiasm

and uncontested authority on Elizabethan productions, transmitting freely the modes and manners of the times.

It was a matter of such concern when Shakespeare was replaced with a modern comedy in 1953 that the first season of Shakespearian repertory was instigated the following summer. Contributions to underwrite the two-hundred dollar subsistence scholarships were forthcoming to such a degree that twenty-five actors from the country over were able to join the company. This system has prevailed ever since, with the happy difference that the stipend has now been increased to two-hundred-fifty dollars. Since Mr. Payne was previously committed, three guest directors were brought in. Two, with Mr. Payne, had charge of the summer of 1955, when the production of *Hamlet*, directed by Alan Fletcher, became one of the most memorable in the theatre's history. William Ball as the Dane proved an inspired performer. This last summer, the sixth in the Shakespearian series, three plays were presented before some fifteen thousand people, with fifteen performances of each play being done in rotation. A new group of actors from the previous season's list produced *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, and, an innovation, Zweig's adaptation of Jonson's *Volpone, or the Fox*. They were directed, respectively, by Peter Bucknell, Philip Hanson, and Craig Noel, the Globe's resident director. A very special feature at the playhouse was the inclusion of two Sunday matinee concerts employing ancient musical instruments which were colorfully handled by Colin and Roberta Sterne of the Pittsburgh Conservatory of Music. They were as graciously received as the exhibit of Elizabethan musical instruments in the Fine Arts Gallery and the special literary material lent the San Diego Public Library by The Folger Shakespeare Library.

Another innovation in this year's Festival was that the entertainments on the Green were varied each night. Madrigal singers appeared before *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in a kind of country fair, with tumblers and jugglers, and a court scene prefaced *Richard II*. As an introduction to *Volpone*, Queen Elizabeth appeared for dancing in what has become the most popular pageant. Upon her retirement, the audience went inside, the lights were lowered, and a costumed Greeter entered from the foyer to welcome the guests. The plays thus began with the local traditional welcome that is carried on even in the winter months. Shakespeare is never out of mind at the Old Globe.

This, then, was the atmosphere for the opening production, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. On the evenings it played, Mr. Bucknell garbed the Greeter in a costume indicative of what was to come. He glided down the aisle in a manner befitting his Oriental make-up, with hands upraised to carry the wide sleeves of his Kabuki-like costume, arousing much curiosity, since in this attire it was surprising not to be greeted with "Honorable Friends" or some such salutation. Local tradition prevailed, however, for the usual old English rhymes were forthcoming. Upon his departure, the scene was revealed. The large apron held two boxes down left and right, while a drop suggesting spaced Japanese paper concealed the inner below. Later, when this drop was lifted, wings flanked wide exits on both sides and a small incline was evident on the floor. This was the "bank where the wild thyme blows". Lanterns and a scrim suggested the time of day.

The classic approach which Mr. Bucknell has made familiar has always been

permeated with an interest in experiment. He has had a special interest in costumes and setting, having worked with groups in London along these lines. When he first came to San Diego he wanted to put his characters in Mexican ponchos, levis, and toreador pants, but a gradual evolution resulted instead in Kabuki-inspired costumes for the fairy realm only. Theseus and Hippolyta were put in regal attire of a more contemporary Western cut. As for their interpretations, however, a certain lack of regard for the poetry was evident. When Hermia and Helena appeared, hasty with excitement, their girlish, petticoated dresses flounced with every step, while the lovers chased or evaded them in Napoleonic uniforms. Bottom and his crew disported themselves in suggestions of Elizabethan garb, frisking about in their typical competitive manner, appropriately bent only on the problems of their production. Oberon, on the other hand, carried himself in the posturing manner of Kabuki tradition, sliding slowly in gorgeous array. Puck's movements counterpointed Oberon's; the former, in a striped leotard and grass overskirt, was wholly given over to helplessness, except when he playfully slapped the obi of a fairy. Titania had a retinue of six gorgeous red trees and bushes, as well as the prescribed fairies, all equally Japanese. They balanced and posed, except when singing to their queen or slowly playing "Peas Porridge Hot" to an Oriental tune. Titania, more flamboyant than all the others, was crowned by a square coral hat draped with scarves, which she wore even in sleep.

The music to accompany the fairy scenes was correspondingly Oriental, having been taken from "The Japanese Koto", played by Shinichi Yuize, and the Azuma Kabuki Musicians' recorded rendition of *Ocho*. David McNair of San Diego composed the fairy lullaby to *Ocho* music and a local madrigal group recorded it for II. ii. Fanfares for the Athenian court were supplied by English trumpeters.

Mr. Bucknell's elastic conception of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* lent itself to some thought. Perhaps the influence of the Orient on this part of the country brought Noguchi's designs for *King Lear* to mind. In that case, the Eastern accent pointed up the universality of the theme; it did not concentrate on one particular element. A ripe sense of display, in Mr. Bucknell's case, tended to obscure the meaning of the play.

Quite different, and by intention, was Philip Hanson's production of *Richard II*. The harsh political background against which this tragedy unfolds was helpfully illuminated by a chart at the main door, a chart of the Plantagenet kings and the complex relations of the various characters. Employing the simplest setting—bare apron, throne, or crenelated inner above—there was a spacious area for the colorful antagonists. In no play of the season was the youthful energy of the players more evident. The "wrath-kindled gentlemen" argued heatedly as Richard, played by Knox Fowler, faced the climax of their struggle. His perception of their game-like pretences and his inability to handle them wisely seemed somewhat hurried, and therefore less pointedly effective. Following the tournament scene, a level quality crept into the production, with little change of pace and a lack of evaluation of the causes of Richard's devaluation. In III. iii, there was some arbitrary moving about, with speeches occasionally being given upstage. Gaunt and Edmund of Langley were well done, being realized in apposition to Richard's temperament and in contrast to Bolingbroke's vigor.

In the final soliloquy in Pomfret Castle, beginning "I have been studying how I may compare", Richard dramatizes his introspection, for he has come to realize the futility of selfish inaction. It is a telling moment of failure and the audience needs time to think it through with the actor. His queen, played by Connie Kelly, who recently had been Titania, displayed with warm capability every angle of her defenceless position. Perhaps further cutting of *Richard II* would have been rewarding, thereby freeing everyone for more penetrating characterizations, and allowing the audience a full measure of time for assimilation of the story.

The last of the three plays in the Festival was not Shakespeare's, but was taken from the first really successful play of his greatest contemporary, Ben Jonson. *Volpone, or the Fox* could have been billed "from an idea by Ben Jonson", however, since Ruth Langner's translation of Stefan Zweig's adaptation was the actual script used. Zweig calls it a "loveless comedy", yet it deals with some ever-fresh aspects of love as no contemporary Broadway show dares do. Mr. Noel may have disappointed the purist seeking the unrivalled poetry, but the point of view was obvious to all: the elements necessary for a pleasant evening's romp are all here; let us make the most of them. Mr. Noel has some reputation for imaginative business and this was much in evidence, as when Volpone, on the line "You fly, I'll mash you against the wall", flattens Mosca high with both hands, just as he says he will, then slowly releases him to stand, compliant, on the floor. Volpone was amusingly lusty, with that kind of false overplaying that requires a degree of subtlety. The play ran long, however, and he seemed to be hurrying here and there, making speed a similar item in the consideration of all three plays.

The Old Globe Festival in San Diego is on an obviously different basis from the professional productions of other national festivals, but its contributions to the future of Shakespeare in this country are not to be minimized. Every summer three directors with three different approaches spark the imagination of a new group of actors who enjoy welcome receptions in an ideal setting and under circumstances that provide careful training. Next year Mr. Payne will come again to weave his particular magic, lending special enthusiasm to everyone connected with the Old Globe. The flourishing popularity of the Festival promises invaluable experience in Shakespearian repertory while affording more and more mature productions to this area.

San Diego, California

Reviews

English Stage Comedy (English Institute Essays, 1954). Edited by W. K. WIMSATT, JR. Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. x + 182. \$3.50.

It is odd to think that though we all enjoy laughing, the respectability of this "spasm", as some have rudely called it, has long been suspect. Yet the agelasts do not have it all their own way. Baudelaire may regard laughter as Satanic, yet it can be answered:

Nay, 'tis a Godlike function; laugh thy fill!
Mirth comes to thee unsought;
Mirth sweeps before it like a flood the mill
Of languaged logic; thought
Hath not its source so high. . . .

But alas! those whose business it is to deal with languaged logic, to wit the philosophers, seem moved to laughter only by malice, by a sense of triumph, by Hobbes's well-known "sudden glory". But surely, *pace* Baudelaire who denied it, there are several kinds of laughter, derivable from various sources, from sheer joy, from a sense of release, when we laugh without knowing why, as Tchekov once did when bathing in the sea at Yalta. Release; the sense of that, perhaps, is common to all laughter, release from tension of some kind, whether of escape from danger, at the realization of some incongruity, or caused by any surprise. But whatever theories of laughter the critic may hold, and Mr. Wimsatt runs through a number of them in his introductory chapter, when he comes to consider comedy, he experiences, as Mr. Wimsatt says, some embarrassment. For though the means through which comedy works is laughter, to produce laughter is not its object. Usually it is social criticism, at various levels, savage as with Wycherley, subtle as with Molière (sometimes), the latter working through the silvery laughter of the mind Meredith would seem to favour in his *Essay on Comedy*, though it is too often forgotten that he also referred to "Thunders of laughter clearing air and heart". And if the deepest, the greatest comedy, which deals with the profound dichotomies in man's nature, may evoke that kathartic laughter every sane, healthy man or woman undergoes when seeing Falstaff well acted, the same dichotomy, differently presented, may produce no laughter at all. Perhaps Shakespeare's highest point of comedy in this kind is when Claudio in *Measure for Measure*, after declaring his willingness to die, breaks out with "Sweet Sister, let me live!", but who has ever laughed at that? Thus perhaps Mr. Wimsatt is right when he maintains that:

One of the main virtues of the six contributors to the present volume on English stage comedy is that no one of them anywhere attempts to quote his materials in illustration of how funny they are.

This is just as well, since Restoration comedy provides the matter of part of one of the essays, and one distinguished critic at least does not find this comedy funny at all.

The editor himself runs us through a brief conspectus of The Criticism of Comedy from Aristotle to the present day, being judiciously informative, not yielding to the temptation he must have felt to venture a theory of his own. It was space, no doubt, that caused him to omit mention of Baudelaire, Ribot,

and John Palmer, but it is pleasant to meet a reference to the admirable article by Auguste Penjon in the *Revue Philosophique* of 1893, a widely suggestive essay much further-reaching than Bergson's over-quoted work, or Freud's one-track exposition. This introductory chapter is full of interesting quotations, the most constructive perhaps being those from Kierkegaard "in his double transcendence, by 'irony' from the aesthetic to the ethical, and by 'humor' from the ethical to the religious". The chapter provides an excellent framework for those that follow.

What to many will seem of the most stimulating interest in the volume is that one of the generalizations to be made is that comedy throughout the ages seems to express itself most happily in certain ever-recurring forms, not because these are archetypal in any symbolic sense, but because through them it seems most convenient to express a certain range of comic ideas. Mr. Bernard Knox in a fascinating and quite convincing chapter on "*The Tempest* and Comic Tradition" shows how *The Tempest* follows the tradition of the New Comedy in general just as *The Comedy of Errors* is a rehandling of a Plautine model, though the former, of course, is profoundly original whereas the latter is merely imitative apprentice work. Prospero is the not always good-tempered master ordering about his slaves, Ariel acting in "the traditional role of the intelligent slave to further his master's marriage projects" and so on. Mr. Wimsatt, indeed, commenting on this and the other essays, declares that "every rebirth of English stage comedy has been in the classical vein", and then in a brilliant transitional paragraph links up T. S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party* with *The Tempest*.

Prospero and Ariel reenact, in a strange new context of island enchantments, the Plautine negotiations of the benevolent master and crafty slave. Make the slave a willing but subordinate and perhaps not brilliant charismatic personality, and the master a patient, far-scheming, priestly psychiatrist, and you have the interesting scene in Harcourt-Reilly's consulting room at the start of Eliot's second act:

and he quotes an exchange between Harcourt-Reilly and Alex.

A similar kind of archetypal pattern is discussed by Mr. C. L. Barber in his essay "From Ritual to Comedy: an Examination of *Henry IV*". It has, of course, long been recognized that Falstaff bears a genetic relation to the old Vice of the Moralities, but Mr. Barber goes much further than that, linking up the whole course of the plays with a Saturnalian pattern visible in the gaieties of Shrove Tuesday and Carnival. He alone among the essayists makes, in the editor's words, a "brief—and I believe inoffensive—allusion to laughter". The paragraph in which this occurs is worth quoting in full. He is talking of Richard II, and the "bad luck" of his reign and his father's reign.

Now this process of carrying off bad luck, if it is to be made *dramatically* cogent, as a symbolic action accomplished in and by dramatic form, cannot take place magically in Shakespeare's play: the magical analogy can be only a useful way of organizing our awareness of a complex symbolic action. The expulsion of evil works as a dramatic form only in so far as it is realized in a movement from participation to rejection which happens, moment by moment, in our response to Falstaff's clowning misrule. We watch Falstaff adopt one posture after another, in the effort to give meaning at no cost; and moment by moment we see that the meaning is specious. So our participation is repeatedly diverted to laughter. The laughter signals our mastery by understanding of the tendency which has been misapplied or carried to an extreme; this mastery leaves us free to laugh off energy originally mobilized to respond to a valid meaning.

All this *may*, it is perhaps legitimate to suppose, have been part of the response made by an audience when, Mr. Barber interestingly suggests, educated men were ceasing to see society as a ritual, and to conceive of history as drama. But is this really why we, today, laugh, if I may, not offensively, refer to this physical explosion? Surely John Palmer was right here, when he suggested in his admirable little book, *Comedy*, that what we laugh at, that what is comic, about Falstaff, is the eternal dichotomy in human nature.

In him we unconsciously see the image of all mankind as a creature of divine intelligence tied to a belly that has to be fed. . . . Falstaff is the image of our triumph as an angel over our body of the beast. He is the laugh, gross and eternal, of humanity imprisoned in the flesh, only comparable in all literature with the giants of Rabelais who drowned Paris unspeakably, and ate and drank like armies.

This is not to say that Mr. Barber's argument lacks substance; it is illuminating as to form, but it must be confessed that he seems to push his argument too far, and he somewhat strains our credulity when he asks us to accept that Richard II asking to be a king of snow that he may melt away in water-drops before the sun of Bolingbroke, is symbolic in the same way as is the description of Falstaff larding the lean earth as he walks along. Both pretend to an exaggerated absolute kingship; both melt: but the comparison is far-fetched, though some may find it worth the carriage.

In his investigation of the comic as an offspring of ritual "so as to express the release of a revel", Mr. Barber has been led, perhaps unavoidably, into the "interpretation" of Shakespeare, that always rather hazardous "reading in" to Shakespeare what may not, from another point of view, be there at all. He offers, in fact, a new assessment of *Henry IV*. Mr. Knox, in his essay on *The Tempest*, makes no such attempt, and our relation to the play will remain exactly as it was. In his delightfully written chapter he discusses, not so much the nature of comedy, as its structure, and presents Shakespeare as the brilliant technician:

A comic poet who sets his characters in action, not in the world as we know it but in one which defies our expectation, must compensate for the strangeness of the events by making the essences and relationships of the characters immediately and strikingly familiar . . . the fantasy and originality of the setting must be balanced by a rigid adherence to tradition in character and plot.

He takes the play character by character, incident by incident, as well as the plot as a whole, and shows that "there is no need to translate the classic form: it can be used literally." Not that he leaves us in any doubt but that in feeling and imagination *The Tempest* far surpasses any Plautine comedy, yet his beautifully executed parallelism serves to clear away certain difficulties, and what is more will bring the reader to a more balanced notion of Prospero, about whom more sentimental nonsense has been talked than one cares to remember. In this way, perhaps, he may alter some people's sense of the play, not by adding new considerations as to meaning, but by sweeping away a good deal of obstructive rubbish.

Mr. Ray L. Heffner, Jr., in his "Symbols in the Comedy of Ben Jonson" is also concerned with structure. Taking *The Silent Woman* and *Bartholomew Fair* for illustration, he pursues the line suggested by Mr. Eliot and Miss Townsend, and argues, in opposition to Dryden, that Jonson's triumph consists not so much in perfection of plot on the classical model, but in a much more complex structure where "characters, actions, interests are all multiplied"; they

do not merely add up. The central theme in *Bartholomew Fair*, for example, is "the problem of what 'warrant' men have or pretend to have for their actions." Fantastic caricature and the harshest realism are brought into the same focus, the relation here being with Aristophanes rather than with the New Comedy. He certainly makes Ben Jonson live in a new way; he rejoices in him exceedingly, and will have nothing to do with the apologetic doubts of Herford and Simpson. His too is a stimulating piece of exposition, which illuminates, not so much the idea of comedy, but the subtle variety of its methods.

The main interest for readers of this journal will be in the Shakespeare plays, and to some extent in Ben Jonson, and it is these that this review has therefore been concerned with. This is not to say that the other essays are not on the same high level of accomplishment and suggestive thinking. If Mr. Marvin Mudrick's "Restoration Comedy and Later" were merely concerned to show that since the Restoration there has been no tolerable comedy of manners (Sheridan is stuff for schoolchildren), his essay would hardly have been worth while. But he does much more than that in properly separating the idea of the later from the earlier seventeenth-century comedy, and in showing that the decay in a comedy of manners marches with the decline of intelligence in an audience. Miss Katherine Haynes Gatch happily elucidates "The Last Plays of Bernard Shaw", and argues that till the last Shaw was "not unresponsive to the compulsions upon the artist to find new modes for our time", though she hazards no guess as to the ultimate verdict about the artistic success of these plays. In "The Comedy of T. S. Eliot", Mr. William Arrowsmith, after warning us against Verrall's rationalistic Euripides, relates the transfigurations in the plays of that master to those offered in Mr. Eliot's comedies. He attributes what he feels to be the failure of the latter to the fact that the "reality" Eliot wishes to transfigure to the status of Christian "reality", is so dull and meaningless as not to be worth transfiguring. He "has made a desolation and called it the world". The people who inhabit that world may lose their illusions, but the loss fails to matter. Mr. Eliot, he thinks, is trying the impossible: "the stage, as Plato himself suggested when he destroyed his own tragedies, is no place for Platonists, or for gnostics, or for the theologian of the *Four Quartets*." Mr. Arrowsmith argues powerfully; but we may feel that even if Mr. Eliot does not achieve all he sets out to achieve, there is still in his comedies a valuable, an enriching residue of delight and imaginative enlargement.

London

BONAMY DOBRÉE

Shakespeare and the Stationers. By LEO KIRSCHBAUM. The Ohio State University Press, 1955. Pp. x + 421.

Professor Kirschbaum nails his nineteen theses to the door at the end of his first chapter, and lays lustily about what he regards as the Pollard-Greg orthodoxy in such matters as bad quartos, the nature of copyright in Shakespearean times, the nature and extent of "surreptitious" publication, and the relations between players and stationers. It is for this reason impossible, while reviewing his work, not to refer frequently to Greg's book on the bibliographical and textual history of the First Folio, which appeared about the same time, a coincidence happy in many respects, although conjuring up in the reviewer's mind an uncomfortable vision of the upper and the nether millstone. Some grain of comfort he can snatch from the general agreement reached between the two in dismissing Pollard's contention, for long accepted as dogma, that

there was a necessary connection between the quality of a Shakespeare quarto and its orderly entrance in the Stationers' Register; it is now clear that this conclusion was based on a too narrow view of the evidence. But once the contestants have amicably disposed of Pollard, they have only each other to attack; perhaps there is a certain melancholy consolation in the thought that the battle is no new one, and that neither has ceded, nor seems inclined to cede, very much ground with the passing years.

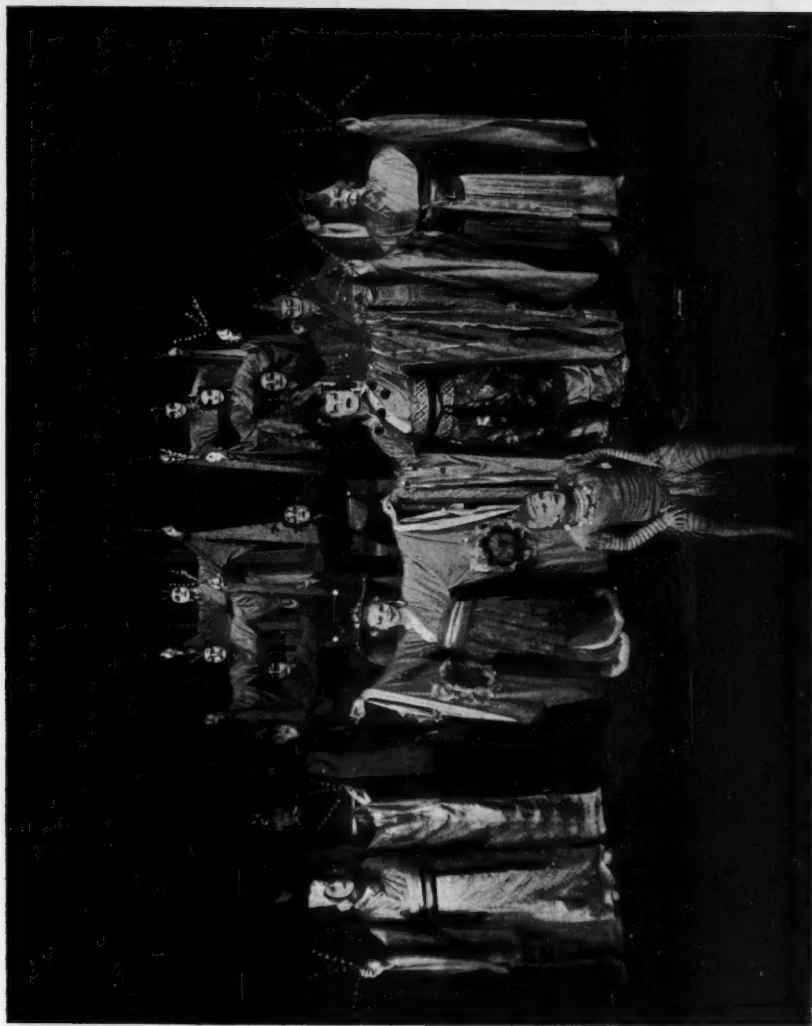
Kirschbaum develops, with a wealth of illustration, his thesis that entrance in the Register was not necessary before publication, that copyright in a work was established by the fact of publication whether entrance was made or not, and that copyright so established could be validly transferred from one stationer to another. Greg maintains, on the other hand, that entrance was, in theory at least, compulsory, and that records of assignment of unentered copies from one stationer to another are evidence not that the Company recognized the assignor's copyright, but that it merely "took cognisance" of the fact that a transfer had been made, reserving the right to set this aside in the event of the appearance of a stronger claim. The evidence is indeed conflicting. There appears to be nothing in the Company's Ordinances before 1637 to make entrance compulsory, but Greg maintains that this Ordinance codifies what was in fact "ancient usage". Kirschbaum can point to a great number of unentered works which were printed normally and which apparently brought no retribution upon the stationers concerned, and he emphasizes that although there are numerous examples of punishment for *unlicensed* printing, there are only five examples in thirty years of fines being inflicted for *non-entrance*, and that in three of these cases non-entrance is linked with lack of license. He makes use also of the order of 1602 which attempted to enforce entrance of ballads and which was completely ignored by the stationers, without, apparently, any action against them resulting. Greg's position seems to be that the fact that fines *were* inflicted for non-entrance, however seldom, shows that it was at least in theory compulsory, and it is difficult to see how this conclusion can be avoided. He would explain the large number of unentered books whose publication would seem to have been perfectly regular, in a variety of ways; in some cases perhaps the Warden's authorization for entrance had not been acted upon; some books published under patents did not require license at all; and "many were ephemeral publications in which it was not considered worth while establishing copyright, for it is obvious that, unless there was some prospect of a continued demand, exclusive rights were delusory." A recent article by Kirschbaum (*Modern Language Review*, January 1955) on the text of *Mucedorus*, and Greg's reply to some of his contentions (*M.L.R.*, July 1955) are illuminating; Kirschbaum claims that his theory of the establishment of copyright by publication, irrespective of entrance, is illustrated by the fact that this play, which was not entered, was printed six times for William Jones and, after assignment, eight times for John Wright, and "nobody tried to butt in" (Greg's phrase). Greg replies that the facts simply show that there was a steady demand for the play, but that "no one except Jones, and later Wright, would know how the stock stood, and so long as they kept the market supplied it would be to no one's interest to venture a rival edition. A pirate could only hope for gain, either if a book were allowed to go out of print, or if he could sell it cheaper than the regular producer." Clearly this principle needs to be borne very much in mind in the examination of a number of Kirschbaum's examples, particularly the plays which, as he himself rightly emphasizes, were held in low esteem by most of the stationers and are indeed ephemeral publications *par excellence*.

The two points of view are illustrated in their treatment of the case of Davenant's *Albiovine*, printed, says a minute of the Stationers' Court in 1639, "in Anno 1629 & neuer entred & therefore in the disposall of this Court." Greg naturally uses this as an example, clear enough in all conscience, of the fact that entrance was compulsory; Kirschbaum, equally naturally, points to the date of the minute, and asks what bearing this isolated case has on practice before the Ordinance of 1637. The important case of *Dr. Faustus*, involving Abel Jeffes and Edward White, also lends itself to differing interpretations; Kirschbaum says that the use of the word "Remayne" in the decision of the Court implies that the Court admitted that Jeffes had *already* established copyright by unentered publication; Greg thinks that to assume such a precise use of terms is risky, but admits that the case suggests that the fact of publication alone, without entrance, could nevertheless be made the basis of a claim that the Court might in certain circumstances take into consideration, and, if it chose, convert by its sanction into a copyright. So the battle swings backwards and forwards, and he would be a brave man who would award victory unequivocally to either party. One impression, however, may be worth mentioning; it does seem that in all this welter of conflicting evidence and interpretation Kirschbaum's picture is suspiciously neat and tidy, his case almost too good to be true, whereas Greg is prepared to put up with a certain untidiness and a number of inconsistencies which would seem to reflect more accurately the undoubtedly confused practice of the times. His remark on the attitude of the Court of the Company towards unentered copies is worth quoting in this connection: "If, however, its decisions appear at times inconsistent and even wayward, it must be remembered that, being itself the fountain-head of copyright, it could do as it pleased in any particular instance, and that we can never be certain that the Clerk's laconic minutes give us all the considerations upon which a decision was reached." His remarks which I have quoted so far are from a single chapter in Greg's book on the First Folio; it will be interesting to have his fuller views when his Lyell lectures, delivered this year at Oxford, are published.

Professor Kirschbaum may justifiably complain that I am supposed to be reviewing *his* book, and that so far I have devoted at least half my attention to Greg's; but I hope that the reason for this is clear enough. It would, however, be unfair to give the impression that there is nothing more in Kirschbaum than a discussion of the copyright question, and not to pay tribute to the excellence of the other material that he has given us. He is particularly generous with illustration, and he argues his case clearly and fascinatingly. His section on what now seems to us the cavalier treatment of an author's rights by the stationers is something which should be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by every student of the period. His "conjectural history" of the relations between Shakespeare's fellows and the stationers, 1594-1623, is a healthy corrective to any optimism that we may retain on the subject. His appendices on the copyright and publication histories of the bad quartos, and on the trade biographies of the publishers of these quartos, bring together conveniently much useful information, and present a firm and clear picture of his two hypotheses that the trade histories of the bad quartos are normal from the point of view of the Stationers' Company, and that the publishers of these quartos were reputable tradesmen, two points about which it has been dangerously easy to make false assumptions. His notes are well organized, and his "Corrections and Additional Notes" show a commendable desire to bring his work up to date as far as is humanly possible and to admit error where this has occurred, however damaging it may be to his



Orson Welles as King Lear, at the New York Civic Center. With Sylvin Short as Regan, Geraldine Fitzgerald as Goneril, and Viveca Lindfors as Cordelia. Photo by Alix Jeffry, New York.



San Diego Community Theatre production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, directed by Peter Bucknell. The fairy court, in Kabuki-like costumes, and Puck.

theories. And whether his theories stand or fall, he has presented a case which demands the closest examination and the fullest answer.

University College, London

ARTHUR BROWN

The Contention and Shakespeare's 2 Henry VI. By CHARLES TYLER PROUTY. Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. [x] + 157. \$4.00.

Some plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are found in two versions, one version being, naturally, "better" than the other. There is, for instance, a notable disparity between the texts of the first (1603) quarto of *Hamlet* and that of the second (1604-05) quarto, between the quarto text of *Henry V* and the First Folio text, between the 1597 *Romeo* quarto and the 1599 quarto. For two plays, *Orlando Furioso* and *The Massacre at Paris*, no complete "better" versions exist, but there survive manuscripts which appear to represent portions of such "better" versions. *The Massacre* is obviously well below the level of the rest of the work of Christopher Marlowe; *Orlando* is below the level of the rest of the work of Robert Greene.

When the "less-good" versions of these two-version plays are studied, compared with one another, and compared and contrasted with the "better" versions, a number of symptoms common to all the "less-good" versions show themselves. These symptoms are found also in other plays of which no "better" versions are extant.

The existence of two versions, the longer and "better" in the First Folio, the shorter and "less-good" in quartos printed in the fifteen-nineties, of the second and third parts of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, has long been known to scholars and has presented them with a number of problems. The view generally held until about the twenties of the present century was that the quarto texts were earlier versions (by someone-or-other) and that Shakespeare in his earliest days as a playwright had the task of revising these clumsyish works and that from this task he graduated to the writing of plays on his own.

In the nineteen-twenties another theory was put forward, by W. W. Greg, Peter Alexander, Madeleine Doran and others, that the "better" versions were not the later, revised versions of the "less-good", but that the "less-good" were later in time than the "better" and were the result of the attempts of actors to reproduce, for some reason or other, plays in which they had acted. The "less-good" versions were given the name of "Bad Quartos".

The Greg-Alexander-Doran view occupies the field generally to-day. I do not think that most of the sane holders of the view hold it as a truth necessary to salvation; they regard it as a convenient theory which manages to fit a number of the facts and to provide some sort of answer to many of the questions involved.

Mr. Prouty's book tries to lead us back to the old theory. He attacks the Bad-Quartoists, who believe that the "less-good" texts are the result of "memorial reconstruction" by actors—and he attacks them in only one of their forts. He essays to show that Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part Two*, is a revised version of *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster*; that *The Contention* is not a memorial reconstruction of 2HVI. I am quite unconvinced by the arguments of the present book.

Mr. Prouty certainly makes a number of points which indicate weaknesses in the Bad-Quartoists' position. There are assuredly places where *The Contention* seems to make better sense than the Folio play. There are many, very many,

places where Mr. Prouty can show quite clearly that there were differences of staging between the two versions. He is able to show places where the arguments of the Bad-Quartoists are faulty. *The Contention* has (who would deny it?) less "poetry" in it than has 2 *HVI*. I do not see why all this should lead us to toss the memorial-reconstruction theory into the ash-can.

(I don't like the phrase "Bad Quartos" and I'm sorry that it has passed into general scholarly circulation. There is nothing wicked about them. We need not assume that any actor who memorially-reconstructed a play, or any stationer who printed such a reconstruction, was necessarily a wife-beater, a communist, an atheist, a defier of authority, and so forth. I think that actors who made those versions made them in order to improve depleted repertories and that printers printed them as they might print a sermon or a pamphlet or any other play that was offered them for printing. It was not the duty of the Elizabethan stationer to probe into the provenance of every manuscript that came to his hand. His "copy" should be licensed and entered in the Stationers' Register. The task of the licenser was to see that the copy was suitably safe for publication, free from sedition, indecency and so on; he did not need to find out whether a play submitted to him was in the best available text. Were I Professor C. S. Lewis, I should say that when I spoke of Bad Quartos and Good Quartos, I was not using the word "Bad" dyslogistically, nor the word "Good" eulogistically. I am not Professor Lewis.)

I do not think that every "Bad Quarto" is the inefficient result of an actor's (or, of actors') trying to reproduce with complete accuracy the text of some earlier play. I think he is trying to write down a play (not *the* play). I am happy in that way to account to myself for the existence of two such plays (so widely different and so closely similar) as *The Taming of A Shrew* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. *A Shrew* was, I imagine, written down by an actor who felt at liberty to make what use he wanted of a Shakespeare play in which he had acted. He took over some of the plot and some of the language—and he also took over a fair amount of the language of other plays in which he had acted; and, having acted in a number of Marlowe plays, he had a general tendency to write somewhat in the Marlowe manner.

If there is any sense in that view, why should we worry about such matters as differences of staging? If it was to be regarded as *de fide* that the reconstructors were anxious to produce accurate copies of Shakespeare plays, then there's call for worry. If they are merely engaged in writing down plays for use on tour and who cares about strict verbal accuracy, they may well be justified in thinking that hick audiences desire more Senecan rant and melodrama and less Shakespearian poetry.

What does Mr. Prouty gain by faulting arguments? "Since [Hart's] controls thus fail in two essential respects", he writes, "we must reject his conclusions". Faultiness of argument does not necessarily invalidate a conclusion. If I say "All Americans are women. Mrs. Roosevelt is an American. Therefore Mrs. Roosevelt is a woman", I'm a poor logician but Mrs. Roosevelt's sex remains unchanged.

There was, maybe, a time when one could have exploded all this Bad-Quarto business by an attack on the 2 *HVI-Contention* position. That time is now past. There is no longer a single tree to the root of which an axe can be laid. There is a whole forest. If we are to be dissuaded from the theory, it is now necessary to take the theory as a whole, to examine all the Bad-Quarto plays, to consider the disparity between *The Massacre* and the rest of Marlowe as well as the disparity between the two plays which Mr. Prouty examines.

I find, at times, Mr. Prouty's arguments ingenious rather than ingenuous. What is the point of the red herring of Robert and Thomas Southwell on page 8? Mr. Prouty says that "there is no evidence of provincial theaters having such appurtenances as an inner stage". What evidence is there about the physical conditions of the provincial theaters at all? Mr. Prouty's discussion (pp. 33, 34) of "the wilde Onele" seems to me a *suppressio veri*. Does he really not know where O'Neal was before he found himself in *The Contention*? Why is the evidence suppressed?

We are told (p. 75) that "Mr. A. D. Richardson has recently completed a critical edition of *The First Part of the Contention* wherein he has examined the sources in considerable detail, and his conclusions rule out any possibility of Q being a text derived from F". What then is Mr. Prouty's book for? He has seen Mr. Richardson's book. Why does he not let us wait for it? Why must we take it from Mr. Prouty that it proves his case for him?

Mr. Prouty writes (pp. 18, 19), "Once again we see the Quarto presenting the correct details as to the capture and necessary information in contrast with the somewhat careless attitude of the Folio". I find it odd enough to think of Shakespeare sitting down to pump some poetry into a dull old play. Must I also swallow the suggestion that he was hired to pump carelessness into it?

We used to be able, in England, to go to fairgrounds and spend a little money on the pleasure of smashing up a quantity of cheap crockery. It was a harmless way of dealing with one's destructive desires. Whether Mr. Prouty has written this book merely because he wants to smash something, or because when he enters the swimming-pool he desires to make a notable splash, or because he considers that Truth (who is pictured emblematically on the dust-cover) is great and should be given an opportunity to prevail, it is not my duty to inquire.

King's College, University of London

JOHN CROW

PS. By the way:

Or as the Snake, roll'd in a flowring Banke,
With shining checker'd slough doth sting a Child,
That for the beautie thinkes it excellent.

Is Mr. Prouty right (on page 32) in thinking that the slough is "a castoff skin"?

The Age of Shakespeare (A Guide to English Literature, vol. II). Edited by NORIS FORD. Harmondsworth, Mddx.: Penguin Books, 1955. Pp. 480. 95s.

This paperback is, as the front cover announces, a "survey of the poets, prose-writers, and above all the dramatists of the English literary renaissance, including an account of the social background of the period." L. G. Salingar contributes general introductory chapters on the social setting and the Elizabethan literary renaissance; Ian Watt writes on Elizabethan light reading (Lyly, Sidney, Greene, Gascoigne, Deloney), Peter Ure on Raleigh and Daniel, Theodore Redpath on Bacon, Bertram Joseph on acting and the stage, and Wilfrid Mellers on Elizabethan music. The rest is concerned with drama and the dramatists: five chapters on Shakespeare, by several hands, and seven on Marlowe (J. C. Maxwell), Jonson (L. C. Knights), Chapman (Ure), Tourneur and the revenge tragedy (Salingar), Middleton's tragedies (J. D. Jump), Elizabethan and Jacobean comedy (D. J. Enright), and the decline of tragedy (Salingar). It is good reading for anyone and, with limitations, a good survey

for a student making a first serious approach to the Elizabethan drama. It may, however, be thought odd that Spenser should be allowed only scattered mention and that Webster's tragedies should receive less attention than Middleton's.

In the first of the Shakespeare chapters Derek Traversi shows the young dramatist developing his increasingly rich and varied verse—in which, he suggests, the discipline of the sonnets may have played an important part—and moving away from the conventional as his interests and his understanding of character broaden and he reaches “the conception of a whole play as itself a unity, a structure reflecting a complete and coherent experience”. In an admirable treatment of the second tetralogy of history plays, Traversi finds their chief meaning in “the conviction, tragic at least in its implications, that political capacity and moral sensibility tend necessarily to diverge.” J. C. Maxwell's chapter on “Shakespeare: the Middle Plays”, stimulating as it is, exhibits a fault evident also in other parts of the book. It may be his desire to make a significant contribution to Shakespeare criticism that leads him to dwell at disproportionate length on those plays about which he has something new to contribute. Thus he devotes nearly twice as much space to *Troilus and Cressida* as to either *Hamlet* or *Othello*, and of what he writes about *Hamlet* nearly half is on a single, though cogent, point concerning the opening of the play. Mature students of Shakespeare will not be disappointed, but in a survey the allotment of space ought rather to be based on the relative importance of the works covered. “*King Lear* and the Great Tragedies”, by L. C. Knights, is somewhat misleading in its title. Few readers will quarrel with his emphasis on *Lear* as the poet's “great central masterpiece”, his maturest answer to the question, “Who is it that can tell me who I am?” Most will agree, too, that the author presents a satisfying approach to the meaning of the play and that in the briefer accounts of *Macbeth*, *Coriolanus*, and *Antony* he writes with the subtlety and sensibility characteristic of much of his critical work. It may, however, be regretted that the chronological division of the plays has excluded *Hamlet* and *Othello* from the company of great tragedies. Traversi's chapter on “The Last Plays of Shakespeare” is in effect a condensation of his latest book, *The Last Phase*. The method is well stated in the introduction to his earlier *Approach to Shakespeare*: “To proceed from the word to the image in its verse setting, and thence to trace the way in which a pattern of interdependent themes is gradually woven into the dramatic action, unifying and illuminating it, is the most fruitful approach—the most accurate and, if properly handled, the least subject to prejudice—to Shakespeare's art.” Through all of the last plays—*Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*—runs the unifying theme of loss and reconciliation. “At the heart of each . . . lies an organic relationship between breakdown and reconstruction, the divisions created in the most intimate human bonds (and more especially in the unity of the family) by the action of time and passion and the final healing of these divisions.” In the demonstration the oversubtle recognition of symbolic meaning in even the most casual of words and images becomes at times tiresome, and surely this method ignores the theatre as wrong-headed as the romantic criticism did in its preoccupation with character. The last of the Shakespearian essays, Kenneth Muir's “Changing Interpretations of Shakespeare”, is an admirable survey of the criticism from the poet's own day to ours.

In the treatment of Shakespeare taken as a whole several omissions may be discerned. In recent years it has been shown that Shakespeare shared with most thoughtful men of his time a consciousness of the basic doctrines of Christian theology. Though one may reasonably not agree that *King Lear* is funda-

mentally a Christian play in a pagan setting or that *Measure for Measure* is largely concerned with the doctrine of Atonement, it can hardly be denied that a body of criticism which wholly ignores Shakespeare's known indebtedness to Hooker and the Homilies is less than complete. This omission is really part of the larger omission of any systematic consideration of Shakespeare's initial educational equipment, his expanding intellectual resources, and the way in which he worked with his sources. Anyone making his first entrance into the study of Shakespeare—and presumably it is for him that this survey is designed—would find his progress enriched by this approach.

The book closes with an appendix of thirty-eight pages of classified reading lists, helpful so far as it goes. Curiously enough, in a section called "Authors and works", though Joseph Hall is included as a poet, Spenser and Donne are not named. And in a list of works on Shakespeare, though books on his imagery are included, Caroline Spurgeon's is not among them.

Folger Shakespeare Library

GILES E. DAWSON

SHORT NOTICES

Talking of Shakespeare. Edited by JOHN GARRETT. New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1955. Pp. 264. \$5.00.

This book consists of an introduction by the editor and eleven lectures at Stratford-upon-Avon under the auspices of the British Council and the Shakespeare Institute between 1948 and 1953, in an effort "to bring together those who are interested both in the study of Shakespeare's plays and in their performance". The editor, Headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, and Governor and Member of the Executive Council of the Memorial Theatre, states more specifically the purpose of the lectures as "primarily a refresher course for teachers. . . to rouse an enthusiasm for Shakespeare by revealing his works not as examination texts, but as plays for performance in a theatre." This purpose the book carries out well: the emphasis on performance and the importance of the audience response recurs explicitly in several of the lectures, and the enthusiasm is manifest in all of them. The most direct recognition of the problems of teaching Shakespeare to younger students is in the introduction, admirable both in its spirit and its advice.

Four of the lectures are useful introductions to fairly general fields. Nevill Coghill, on "Shakespeare as a Dramatist", discusses the strategy of making a play, illustrating his points by an analysis of *Hamlet*. A. L. Rowse, in "Elizabethan Drama and Society", provides an unusually satisfactory summary in brief compass of the social and historic backgrounds. L. A. G. Strong, in "Shakespeare and the Psychologists", is similarly successful in briefly and clearly describing the various complexes and neuroses recognized by modern psychologists, and then as unproven, tests them by Shakespeare's practice, which has been approved by time. Finally in this group is J. Dover Wilson's "On Editing Shakespeare", the clearest short account which I have seen of the revolution in textual study which has occurred in recent years and of the problems involved in it; these are illustrated by examples which arise in the editing of *Richard III*. It is interesting to speculate what further refinements must be made as a result of Charlton Hinman's study of the First Folio, now in progress.

Four of the lectures are on more limited subjects, but because of the carefulness of argument and freshness of approach require for intelligible statements longer summaries than are practicable here. Walter Oakeshott ("Shakespeare and Plutarch") shows how Shakespeare differed from Plutarch in his attitude toward his characters and arrived at a different idea of tragedy from that of either the Greeks or the Romans. A. P. Rossiter in "Ambivalence: the Dialectic of the Histories", decides that "Shakespeare's History, at its greatest, *had* to be comic." Under the title, "Shakespeare's 'Small Latine and Less Greeke'", Glynne Wickham defends Jonson against charges of spite or malice toward Shakespeare; emphasizes that Jonson wrote for the intelligentsia, Shakespeare for the popular audience; and warns producers today not to approach a play of either as if it were the other's. Patric Dickinson gives fourteen of his eighteen pages on "Shakespeare Considered as a Poet" to the poems and sonnets, and the four remaining to a subtly argued explanation why he wrote no more poems.

Three lectures remain to be mentioned, perhaps the most generally interesting because of their record of factual details. Paul Dehn discusses the various talkies made of Shakespeare's plays, selecting as worst *As You Like It* with Elisabeth Bergner, and Orson Welles's *Macbeth*; rating as best Olivier's *Henry V* (apparently the too obviously girlish pages at the Globe and the farcical Archbishop did not much bother him); praising *Romeo and Juliet* with Leslie Howard and Norma Shearer, and M.G.M.'s recent *Julius Caesar*; and making some reservations about Olivier's *Hamlet* and Reinhardt's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Many specific points are mentioned in support of these judgments. Norman Marshall, who has produced plays of Shakespeare's not only in England, but also in Germany, France, India, and Pakistan, reports in "Shakespeare Abroad" most informingly on the varying reception in these countries. And Michael Redgrave's "Shakespeare and the Actors" is full of practical wisdom gained by rich experience, and profitable for teachers, actors, and especially scholars, who are likely to lack in knowledge of the theatre in action.

Boulder, Colorado

GEORGE F. REYNOLDS

Die Tragödie vor Shakespeare. Ihre entwicklung im Spiegel der Dramatischen Rede (Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Band V). By WOLFGANG CLEMEN. Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1955. Pp. 270. DM 15.

This study of pre-Shakespearian tragedy is concerned, as its subtitle indicates, with the development of dramatic speech. It is divided into three parts. After a general introduction, Professor Clemen sketches the development of rhetorical dramatic speech in ancient times and in Europe of the sixteenth century, and discusses the basic forms of dramatic speech in relation to characterization. The second part of his book, which constitutes the bulk of it, surveys individual dramas from *Gorboduc* onwards; Marlowe naturally figures largely, and there are separate chapters on Greene, Peele, and Kyd. In the final section, Clemen discusses the development of the tragic Lament, and analyzes its constituents.

The book is a model of compression, and is meant to provide the German student with a survey of the recent work in this very popular field of study. Clemen has kept abreast of recent scholarship in spite of all the difficulties of obtaining books which still beset the Germans; in his notes, for example, he cites such very recent work as Miss Madeleine Doran's *Endeavors of Art*, published in 1954. At the same time, such feats as the condensation of a survey of

the Lament throughout the course of literary history into forty-one pages preclude the possibility of fine and close analysis. Nevertheless, Clemen has some interesting observations by the way, as for example on the special importance of *Gismond of Salerne* in the development of tragic dialogue, and pre-eminently of the different forms of self-characterization undertaken by Marlowe's heroes. His description of the various constituents of the tragic Lament (Fortune's wheel, the stock classical comparisons, the appeal to death, etc.), which constitutes the most detailed part of his study, also supplies the most interesting information. But it is for the balance, justness and good order of the survey that the book will be found of most value to students, in providing an introduction to the perhaps over-cultivated pastures of Elizabethan dramatic rhetoric.

Girton College, Cambridge

MURIEL C. BRADBROOK

These Were Actors: The Story of the Chapmans and the Drakes. By GEORGE D. FORD. New York: Library Publishers, 1955. Pp. 314. \$5.00.

Theatrical families which stick to their profession take rare pride in it. Here is a family memoir by the great-great grandson of William Chapman, Sr., and Samuel Drake, Sr., George D. Ford, who today continues in the theatre world as company manager for Ballet Russe.

Will, Sr., was the grandson of Thomas Chapman, a soldier of 1705 who just happened to take a job as an actor because he was a striking looking fellow and it was the best job he could get on getting out of the Army. His first part turned out to be the title role in the first production of *The Beggar's Opera*. Thus launched, the family spread to America, where it created the first of the show boats, married into the Drake and Ford families—the Fords of Ford's Theaters, Washington and Baltimore. A Ford niece is Edith Gresham, long Aunt Eller of *Oklahoma!* and now a TV and stage regular. George Ford's mother, Blanche Chapman Ford, played her last role at 83 and it is to her, who told him most of these familial anecdotes, the author dedicates his affectionate volume.

Naturally Shakespeare's plays are much in the spotlight, for they were the backbone of all touring repertoire from the time of Old Will's arrival in America in 1827. A Pittsburgh engagement gave him an idea of how the family could act together for more than the customarily brief urban engagements. He would buy a large boat, live on it by day, act on it by night. The idea brought Shakespeare to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar*, *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, and *The Merchant of Venice* are specifically mentioned.

One night, shortly after the show boat had been tied up for the season and the family was heading east by land, *The Merchant of Venice* stood the Chapmans in good stead. A band of robbers held them up and, learning they were actors, insisted on a full performance, the which they heartily applauded. Ready to let them go, the robbers still decided to look through the wagons for something of more lasting value. They came to the box that had been used in *The Merchant's Casket Scene*.

"No, No! You must not!" cried Will's daughter. Delicately, her brother explained that the casket contained the body of the girl's baby. "We're taking it back to rest with its ancestors in Pittsburgh." The robbers let them keep the casket unmolested, never knowing that the acting family had improvised a scene to save their season's earnings, locked in the non-existent babe's coffin.

An intimate glimpse of the 1849 Astor Place riots comes from the grandson of Will, Sr., Harry Chapman, then manager for Edwin Forrest at the Broadway theater the night the Macbeth of Forrest's rival, William Macready, touched off the riot which killed 22 people. California in the Gold Rush days, a glimpse of Caroline Chapman playing Ophelia to Edwin's Booth's Hamlet are family momentos and so is the sturdy training it took to act Shakespeare in the outposts.

But Ford's book is Shakespeariana only incidentally. Essentially it is a genial ramble with a long-lived theatrical family.

Washington, D. C.

RICHARD L. COE

The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy. By M. C. BRADBROOK. London: Chatto & Windus, 1955. Pp. 246. 18s. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. \$4.50.

Elizabethan comedy has come into its own in recent years as a subject of scholarly and critical study, and can no longer be regarded as a frivolous, tiresome shadow of her magnificent elder sister. It will continue, of course, like comedy in every age, to be peculiarly vulnerable to the ravages of time, which obscures the most pointed topical allusion and saps the vitality of even the liveliest critical representation of manners and morals. Nevertheless the joyousness and exuberance of Shakespeare's comedies make them a perennial delight to spectators and readers; and vanity, folly and vice seem constant enough in every age to keep Jonson's comedies on the stage.

Dr. Bradbrook has endeavored in her stimulating new book "to trace the chronological development of Elizabethan comedy whilst distinguishing its characteristic forms", in the hope of describing and illuminating "the evolution and the interaction" of Elizabethan (or Shakespearian) and Jacobean (or Jonsonian) comedy. The three parts of her book—"The Makings of Elizabethan Drama", "Nature and Art at Strife", and "The Triumph of Art"—reflect her view of the history of English drama in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and necessarily involve her in the recapitulation of much familiar material: popular and court comedy before the University Wits, the Poets' War, varieties of satirical comedy, and so forth. Lyly is paid a deserved tribute, and there are interesting observations on rhetoric and language, and, as might be expected, on convention. But a full critical exposition and analysis of the evolution of Elizabethan comedy does not emerge, possibly because each time the book enters upon such a discussion the exigencies of literary history assert themselves, and analysis is abandoned for description. Thus in the end Dr. Bradbrook gives us a more conventional history than we have a right to expect from so talented and original a scholar.

There are other difficulties that must be mentioned. The absence of a theoretical discussion of comedy deprives the book of a framework in critical theory to which the writers treated can be related. One would like to know, for example, in what sense this work views *The Changeling* (or *Measure for Measure*) as comedy. (In this connection, it should be noted that satirical comedy gets unnecessarily short shrift, and that the illuminating scholarship of Oscar James Campbell on this subject is passed over in silence.)

Dr. Bradbrook's elliptical and suggestive style occasionally becomes excessively spare; this is notably true of the discussion of rhetoric in the section entitled "The Development of Style" (pp. 49-58). One wonders, incidentally, why Falstaff finds no place in this section, or (more surprisingly) in the chapter devoted to Shakespeare.

The answer may lie in the most serious deficiency of the book as a whole: the lack of interest it exhibits in comedy as a source of comic pleasure. For, whatever our definition of the ultimate purpose of comedy—the discomfiture of vanity or the chastisement of vice—there can be no doubt about its immediate purpose and recognizable effect. Shakespeare, like Aristophanes, Molière and Shaw, lives to-day as a comic artist because he practiced with brilliant success his odd profession: "*C'est une étrange entreprise que celle de faire rire les honnêtes gens.*" And woe betide the critic who forgets that comedy is before all laughable.

Washington, D. C.

MILTON CRANE

Hamlet: Shakespeares "Faust"-Tragödie. By ELSA HENNINGS. Born: H. Bouvier & Co., 1954. Pp. 300. DM 9.00.

Whatever the hair-splittings of scholars, in which she does not wish to take part, the author thinks it clear that Q1 and Q2 are prints of two different *Hamlet* versions by Shakespeare. Q1 is still motivated by the Senecan idea of revenge, Q2 is based on the medieval *Faust* idea, and it is in this light that the differences between the two must be considered.

This is an interesting proposition, which it would be pleasant if the author could have proved. Obviously, Q1 is a "bad" quarto, and equally obviously a comparison of a bad text and a good requires a careful (and difficult) analysis of the "bad" characteristics of the bad one, since we shall have to know where comparison is, or is not, legitimate. This comparison the author does not make, and indeed, for anything she says, one would think that she considers the authority of Q1 for the supposed earlier version equal with that of Q2 for the supposed later. Thus her thesis has no sound critical basis to rest on.

Since, however, most of her book is concerned with the Q2/F1 version, it is still possible to consider her interpretation of it on its own merits, though we must deny the force of absolute proof to observations drawn from textual differences with Q1.

The author's central thesis is again not without its interests. *Faust*, she says, is the Prometheus of the Christian era, the bold individual who, in defiance of all moral and religious precepts, in passionate revolt against the fetters laid on man, assaults the established world order and aims to oppose to it the domination of a human spirit, his own. The Q2 *Hamlet*, like Marlowe's *Faustus*, has absorbed all the knowledge of his time, and finds that there is more in heaven and earth than is dreamt of in all the philosophy of the schools. Hence his desire, at thirty, to study magic at Wittenberg, where Giordano Bruno had taught, and hence his reckless following of the ghost, for which he has to pay with his sanity. Under the impact of the ghost's revelations his mind gives way, and it is not until the last act that the light gradually returns to it.

Shakespeare, in conceiving this *Hamlet*, was prompted by various influences of a literary nature. The prince's character is modelled on that of the schizoid Italian poet Torquato Tasso, his delusions come out of Montaigne. Indeed, the compass which, in interpreting the tragedy, we have to follow consists in the *Essays* of Montaigne. It is the *Essays* (a French edition, not a Florio MS, to judge by the text which the author quotes in German) which *Hamlet* is reading at II. ii: *Enter Hamlet reading on a Booke*. The first clue that this is so is offered by *Hamlet* identifying Polonius as a Fishmonger. Fishmonger was Montaigne's nickname (proof: Scaliger wrote that Montaigne's father was a *vendeur de*

harenc). The satirical rogue is Montaigne, since the same observations on old men can be found in odd places if one reads through a good hundred and fifty pages of the *Essays*, Book III (nothing closer than chapters is cited). The commonplaces are indeed there, but none of the telling phrases (such as the amber and plumbtree gum), and it is, alas, likewise with the other proofs cited. On this shaky edifice is then erected the theory that Hamlet, in his delusion, takes Polonius for Montaigne, and Ophelia for Montaigne's daughter Leonore. Truly, it out-Bacons the Baconians. Whatever merits there may be in the author's approach are here irretrievably lost in a morass of psychoanalytics for which the textual basis is utterly lacking. This is less evident in the book, with practically all its quotations in German (in the one case where the English text is emphatically added one fails to see where it archaizes, as the author claims it does), but it is only too evident if one consults the quartos, unhampered as they are by the translator's one-way interpretation of what they say.

It would be interesting to see how the author's view of the play as an exposition of the *Faust* theme would stand up in less fanciful surroundings, but that would require a book, not a review.

Scheveningen

JOHAN GERRITSEN

Essays in Honor of Walter Clyde Curry (Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities, Vol. II). Vanderbilt University Press, 1954. Pp. 298. \$5.00.

This volume, published on the occasion of the retirement of Walter Clyde Curry as head of the Vanderbilt English department, consists of papers by former students of his on Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and other mediæval and Renaissance subjects, the fields in which Curry has distinguished himself. In a foreword Hardin Craig places Curry firmly in the tradition of American scholarship, tracing its genesis, sketching its course, and summing up the achievements of Curry's generation. In placing Curry historically, he presents a vigorous defense of historical scholarship, showing how Curry's *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* makes *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* cast forth new lights by re-creating their intellectual setting.

Of the nineteen papers included in the volume, some by such well-known scholars and critics as Dorothy Bethurum, Edd Winfield Parks, Robert H. West, and Cleanth Brooks, three out of the five Shakespearean papers, to which this review is confined, are, unfortunately, perhaps the weakest. The first of these, by Ruth Cates Baird, rather mechanically sets *As You Like It* and its source, Lodge's *Rosalynde*, side by side, noting in detail the differences in plot but failing to present adequately the difference in tone between the two works. It is at its poorest when dealing with characterization.

The second, by Bernard R. Breyer, does a good job of proving that Caesar has the traits that Elizabethans regarded as characteristic of the tyrant but goes on to make the unproved statement that "if Caesar was a potential tyrant, no Elizabethan thinker would have condemned Brutus for the action he took." Breyer thinks that *Caesar* "reflects a profound despair of finding any objective meaning in life" and as such is the precursor of the bitter comedies and *Hamlet*. Once more, despite all of the study of Shakespeare's relation to his intellectual background, we are presented with a nihilistic Shakespeare, with *Julius Caesar* added to the canon of nihilistic works. Et tu, *Caesar*?

The third, by Denver Ewing Baughan, adopts the dubious method of quoting characters in the plays to exhibit Shakespeare's feelings about travel. For the most part, the statement of Shakespeare's "attitude" is so general that it

is not very meaningful—e. g., Shakespeare thought that foreign travel brought one to exotic places and could make a merchant wealthy. The conclusion, however, is an unwarranted inference incapable of proof: since only in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is there a statement that foreign travel is necessary for the gentleman, Shakespeare longed to travel when he was young, but “that early hope died and there sprang up the substitute feeling that travel is, for most, a fool’s paradise.”

In one of the two remaining essays Jeffrey Fleece shows through apposite quotation that Leigh Hunt’s Shakespearian criticism provides “an excellent picture of the transition from the 18th century’s rationally hesitant admiration and the bardolatry of Hunt’s contemporaries”. Without exaggerating Hunt’s importance, he also shows that Hunt’s love and knowledge of the stage give his comments “a sympathetic enthusiasm and an unerring accuracy in description of the broader effects. . . .”

Finally, Bain Tate Stewart discusses the practice of Shakespeare and other Elizabethans of having a character describe a prophetic dream whose meaning is apparent to the audience but not to those in the play. Curry demonstrated that the Middle Ages believed that some dreams were of natural and others of supernatural origin; Stewart demonstrates that the Renaissance followed the Middle Ages in this belief. By making the play’s characters dismiss a prophetic dream as having natural causes, he notes, the dramatists conveyed the impression of a divine power that shapes men’s ends in ways of which men are ironically unaware. Thus he adds to our understanding of the plays by his study of dreamlore. In following most closely in the path of the master, he has gathered the best fruit.

Long Island University

PAUL N. SIEGEL

Shakespeare: Of An Age And For All Time (The Yale Shakespeare Festival Lectures). Edited by CHARLES TYLER PROUTY. Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1954. Pp. 147. \$2.50.

Reading these lectures recalled to the reviewer’s mind pleasant memories of a week spent at Yale in the second half of October 1953, much of it in the company of some of the contributors to this volume. The Shakespeare Festival was then in course of preparation, though I cannot remember hearing much about it. Perhaps the planners were too much preoccupied with the magnitude of their task to talk about it to a chance visitor. The whole story is told by Professor Prouty in his Introduction, the aim of the proposed Festival being “to signalize Yale’s contribution to the study of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans”. The program carried out in February and March 1954 included a performance of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with the original pronunciation, a space-fiction version of *The Tempest* by the Yale Dramat, a television show featuring an exhibition of books and manuscripts, and the six lectures collected in this volume. They deal with “Shakespeare the Elizabethan” (Davis P. Harding), “Shakespeare’s Language” (Helge Kökeritz), “Producing Shakespeare” (Frank McMullan), “The Early Historical Plays” (Arleigh D. Richardson III), “*Macbeth*: Interpretation versus Adaptation” (Eugene M. Waith), “*Antony and Cleopatra*” (Norman Holmes Pearson). All of them distill for the benefit of audience and readers the essence of their writers’ expertise in various fields of Shakespeare production and research. My personal preference goes to Eugene Waith’s vindication of the third scene of the fourth act of *Macbeth*, so often maligned by critics and cut by producers. (For a close study of Davenant’s

Macbeth I may perhaps refer him to Rudolf Stamm's article in *English Studies*, XXIV, 1942.) "The present-day collaboration between scholarship and the theatre" forms the starting-point of Frank McMullan's lecture, in which due credit is given to such British reformers as William Poel and Harley Granville-Barker. More than one lecturer emphasizes the cultural equipment, based on a sixteenth-century Grammar School education, that a considerable portion of Shakespeare's audience brought to the understanding and appreciation of his plays. Norman Pearson has a good deal to say on the poetic quality of at least one of the dramas, though one could, perhaps, have wished that this aspect had had a separate paper assigned to it.

The lectures have been printed as typewritten (or whatever the process is called). Most of them seem also to have been printed as delivered; some (if it is not impertinent for a non-Anglo-Saxon to say so) might have been improved, stylistically and otherwise, by more careful revision. But these are small blemishes in proportion to the wealth of "delightful teaching" contained in this volume.

Groningen

R. W. ZANDVOORT

Shakespeares Tragödie und Romanzen: Kontinuität oder Umbruch? By HORST OPPEL. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1954. Pp. 46. DM 3.60.

The present brief monograph, No. 2 in the 1954 volume of literary Transactions of the Academy of Science and Literature of the University of Mainz, is a continuation of the author's studies in Shakespeare's latest works. Taking issue with the judgment of E. K. Chambers (and many others) that the transition from the tragedies to the romances represents a distinct breach, the author argues for continuity. He recognizes the striking superficial differences, frequently pointed out, but maintains that in Shakespeare's characteristic use of dramatic imagery to establish mood and reinforce theme the pattern remains consistent and the transition a necessary resolution: "Ohne Tragödien keine Romanzen" (p. 44).

The author is patently much impressed by the *Scrutiny* group of critics—"die Gruppe der sogenannten *neo-Shakesperians*"—whose insistence upon "emotional coherence" (Knights) and whose close reading of the poet's imagery as clue to a unified system of values he follows in the two passages of his illustrative nexus, *Macbeth*, I. vi. 1-10 and *The Tempest*, II. i. 35-50 (Kittredge lineation). It is possibly due to the influence of this group, also, that his study exhibits throughout the marked tendency of recent years to revisit Bradley in no very friendly mood. Whatever the number of Lady Macbeth's children, it is clear that this is one of them.

Its obvious *Tendenz* notwithstanding, Professor Opel's study is a well-informed and valuable contribution to a vexed problem.

University of Tennessee

JOHN LEON LIEVSAY

The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, Vol. II. Edited by FREDSON BOWERS. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. [viii] + [592]. \$7.50.

The second volume of Fredson Bowers' edition of Dekker includes several of the more important plays and provides further models in the editing of Elizabethan drama. The plays are *The Honest Whore*, Parts 1 and 2, *The Magnificent Entertainment*, *Westward Ho*, *Northward Ho*, and *The Whore of Babylon*; and each is decked out with an admirable textual introduction and useful notes.

To be sure, these textual introductions discuss some printing situations and procedures that find no close analogies among Shakespearian quartos. But the total effect is to acquaint the bibliographer and editor with a fuller view of printing-house practice. If neither *Hamlet* nor *Lear* was put out to three or five printers, as were the first part of *The Honest Whore* and *The Magnificent Entertainment*, none the less here is light within which to examine the shift in typography (and perhaps in printers) in the bad quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. If original Shakespeare quartos do not afford instances of standing type, as do the just-mentioned Dekker pieces, here in any case is evidence on piecing and type-accidents, on the order of distributing formes, on pairs of substantive texts, on authorial correction, useful in the study of various Elizabethan plays. In the glow of Charlton Hinman's brilliant discovery that the Folio of 1623 was set from cast-off copy, we note appreciatively that Dekker's manuscript for *The Magnificent Entertainment* was surely cast off and divided accordingly—else its five printers could not have worked simultaneously to bring a coronation souvenir to quick market. And this inference in turn suggests the advisability of reexamining the good quartos judged to have been printed from Shakespeare's foul papers or fair copies—for evidence of casting off—though the evidence this time may not come in the form of damaged types. Bowers shows again the validity of running titles and the printer's measure as bibliographical tools. And he considers (p. 5) what evidence may be in the paper, not expecting too much of it, but making it count when he can, as in his recent bibliographical analysis of Whitman manuscripts.

A noteworthy feature of this second volume is the (relatively) extensive textual notes appended to *The Honest Whore*, Part 1, *Westward Ho*, and *Northward Ho*. The question of the intrusive stage-direction ("Sing", p. 112, and "Bow a little", p. 116), of relining (p. 113), of paleographic emendation ("Blacke-Beard" for "Blacke-doord", p. 115, and "whores" for "wheres", p. 396), of speech-assignment (p. 220), of compositor's miscorrection ("hee" for "Had", p. 304, and "means" rather than "wit" for "wist", p. 394)—these and similar points receive careful scrutiny. One delightful emendation, "printing house" for "painting house" (*Northward Ho*, III. i. 2, with note p. 482), suddenly gives us a glimpse of workmen at the press, of a journeyman muscularly applying "pounders" to work thick ink into dull type.

As in examining the first volume, the reader and critic is impressed with the number of copies of the plays collated to produce the authority and accuracy of this edition: for 1 *Honest Whore*, "the only four extant copies"; for 2 *Honest Whore*, 17; for *The Magnificent Entertainment*, 16; for *Westward Ho*, 17; for *Northward Ho*, 18; for *The Whore of Babylon*, 17 copies. No doubt these figures will awe those men who edit Shakespeare by refurbishing the Globe text.

It is no secret that Bowers himself is more than a little aware of the implications of his labors for Shakespearian editing. His Rosenbach lectures (1955) and several papers have dealt with the philosophy and method of editing Shakespeare. Though some of these, such as his English Institute paper, "McKerrow's Editorial Principles for Shakespeare Reconsidered" (*SO*, VI, 309-324), make no mention of Thomas Dekker, it is clear enough that his philosophy of editing has been formed largely through searching analysis of the quartos of Dekker—and Dryden. There can hardly be a better sort of approach to unsolved bibliographical and editorial problems remaining in the texts of *Hamlet* and *Lear*.

AMad Crue; Or, That shall be tryde.
To the tune of, Pudding-Pye Doll.



Valking of late through London Streets,
A crue of good-fellows together met,
For one of them sober, if not helpe,
Well, quoth the Maulman, that shall be tryde.

From thence I travel'd, to see a new Play,
Whereas an old Widdow to gallant array,
Wote pleasantly smirking, like a young Wido,
Well, quoth the Fiddler, that shall be tryde,

Then to a Tobacco-house, smoking hats
Went I, and call'd for my Pipe and my Pot,
The Widdow was strong, but hardly well dyde,
Well, quoth the Horle-courser, that shall be tryde.

The Market of Cheaps, I faine would then see,
Where soone a fine Cut-purse bismonged me,
For ventur'd a leyn, to Tybourne to ride,
Well, quoth the Hangman, now that shall be tryde.

I afterward went, and toke by mine Inne,
Where as I found out, an Aunt of my kinne,
Who feared no lashing, though all were espyde,
Well, quoth the Beadie, now that shall be tryde.

I met with a Gallant, that sold all his Love,
After tooke money by, bound by Bond,
Who when the day came, the payment denyde,
Well, qu. the Sergeant, now that shall be tryde.

I faine would then see a close Bowling-Alley,
Where to a fine Cheater, I gave for my selly,
His rights were so nimble, they could not be spyde,
Well, quoth Justice too-good, that shall be tryde.

Where Fields being pleasant, the same I would see,
Where Widdow of our City, still whitting cloathde,
For forty warkes after, my love I there tyde,
Well, quoth the Midwife, now that shall be tryde.

I went to Pre-Coyner, to looke for my Dinner,
Where dining with smokes, it made me lark thinner,
The reckoning being call'd for, the same I denyde,
Well, quoth the Cooke, now that shall be tryde.

And then in Smithfield I bought me a Hogg,
Where of all the foure, not halfe a good legg,
Being tyde to the Spanger, he left me his Byde,
Well, qu. the Beareward, now that shall be tryde.

A Gout of good Battin I made me as then,
Where as five yards were stole out of ten,
And foure of the others at least were denyde,
Well, quoth the Broker, now that shall be tryde.

I met then a Collier, that sold me good Coale,
Where time, of foure Bushels, ran out of the hole,
Yet maye then full measure, the Collier will tyde,
Well, quoth the Pillory, that shall be tryde.

Queries and Notes

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRAGEDIES IN THE FIRST FOLIO

G. P. V. AKRIGG

The Shakespeare First Folio presents the plays in three groups. First come the comedies, apparently arranged to give prominence to the hitherto unprinted plays by placing them at the beginning and at the end of the section, where they would be most likely to catch the eye of a prospective buyer.¹ Next come the histories, arranged chronologically according to reign, beginning with *King John* and concluding with *Henry VIII*. Finally come the tragedies, but the scholars have been unable to agree that for these there is any particular arrangement. A theory that the tragedies, like the comedies, were so ordered as to put the previously unpublished plays in the most conspicuous place will hardly do, for three of the first four had previously appeared in print, while *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth*, now printed for the first time, were buried in mid-section. Sir Sidney Lee thought that the arrangement of the tragedies was altogether random, with Jaggard printing the plays just as the copy chanced to trickle in.² Sir Walter Greg, in his recent book on the First Folio, has noted, "As it stands, of the first six plays five are classical, and of the last six five are modern or legendary".³ He does not attach much weight to this finding, however, and finally inclines to "a partial return" to Lee's view that the arrangement of the tragedies was unplanned.

It is the purpose of the present article to maintain that there is indeed an arrangement to the tragedies, an arrangement so commonplace that it is surprising that it has not been suggested before. The thesis now advanced is that *basically the tragedies were arranged according to what Condell and Heminge took to be the order of their composition*.

When we look at the First Folio, we find that the tragedies are in the following sequence: *Troilus and Cressida*, *Coriolanus*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*. The bibliographers, however, have irrefutable evidence that one of these plays is not where it was originally intended to appear. Jaggard meant to have *Troilus and Cressida* follow *Romeo and Juliet*, and he commenced printing it in that position (Greg, p. 445). Difficulties of some sort arose—probably Henry Walley who owned the rights to the play refused Jaggard permission to use it. In any event, Jaggard apparently lost hope of securing *Troilus and Cressida*. When belatedly he found himself able to include it, he had already printed the tragedies complete to the

¹ A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685*, pp. 123-124.

² *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, Facsimile of the First Folio Edition, 1623*, with an introduction by Sidney Lee, p. xxv.

³ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio* p. 81.

final colophon and so he inserted it as a series of unnumbered pages at the head of the tragedies (Greg, p. 447). The bibliographers have something more to tell us about the tragedies. "*Timon* was inserted at the last moment in the place long reserved for *Troilus and Cressida*, and it is quite possible that the editors did not in the first place intend to print it at all, and only decided to do so when something was needed to fill the gap" (Greg, p. 411). The consequence of all this is that, if we are to have the original intended arrangement of the tragedies, we must do two things—we must drop *Timon of Athens* and restore in its place *Troilus and Cressida*.

The revised sequence of the plays with which we will now have to deal is this: *Coriolanus*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*. Let us compare this with our most commonly accepted Shakespeare chronology, that set forth by Sir Edmund Chambers.⁴ Doing this, we find that only four of our eleven plays are out of their proper chronological place. *Troilus and Cressida* still is misplaced, as are *Coriolanus*, *Macbeth*, and *King Lear*. But seven of the plays are correctly placed chronologically. It is interesting to call in a mathematician to give us the actual numerical degree of probability that a chance arrangement of the plays would give us a scheme so nearly chronological. The answer here is that the probability is only 3%.⁵ The odds, then, are strongly against the Folio arrangement being other than deliberately chronological.

Let us briefly consider the four plays which are apparently out of their proper place in a chronological sequence.

(1) *Coriolanus*. There can be no doubt that this is misplaced. Why, then, does it appear at the head of the list? A simple answer suggests itself. If the tragedies had been printed in rigorously chronological order, the archaic melodrama *Titus Andronicus* would have enjoyed pride of place at the head of the tragedies. One can imagine Jaggard arguing that a prospective buyer, leafing through the volume, would be more likely to buy it if at the head of the tragedies he found a fine play never before in print. This gives us a possible reason why *Coriolanus* was taken out of sequence and arbitrarily given first place.

(2) *Troilus and Cressida*. The second issue of the 1609 quarto of this play contains a preface declaring this to be a play "never stal'd with the stage". If such were indeed the case, Condell and Heminge, relying upon their recollections of stage production, might well have had difficulty in dating the play and so have misplaced it. On the other hand, there may have been no mistake. A few years ago Leslie Hotson advanced a case for assigning *Troilus and Cressida* to 1598.⁶ If Hotson is right, *Troilus and Cressida* is correctly placed.

(3) *Macbeth*. In naming *Macbeth* as one of the plays out of proper place, we have followed majority opinion concerning the date of this play. It must be noted, however, that there has long been a minority opinion, represented by Fleay, Brandes, Saintsbury, Grierson, J. M. Robertson, and Dover Wilson,

⁴ *William Shakespeare: A Study of the Facts and Problems*, I, 270-271.

⁵ For this information I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Stanley W. Nash, the Department of Mathematics, the University of British Columbia. Dr. Nash, working on the assumption that the order of the plays is purely random, has established the probability of a chance ordering of the plays producing a sequence at least as chronological as that in the Folio to be 0.0309.

⁶ *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and Other Essays*, pp. 37-56.

which puts *Macbeth* much earlier than 1606. Dover Wilson, while ready to concede very extensive revision in 1606, still held out for 1601 or 1602 for the original writing of the play.⁷ In other words, *Macbeth* may be much closer to *Hamlet* than has generally been conceded, and it is not impossible that the Folio editors may have been right in placing it before *Hamlet*.

(4) *King Lear*. Opinion has rather favoured 1605 for *King Lear*. Kenneth Muir in his recent edition of the play gives a good case, indeed, for putting the play back to the winter of 1604-1605.⁸ We generally accept 1604 as the date for *Othello*. Little wonder if Condell and Heminge were to slip up when trying to remember just which was the earlier of two plays written in such close succession. On the other hand, can we preclude at least the possibility that they were right in making *King Lear* the earlier play?

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MOBY DICK AND SHAKESPEARE: A REMONSTRANCE

EDWARD STONE

I would like to qualify one basis for Professor Stewart's reasoning that Chapters I-XV ("UMD") of *Moby Dick* represent an original story, more or less: namely, that they are almost completely free from Shakespearian influence.¹ My own opinion is that (1) his theory finds less Shakespeare in UMD than can actually be found there, and (2) conversely, the Insight Passage in Chapter XVI so important to the theory does not contain the Shakespeare allusion that Professor Stewart finds in it.²

To begin with, the only Shakespeare touches in UMD that Professor Stewart can find or concede are, he states, nothing more than "possible" echoes, "all so slight as to be doubted": (1) the faint reference to *Othello* in "money in my purse" (I); (2) the *Tempest* echo in "beyond the reach of any plummet" (IX); and (3) the "multitudinously" (IX) link with *Macbeth*.³ That these are merely slight echoes is true; but of such as these, various others can be found in UMD. In Chapter I, for example, when Ishmael speaks of ship's passengers who "don't sleep of nights" as not enjoying life, he seems to be echoing Caesar's analysis of Cassius' character, albeit trivially. In Chapter VII the women present in the seamen's chapel who are spoken of as wearing "the countenance if not the trappings of some unceasing grief" prompt me, at least, to recall some of the first words that Hamlet speaks.⁴ Finally, does not Ishmael's personification of Destiny (I) as "the invisible police officer of the Fates, who has the constant

⁷ *Macbeth*, New Cambridge ed., p. xli.

⁸ *King Lear*, New Arden ed., p. xxiv.

¹ George R. Stewart, "The Two Moby-Dicks", *American Literature*, XXV (January, 1954), 417-448.

² I have no intention of qualifying the importance imputed to the rest—that is, to the greater part—of the Insight Passage, nor for that matter, of concealing my admiration of Professor Stewart's analysis of it, not to speak of his identifying it.

³ Stewart, p. 425. The first of these echoes is accredited to F. O. Matthiessen (cf. *American Renaissance*, p. 425).

⁴ Also, cf. Mansfield and Vincent (eds.), *Moby Dick*, p. 613.

surveillance of me and secretly *dogs me*" recall the dying Hamlet's "fell *sergeant*, death, . . . *strict in his arrest*"?⁵

Actually, however, one need not debate the case in terms of echoes alone: in addition to the comparative abundance of these, there are at least two strong Shakespearian touches in UMD. In the instance of one, a sustained description of the public room of the Spouter-Inn (III), the correspondences in details and order of presentation with *Romeo and Juliet* (V.i) are too close to result from chance.⁶

I do remember an apothecary,
And hereabouts 'a dwells, which late I noted,
In tattered weeds, with overwhelming brows,
Culling of simples. Meager were his looks,
Sharp misery had worn him to the bones;
And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
An alligator stuffed; and other skins
Of ill-shaped fishes; and about his shelves
A beggarly account of empty boxes,
Green earthen pots, bladders and musty seeds,
Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses,
Were thinly scattered, to make up a show. . . .

Art thou so bare and full of wretchedness,
And fearest to die? Famine is in thy cheeks,
Need and oppression starveth in thy eyes,
Contempt and beggary hangs upon thy back.

There is thy gold, worse poison to men's souls,
Doing more murder in this loathsome world,
Than these poor compounds that thou mayst not sell.
I sell thee poison; thou hast sold me none.

But if the truer test of influence is similarity of tone and/or method, rather than of words, what better instance can be found, in whatever part of Melville's novel, of Shakespearian influence than in Ishmael's Falstaffian self-catechism (X)?⁷

. . . honour pricks me on. Yea, but
how if honour prick me off when I
am come on? How then? Can hon-
our set to a leg? No. Or an arm?

How . . . could I unite with this
wild idolator in worshipping his
piece of wood? But what is wor-
ship? thought I. Do you suppose,

⁵ Cf. Mansfield and Vincent, pp. 628-629, for still another possibility.

⁶ Professor Willard Thorp identifies this as a borrowing from Rabelais in the Introduction to his edition of *Moby Dick*, p. xv.

⁷ Also, in this regard, when Ishmael describes the fitful illumination of the New Bedford streets (II) as "like a candle moving about in a tomb", what can he have had in mind if not a scene from some classical tragedy, whether Shakespeare's or no? (As a perhaps wild surmise I offer Act V of *Romeo and Juliet*, with a candle substituted for the "torches" of the stage directions.)

On one side stood a long low,
shelf-like table covered with
cracked glass cases, filled with
dusty rarities gathered from
this wide world's remotest
nooks. Projecting from the
further angle of the room
stands a dark-looking den—
the bar—a rude attempt at a
right whale's head. Be that
how it may, there stands the
vast arched bone of the whale's
jaw, so wide, a coach might
almost drive beneath it. Within
are shabby shelves, ranged
round with old decanters, bot-
tles, flasks; and in those jaws
of swift destruction, like an-
other cursed Jonah (by which
name indeed they called him),
bustles a little withered old
man,
who, for their money, dearly
sells the sailors deliriums and
death.

Abominable are the tum-
blers into which he pours his
poison. . . .

No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery then? No. What is honour? A word. What is that word honour? Air. A trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died a Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. 'Tis insensible then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it.

now, Ishmael, that the magnanimous God of heaven and earth—pagans and all included—can possibly be jealous of an insignificant bit of black wood? Impossible! But what is worship?—to do the will of God?—*that* is worship. And what is the will of God?—*to do to my fellow man* what I would have my fellow man to do to me—*that* is the will of God. Now, Queequeg is my fellow man. And what do I wish that this Queequeg would do to me? Why, unite with me in my particular Presbyterian form of worship. Consequently, I must then unite with him in his; ergo, I must turn idolator.

In short, Professor Matthiessen's failure (p. 425) to single out more than one Shakespearian echo in UMD may have stemmed from some reason other than that there were no more there:⁸ for one thing, he was not trying to be exhaustive; for another, the nature of the Shakespearian echoes in UMD must be kept in mind (a point which I shall return to shortly).

The other point at issue is the "thousand bold dashes of character, not unworthy a Scandinavian sea-king, or a poetical Pagan Roman" (XVI) with which Melville invests his as-yet-invisible hero. Professor Stewart, by way of making his point that the Insight Passage which contains these words attempts to prepare the reader for the heroic rhetoric of MD, interprets them as follows: "The most natural assumption is that [Melville] was thinking of Hamlet in the former instance. Certainly the only probable nominees for his Roman would be Brutus or some other character from Shakespeare's Roman plays" (pp. 435-436). Yet the apparently deliberate vagueness of the two allusions suggests that Melville meant them to represent the *general* qualities of Heroism on the High Seas and Tragic Sensibility—a composite, in short, of Ahab. In either event, however, it is an error of judgment to equate Prince Hamlet with "a Scandinavian sea-king": in Chapter XXX, where the allusion recurs, it is in the plural form of "sea-loving Danish kings" and thereby reinforces the earlier association—that is, with the grandeur of the sea *kings* of old ("For a Khan of the plank, and a king of the sea, and a great lord of Leviathans was Ahab") rather than with a particular king, much less one in *Hamlet*, where whatever association there is between the slain Danish—or, for that matter, Norwegian—king and valor, it is *not* with a *maritime* valor.⁹

Based as it is on a multiplicity and a variety of evidence considered from several important points of view, Professor Stewart's theory must of course be

⁸ Cf. *American Renaissance*: "... once you become aware of them, you find fragments of Shakespeare's language on almost every page" (pp. 424-425).

⁹ Eventually Melville *does* identify Ahab with a particular Roman—none other than Tarquin! But not only is the identification made so late (CXXX) as to be of little effect: it is only the myth of Tarquin's cap that Melville points up. In short, Tarquin cannot have been *the* "poetical" Roman he had in mind in Chapter XVI (if indeed there was one).

considered in terms of its over-all validity. But if my qualification is admitted, then at least some other explanation of the evidence in dispute is in order, and I wish to propose this: Melville's echolalia and his vast knowledge of Shakespeare resulted in his borrowing from or merely echoing Shakespeare whenever he pleased; in UMD there was much less reason for borrowing (except generally for very incidental effects), because UMD is fundamentally a spry, Rabelaisian story closer in spirit to the low-life novel of the eighteenth century¹⁰ than to high tragedy; whereas when he moved on to the weightier reflections with which the later chapters of *Moby Dick* abound, the "bold and nervous lofty language" of Shakespeare was more appropriate, and by nature so striking as to overtower his actually rather frequent borrowings in UMD. An early, "genial desperado" Ishmael may echo Hamlet momentarily for purposes of impish burlesque, as I have suggested above; but when Melville's philosophical despair reaches the depths of its intensity, as in "The Whiteness of the Whale" (XLII), it is quite another text in *Hamlet* that he borrows and to quite a different effect:

Now get you to my lady's chamber,
and tell her, let her paint an inch
thick, to this favor [a fleshless skull]
she must come; make her laugh at
that. (V. i)

. . . all deified Nature absolutely
paints like the harlot, whose allure-
ments cover nothing but the charnel-
house within. . . .

Finally, when a single brief chapter contains both early tone and later tone, Melville is capable of going to Shakespeare for both. Chapter LXV yields two immediate echoes of Shakespeare tragedies: one a subtle imitation of the mordant speculation of the graveyard Prince of Denmark; the other an execrable pun on the dying Caesar's unforgettable Latin reproach; the two less than two pages apart—in the best Shakespearian tradition.

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THE TEMPEST, III. i. 15, and *ROMEO AND JULIET*, I. i. 121-128

ANDREW S. CAIRNCROSS

Fer. . . . I forget:

But these sweet thoughts, doe euen refresh my labours,

Most busie lest, when I doe it.

Enter Miranda

Mir. Alas, now pray you

and Prospero

The last line of Ferdinand's soliloquy is "the prize crux" of the play. Attempts have been made to justify the line as it stands in the First Folio, and most editors print it so, altering "lest" to "least".

¹⁰ Compare, for example, Peleg's treatment of Ishmael in Chapter XVI with the medical board examiner's treatment of Roderick Random. The technique in question is the Outrageous Oldtimer Question *vs.* Cautious Newcomer Reply:

"Now, art thou the man to pitch a harpoon down a live whale's throat, and then jump after it? Answer, quick!"

"I am sir, if it should be positively indispensable to do so; not to be got rid of, that is; which I don't take to be the fact."

"If . . . during an engagement at sea, a man should be brought to you with his head shot off, how would you behave? After some hesitation, I owned such a case had never come under my observation, neither did I remember to have seen any method of cure proposed for such an accident, in any of the systems of surgery I had perused."

Obvious objections are that, even so, there is something wrong with the rhythm, and that "it", besides being weak in itself, has no definite reference. Professor Dover Wilson, in his note to the New Cambridge edition, agrees that Spedding's conjecture, "Most busiest when idlest", gives the best approach to the sense; and I suggest that that is in fact what Shakespeare wrote. It restores both rhythm and sense, produces a typically Shakespearian paradox, and the error can be explained mechanically.

The mechanical explanation seems to be that one or more letters worked loose in the forme, or more probably fell out of the compositor's stick, particularly the "l" of "idlest", or perhaps "le", leaving "id est" or "id st", or eventually "id t". They were due to be replaced in front of a final "st", and the compositor mistook the place, and restored them before the "st" of "busiest", where, since all the letters of the line could move to the right, there may have been a gap. The remaining letters of "idlest" were then restored to some sort of sense either by the compositor, or more likely, by the proof-reader, in a manner familiar to all students of the First Folio text.

The force of this conjecture becomes obvious when we recall the Latin source—the grammar-school commonplace from Cicero, *De Officiis*, III, f. 1: *Nunquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus; nec minus solum quam cum solus esset.*

It needs no emphasis that Shakespeare, and other Elizabethans, were very fond of this sort of paradox, and familiar with Cicero's, *e. g.*

Then we are most in order when most out of order

2 Henry VI, IV. ii. 188-189

We scorn her most when most she offers blows

Antony, III. xi. 74

Seeme most alone in greatest company

Sidney, Astr. and Stella, xxvii.

The Ciceronian paradox appears also at *Romeo*, I. i. 125, a quarto line that should almost certainly find its place in the text:

I measuring his affections by my own,

That most are *busied*, when th'are most *alone*,

which uses one member of each of Cicero's antitheses, with reference to the *affections* of the lover Romeo, escaping to solitude to think, busily, of his lady. So in *The Tempest*, Ferdinand, set to work to carry logs, is *idling* at his work, but very *busy* in his "sweet thoughts"; so that he is "Most busiest when idlest." He is thus reproducing exactly Cicero's "nunquam minus otiosum . . . quam cum otiosus". On the other hand, I know of no parallel to the construction, "Most busie lest".

It is now realized that the authentic (Second Quarto) text of *Romeo and Juliet* was printed throughout, as far as practicable, from a corrected copy of the First Quarto.¹ Now it is characteristic of texts printed in this way that lines are frequently omitted, either because the corrections distract or mislead the compositor, or because an inserted line is interpreted as alternative, instead of sup-

¹ J. Dover Wilson, New Cambridge ed., Introduction; and "Recent Work on the Text of *Romeo and Juliet*", *Shakespeare Survey* 8, pp. 81-99.

plementary, to a line in the printed copy.² This may justify the restoration of a Q1 line omitted from the Q2 text:—

I measuring his affections by my owne,
That most are busied when th'are most alone,

This line, as a comparison with the Ciceronian quotation given above will corroborate, is certainly Shakespearian, and related to "affections" as the parallel phrase in *The Tempest* is to "sweet thoughts" (III. i. 14).

Q1 reads (Cambridge numbering is added):—

So early walking might I see your sonne,	121
I drew towards him but he was ware of me,	122
And drew into the thicket of the wood:	123
I noting his affections by mine owne,	124
That most are busied when th'are most alone,	x
Pursued my honor, not pursuing his.	127

It will be seen that three lines had to be inserted here—125, 126, and 128—followed by a passage of 10 lines that would have to be transcribed. Now these three lines could be comfortably written in the right-hand margin, each in two parts, opposite 121/2, 123/4, and x/127 respectively. The third was inserted, in its proper place, after 127. The first two, however, were treated as consecutive, and replaced x. The disappearance of x may have been due to a line drawn across from the insertions to a point after 124, indicating where 126 at least was to go, and this may have appeared to indicate deletion of x; or the compositor may simply have jumped x altogether in attending to all the minor corrections marked in the Q1 passage. Now there is no place for x and 125 together. But 125 was not improbably intended for insertion where it was written—between 121 and 122, and there—apart from syntax, which is a difficulty in any case—it fits perfectly.

It may therefore be suggested that we should read:

So early walking did I see your sonne,	121
Which then most sought, where most might not be found:	125
Towards him I made, but he was ware of me,	122
And stole into the couert of the wood,	123
I measuring his affections by my owne,	124
That most are busied when th'are most alone,	x (Q1)
Being one too many by my wearie selfe,	126
Pursued my humor, not pursuing his,	127
And gladly shunned, who gladly fled from me.	128

Glasgow

ON RESTORING TWO FOLIO READINGS IN MEASURE FOR MEASURE

DAVID L. STEVENSON

After two and one-half centuries, two key words in two passages from *Measure for Measure* still need to be rescued from Rowe's emendations and

² See my study of Henry V, *Studies in Bibliography*, VIII, 67-93.

restored to their Folio readings. The first of the words occurs in Lucio's rejoinder to the newly arrested Claudio, at I.ii.135-139. Here all four Folios read:

If I could speake so wisely under an arrest, I would send for certaine of my Creditors: and yet, to say the truth, I had as lief have the foppery of freedome, as the *mortality* of imprisonment. [*Italics mine.*]¹

In Rowe's "corrected" version, accepted almost without comment by all subsequent eighteenth-century editors,² and still flourishing like a spring weed in twentieth-century editions of *Measure for Measure*,³ the "*mortality* of imprisonment" has been altered to the "*Mortality* of Imprisonment" (*italics mine*).⁴

Despite Rowe, and Rowe's twentieth-century followers, the Folio reading has always made perfectly logical and dramatic sense. Lucio's weighing "the foppery of freedome" against the "mortality of imprisonment" echoes, as an intended, witty rejoinder, Claudio's immediately preceding (I.ii.129 ff.) balancing of immoderate liberty against restraint and death. In addition, it sustains the tenuous, disinterested wit of the scene which has been created by Claudio's sharply ironic intellectualizing on his own death sentence. Further, Lucio's prolonging the tone of paradox with a comment that he prefers the foolishness of being alive to the captivity of death maintains the audience's awareness of Claudio's predicament. To have Lucio prattling on (as do Rowe and most contemporary editors) about the "moralizing" effects of imprisonment, robs his retort of its sharpest sting, and blurs the dramatic focus of the moment.

Moreover, in *Measure for Measure* the word "mortality" is given thematic significance in the opening scene of the play by the Duke's weighing it against "mercy" in turning over authority to Angelo (I.i.44-46). And Lucio, in speaking of a "*mortality* of imprisonment", underscores the fact that Claudio's death sentence results from Angelo's deliberate choice of the Duke's "mortality" as a means of exercising power. To thrust by editorial courtesy a "morality of imprisonment" into Lucio's rejoinder is to do the kind of violence to four lines in *Measure for Measure* that would have been done had Rowe allowed Cleopatra an emended asp whose biting was "immoral" so that *she* might die in a final surge of "immoral" longings.

¹ Unless otherwise noted, quotations from *Measure for Measure* are in the spelling and punctuation of the First Folio. The act-scene divisions and line numbering follow *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill.

² E.g. by Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Johnson, Johnson and Steevens, Malone (*The Plays and Poems*, 10 vols. [London, 1790], II, 14, note 1) properly suggests Rowe's indebtedness to D'Avenant's rewording of the passage in his *Law against Lovers* (ca. 1662).

³ E.g. in *The Comedies of Shakespeare*, text by W. J. Craig; *Measure for Measure*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and J. D. Wilson; *Measure for Measure*, ed. W. H. Durham, The Yale Shakespeare; *The Works of William Shakespeare*, text of A. H. Bullen, The Stratford Town Edition; *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. G. L. Kittredge; *The Complete Plays and Poems*, ed. Neilson and Hill; *The Living Shakespeare*, ed. O. J. Campbell; *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. Hardin Craig. The Folio reading was defended by Alfred Thielson (*Some Textual Notes on "Measure for Measure"* [London, 1901], p. 10), and by H. C. Hart (*Measure for Measure*, The Arden Shakespeare, p. 15). M. R. Ridley restored the Folio reading (*Measure for Measure*, The New Temple Shakespeare), arguing that neither "mortality" nor "morality" seemed "to make any particular sense" (p. 126). C. J. Sisson (*William Shakespeare, The Complete Works*) puts the Folio "mortality" among the doubtful readings (p. 88). Davis Harding (*Measure for Measure*, The Yale Shakespeare, rev. ed.) restores the Folio reading and paraphrases Hart's argument in defense (p. 113). T. M. Parrott (with associate eds. E. Hubler and R. S. Telfer) restores the Folio "mortality" without comment in *Shakespeare, Twenty-Three Plays and the Sonnets*.

⁴ *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare . . .* by N. Rowe, Esq., 6 vols. (London, 1709), vol. I.

The second of the passages from *Measure for Measure* in which a key word still needs to be rescued from Rowe's quick pen occurs in the third line of Escalus' retort to Angelo at II.i.39. Here all four Folios read: "Some run from brakes of Ice, and answer none" (italics mine). Rowe altered the line to make it read "Some run through Brakes of Vice, and answer none" (italics mine).⁵ His wording was accepted by subsequent eighteenth-century editors until Bell's *Shakspeare* (1788) restored the Folio "from", but not "Ice", to make the line read "Some run from brakes of vice. . . ." Contemporary editors of *Measure for Measure*, without attempting a careful justification for either reading, fluctuate about equally between forcing the lone figure of Escalus' metaphor to run "from" (not "through") Rowe's brakes or thickets of "Vice", or to run "from" the Folio's thickets of "Ice".⁶

I should like to put a case for the complete authenticity of the Folio reading. In context, I think, the line is intentionally enigmatic but not meaningless, half-cousin perhaps to Hamlet's harsh and quibbling rejoinders. It is part of Escalus' necessarily tight-lipped reply to Angelo's abrupt dismissal of his suit for Claudio. Angelo, newly representative of absolute authority in the state, has just displayed an insolent, maddening disregard for the "natural guiltiness"⁷ of humanity as reflected in Claudio's predicament, and an almost hubristic denial of his own share in the frailties of the flesh. Escalus' reply to this moral monster is dramatically appropriate, then, only in the safety of a riddling language, innocent on the surface, but sharply critical in implication.

In paraphrase, the Folio wording of the line means, I take it, that Angelo is one who in the chill of his inhumanity seems quite literally to take his origins in (to "run from") brakes or thickets of ice. This is the same Angelo previously described by Lucio as a "man, whose blood / Is very snow-broth" (I.iv.57-58). The Angelo who will "answer none" is the haughty deputy, wrapped in his dream of moral superiority, previously described by the Duke as one who "Scarce confesses / . . . that his appetite / Is more to bread than stone" (I.iii.51-53).

The Folio wording, then, properly forces Escalus to hit out at an over-weening, frigidly unmerciful Angelo identified with "brakes of Ice". Rowe's re-wording, though still popular, is wholly inappropriate to the dramatic tension of the moment, creating a bland Angelo, nowhere else visible in the play, who runs through the thickets of a corrupt world and remains untouched. Moreover, the ironic underthrusting of the Folio's phrasing forces from the audience, as Rowe's wording cannot, an important awareness of the distinction between the natural guilt of Claudio and the deeply rooted evil of Angelo.

But since so many editors, beginning with Rowe, have found it necessary or convenient to assume that Escalus' phrase concerning "brakes of Ice" is part of a "passage, as it seems, hopelessly corrupt",⁸ a tangled thicket or brake of icily

⁵ Malone (*Plays and Poems*, II, 27, note 3) links Rowe's emendation with *Henry VIII*, I.ii.75-76.

⁶ Rowe's "Vice" is retained by H. C. Hart, A. H. Bullen, Kittredge, Neilson and Hill, O. J. Campbell, Hardin Craig, Parrott, Davis Harding. The Folio "Ice" is used by W. J. Craig, Quiller-Couch and Dover Wilson, Durham, M. R. Ridley. Sisson has "breaks" (i.e. "fractures") of "Ice".

⁷ Isabella's phrase to Angelo, at II.ii.139.

⁸ *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, ed. Alexander Schmidt, rev. Gregor Sarrazin, 2 vols., 4th ed.; under gloss for "Brake."

academic footnotes⁹ has grown up around the third line of Escalus' retort. One might therefore be tempted in this single instance to give Ben Jonson the benefit of the doubt concerning his wish that Shakespeare had blotted a thousand lines, and toss him this *one*.

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"OLD ADAM NEW APPARELLED"

JOHN S. WELD

The First Folio, which provides the earliest text of *The Comedy of Errors*, reads in IV. iii. 13, "what haue you got the picture of old Adam new appareld?" The line has puzzled editors and has been twice emended. Theobald suggested "What, have you got rid of the picture. . . ." Dover Wilson and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, rejecting this on historical-linguistic grounds, have suggested "Where have you got the picture. . . ."¹ I wish to suggest an interpretation, based upon common Renaissance understanding of the phrases, which should enable the Folio reading to stand.

Dromio of Syracuse speaks the line in surprise when he meets Antipholus of Syracuse at liberty in the street. Some five minutes previously, as the play runs, the other Antipholus, arrested and on his way to jail in the custody of a sergeant, had sent him home for bail money. Adriana has given him the bail money, and he now returns to find his master apparently, and astonishingly, set free. "The picture of old Adam" must refer to the arresting sergeant, in his leather coat, and the line must clearly carry the general burden of "are you indeed free of the sergeant?"²

It should be remembered that "old Adam" had the meaning, still common today, of "the old man", that is, "our naturall disposition to euill", or "the vnregenerate part of our Nature, as it is corrupt with sinne".³ Man was in bondage to this nature until he was redeemed or, in the phrase of St. Paul, until

⁹ Eighteenth-century comment is summarized in Bell's *Shakspeare* (*The Dramatick Writings of Will. Shakspeare* . . .), in "Annotations . . . upon *Measure for Measure*", V, 31-34. Malone's personal dissatisfaction both with the Folio version and with that of Rowe is given in detail in *Plays and Poems*, II, 27, note 2. Thielton reverted to an eighteenth-century suggestion "brakes of iron", in *Textual Notes*, pp. 39-40. Quiller-Couch and Dover Wilson argue at length that the Folio "Ice" is meant to suggest Satan (*Measure for Measure*, p. 125, note to II. i. 35).

¹ Theobald explained "new apparell'd" as a reference to the skins with which God clothed Adam and Eve. Dr. Johnson remarked that this explanation was "very good, but the text does not require to be amended". He did not, alas, offer his own explanation of the line. Perhaps he thought it should be obvious. Malone, however, in the 1821 *Variorum*, considered Theobald's emendation acceptable and necessary. Some recent interpretations of the Folio reading are discussed below. Neilson and Hill, in the *New Cambridge Edition* suggest "there seems to be a lost allusion here", and cit^r Theobald's emendation without adopting it.

² That Dromio refers to the sergeant seems indubitable from his subsequent lines. Hence I cannot follow G. B. Harrison, who remarks, "Dromio probably means: 'Have you got out of your "paradise", like Adam when he left the Garden of Eden newly clad in the skins of animals'" (*Shakespeare: The Complete Works*). I must confess that I do not quite understand how Mr. Harrison's interpretation fits the line.

³ Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionary* . . . (London, 1612), pp. 309-310. Cf. the "Service for Public Baptism" in *The Book of Common Prayer*: "O Merciful God, grant that the old Adam in these children may be so buried, that y^e new mā may be raised vp in the." I cite the edition of 1584 (P 1^r). The line is still used.

he had put off the old man and put on the new. Dromio, playfully using the commonplace terms of theology, is comparing the apparent bondage and liberation of his master to spiritual bondage and liberation. His remark has more or less the force of a jesting, "What, are you released from sin?" The same metaphors are used in the daily devotional "Prayer at the putting on of our clothes".

Most gracious and merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, thou knowest how we be born, clothed and clogged with the grievous and heavy burthen of the first man, who fell away unto fleshliness thorough disobedience. Vouchsafe, therefore, I beseech thee, to strip me out of the old corrupt Adam, which, being soaked in sin, transformeth himself into all incumbrances and diseases of the mind, that may lead away from thee. . . . Clothe me with thyself, O my redeemer and sanctifier, . . . which art the second man. . . . Be thou our clothing and apparel. . . . And . . . like as I wrap my body in these clothes, so clothe thou me all over, but specially my soul, with thine own self.⁴

If this interpretation seems to demand of the audience a too easy familiarity with Scripture and its meaning, the alternatives require equal erudition.⁵ But one must ask whether for any Elizabethan any of the readings were in fact supported by contemporary understanding of the Bible.

The crux is "new apparelled". Can it, as it must in Theobald's reading or that of Wilson and Quiller-Couch, refer to the skins with which God clothed Adam and Eve after the Fall? If so, "the picture of old Adam new apparel'd" means "the sergeant, who in his leather coat is the picture of Adam in his new skins". Then, somehow, in Theobald's fashion or another, we must emend the line to "get rid of" Adam.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, this reading is at odds with common understanding of the Bible. From Patristic times, commentators agree that the skins symbolize the condition of fallen, or the "old" man.⁶ As such, they point a contrast with the New Adam, Christ—the wedding garment clothing the redeemed.⁷ On the one hand, "Deus fecit eis tunicas pelliceas in signum mortalitatis eorum." "It pleased God to cloath man . . . to put him in minde of mortalitie, by his cloathing of dead beasts skinnes."⁸ Even clothing because of its origin is the "halter and badge of our desert to dye."⁹ On the other hand

⁴ Richard Day (attributed), *A Booke of Christian Prayers in Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. W. K. Clay (The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851), pp. 442-443. Day's book, often referred to as "Queen Elizabeth's Prayerbook", was first published in 1578 and went through four editions in his time.

⁵ Or ingenuity. R. D. French, in his edition for the Yale Shakespeare, suggested that "the idea may be, 'Have you got the sergeant a new suit?'" This is certainly the most brilliant of the interpretations I have seen, but it is also difficult, and it makes the reference to old Adam irrelevant. One is tempted to regard it as a bonus to a witty auditory.

⁶ E.g., Augustine, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, XXXVII, 1341, 1352-53; XXXIX, 1618; Bede, *ibid.*, XCI, 215; Rabanus Maurus, *ibid.*, CVII, 499; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, ii, 164, Art. 2; Calvin, *A Commentarie . . . vpon Genesis . . .*, tr. Thomas Tymme (London, 1578), H3-H3^v; Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesis . . .* Now the second time reuised . . . (London, 1608), pp. 54-55; Donne, *LXXX Sermons* (London, 1640), Sermon XV, p. 147D.

⁷ The chief New Testament texts seen as relevant to the passage in Genesis are Matt. 22, 11-12; Rom. 13, 14; 2 Cor. 5, 2-5; Gal. 3, 27; Ephes. 4, 22-24; Col. 3, 9-14; Rev. 3, 4-5, 18; 16, 15. "Reference Bibles" still occasionally indicate a relationship of these texts to Gen. 3, 21 and to each other.

⁸ Aquinas and Willet, respectively, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Gervase Babington, *Certaine Plaine . . . Notes vpon . . . Genesis* (London, 1592), fol. 21.

stands the Apostolic injunction to put off the old man and put on the new. "Christ", remarks Peter Martyr, "geueth not to vs that garment [of dead beasts' skins], but in as much as he hath made himselfe a sacrifice for mankinde."¹⁰ John Caldwell, parson of Winwick, emphasizes the same contrast:

The garmentes giuen to our first parentes, had these properties, to couer their shame and nakednes, to defende them from could and weather, and so forth. Euen so Jesus Christ is here compared to a garment, . . . whose rightuousnes doth couer our vnrightuousnes, whose innocencie doth hide our filthinesse, whose bloude doth wash away our sins, & by whom we are defended from death, hell and euerlasting damnation.¹¹

The contrast, in short, is that between the unregenerate part of our nature, symbolically dressed in the old halter and badge of our desert to die, and the new garment which defends us from death, hell, and damnation. To speak of old Adam as newly dressed in the symbol of the fact that he is *not* the New Adam, but the Old, would require of the audience a most peculiar erudition.

The interpretation here suggested, furthermore, is consistent with the tenor of the theological imagery in scenes two and three. As Wilson and Quiller-Couch remark, Dromio in these scenes stages a virtual morality play, translating the whole action of Antipholus' arrest into the terms of bondage to sin, damnation, and redemption. For instance, in relating it to Adriana, he says,

[My master is] in Tartar limbo, worse than hell.
A devil in an everlasting garment hath him;
One whose hard heart is button'd up with steel;
A fiend, a fury, pitiless and rough;
A wolf; nay, worse—a fellow all in buff: . . .
A hound that runs counter, and yet draws dry-foot well;
One that before the Judgment carries poor souls to hell. (IV. ii. 32-40)

And he continues the metaphor by treating the bail money as Antipholus' redemption: "Will you send him, Mistress Redemption, the money in his desk?" In the present scene he replies to Antipholus' puzzled question, "What Adam dost thou mean?" in the same terms, "Not that Adam that kept the Paradise, but that Adam that keeps the prison; he that goes in the calve's skin that was kill'd for the Prodigal; he that came behind you, sir, like an evil angel, and bid you forsake your liberty." He later adds, using a familiar pun, "Here are the angels that you sent for to deliver you." Antipholus, now thoroughly bewildered and convinced that he is wandering in the illusions of witchcraft, exclaims, "Some blessed power deliver us from hence!" and is answered comically by the entrance of the courtesan, "clad", according to the Folio direction, "in a gay vestment". Master and man both treat her with comic horror as Satan's emissary and finally flee as from a witch.

The dramatic treatment of the whole episode in these two scenes, in short, is an elaborate play upon the moral analogy of man contending with the world, the flesh, and the devil. Within this moral analogy the line must shape its meaning. A partial sense, at least, may be caught in the wretched clumsiness of para-

¹⁰ *Most learned and fruitfull Commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius . . .*, tr. H. B. (London, 1568), fol. 434.

¹¹ *A Sermon preached before the . . . Earle of Darbie . . .* (London, 1577), E8^v-F 1.

phrase: "What, have you got the sergeant, who in his leather coat symbolized your unregenerate nature, new clothed as liberator?"

Rhetorical evidence from the antithetical structure of the line could be cited in confirmation. But this should be clear in any case, and one must somewhere defer to the strange, layman's prejudice against killing a joke by explaining it. Reasons for choice should by now be evident. The Folio reading can easily be interpreted; this interpretation fits the context, and, whereas it is supported by a traditional and common understanding of the phrases, the alternatives require that the line be changed to create a novel meaning which contradicts the traditional sense.

Harpur College, The State University of New York

AN EARLY NEWSPAPER ALLUSION TO SHAKESPEARE

JOSEPH FRANK

In the mid-1640's Prince Charles—the future Charles II—was living in exile in Paris. There, among his public amusements, was a company of English actors, one soon disbanded for lack of pay. Leslie Hotson's definitive book, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, gives the pertinent facts about this company, including the somewhat gloating notice of its demise which appeared in *Mercurius Candidus*—a garrulous anti-Royalist newspaper that lasted for only one number. Mr. Hotson, quite properly for his own purposes, omits some of the first and all of the second paragraph of this notice. For the student of Shakespeare, however, the article in its entirety may be of interest, not only for what it says but because it is one of the extremely rare references to Shakespeare in a pre-Restoration newspaper.

Wednesday November 11 [1646]

From France thus: The company of English Actors, that the Prince of Wales had, are for want of pay dissolved—; That's newes, not strange, for so would even the famoussest Factories of the world, yea armies themselves; and what not? Money? Why, without it are all things dissolvable, as well as with it: It is probable, that the Prince thinkes it may concern his present condition to mind something else.

—The French (so further speakes intelligence) desiring to see an English Play acted but once—: Geographers indeed do speake of a Nation that is naturally fickle. Besides, if that Play were one of 2 or 3 that I could name in *Shakespeare*, it were incredible newes to me, they would see it (quite out) once.

—The English audience being thus so poor and few, that they were not able to maintaine the charges of the Stage—: It is wonder sufficient to me, how they can maintain themselves.

University of Rochester

EDWARD ALLEYN LOOMIS

Weary se'nnights nine times nine
Shall he dwindle, peak and pine.

Paul also brings up the suggestion of Dr. G. B. Harrison (whose *Jacobean Journal* also tells of the voyage), that Shakespeare had the real ship *Tiger* in mind when he had his First Witch say, "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' the *Tiger*". While, doubtless, the *Tiger's* fearful experiences were discussed actively and at length, attempts at verification of Shakespeare's unrecorded thought would seem, like Dr. Holmes' poem, "The Height of the Ridiculous". However, verification follows.

These two days the *Tiger* was in port. Omitting them, the *Tiger* was away from England exactly 567 days. The Witch's statement was, "Weary se'nights nine times nine". And "se'nights nine times nine" is $7 \times 9 \times 9$, or exactly the same 567 days. Even Shakespeare's genius could not have achieved such a "coincidence."

Cambridge, Massachusetts

¹ The mention of a ship *Tiger* in *Twelfth Night* is so casual that the name would seem to have been chosen solely because its two syllables fitted into the line.

MORE ABOUT "TENTS" ON BOSWORTH FIELD

RICHARD HOSLEY

In "Tents on Bosworth Field" (*SQ*, VI, 193-194), Mr. Robert James Fusillo suggests that the "tents" in V.iii of *Richard III* (1592-3) may have been represented, not by property tents or a curtained space for discoveries, but by tiring-house doors to the stage of an Elizabethan public playhouse. The suggestion is of some interest, for if he is right one may hypothecate production of this play upon a stage essentially similar to the one in the Swan drawing (1596), equipped merely with two doors to a tiring-house, a raised production-area (the gallery over the stage), and no stage-property larger than a throne, table, or bench (each of these being left on stage when not in use or carried on and off as necessary). In any case, the feasibility of thus producing *Richard III* without property tents or a "discovery-space" was demonstrated by Tyrone Guthrie's production in 1953 on the "open" stage of the Shakespeare Festival Theatre at Stratford, Ontario.

Mr. Fusillo's suggestion is perhaps all the more attractive because it does not deny the possibility that property tents or a discovery-space may have been used in a more elaborate production than the one he postulates, such as (for instance) the performance at court in 1633. Certainly, in accordance with Professor Reynolds' principle cited by Fusillo, one may discount as fictional coloring the many references to tents that crop up in the dialogue, for these may well have been designed to help an audience visualize the scene. But such a function may not, of course, be attributed to stage-directions, so that the keystone of Fusillo's argument is his assumption that the "tents" of three substantive directions are not "theatrical" but "fictional" (or "dramatic" or "literary"): *They withdraw into the Tent* (Folio, V.iii.46); *Enter Darby to Richmond in his tent* (Quarto, line 78); and *Enter the Lordes to Richmond* (Quarto) *sitting in his Tent* (Folio, line 222). In support of this crucial assumption I should like to call attention to a non-existent "tent" occurring in another Shakespearian text.

In IV.iii of 3 *Henry VI* (1590-1) the scene is King Edward's camp, near Warwick. The initial Folio direction reads *Enter three Watchmen to guard the Kings Tent*. (Variations in the Quarto text are here of no significance.) The first two lines of dialogue notify the audience that soldiers are guarding the sleeping king, and his "tent" is mentioned in the dialogue at lines 10 and 21. At line 22 the enemy approaches, unnoticed: *Enter Warwick, Clarence, Oxford, Somerset, and French Souldiors, silent all*. Warwick's first words emphasize scene and situation: "This is his Tent, and see where stand his Guard" (line 23). So far, at least, the text seems to suggest use of a property tent or of a discovery-space representing a tent, and there is, of course, no reason why one or the other may not have been employed in a given production. It seems clear, however, that neither tent nor discovery-space was used in the production envisaged by the author of one of the Folio stage-directions, for at line 27, immediately after attacking the guards and pursuing them off stage, Warwick and his followers are directed to re-enter, *bringing the King out in his Gowne, sitting in a Chaire*. (The insight into staging afforded by this direction seems all the more

reliable because neither the action nor the stage-property that it calls for may be inferred from the dialogue.) If a property tent or a discovery-space had here been in use, Edward presumably would have been discovered in it, and accordingly we should not have a direction for carrying him on stage in a chair. Evidently the "tent" of the Folio stage-direction is "fictional" rather than "theatrical"; and the entrance to Edward's tent must therefore have been represented by one of the tiring-house doors to the stage.

University of Missouri

Statement required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC. published 4 times a year at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1956.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 322 E. 57th St., New York 22, N. Y. Editor, Dr. James G. McManaway, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington 3, D. C. Managing editor, None. Business manager, None.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

/s/ James G. McManaway, Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of September, 1956

/s/ Fred G. Dietrich

[SEAL]

(My commission expires June 14, 1961).

Notes and Comments

ILLUSTRATION

The black-letter ballad reproduced on p. 442 gives a vivid sampling of London life in the seventeenth century. The man represented in the small woodcut at the left may have been intended by the publisher as the narrator. Of greater interest is the larger woodcut, in which a tavern keeper, perhaps, welcomes a noise of musicians—of which London had an abundance—while two men and a woman sit eating in the background.

SHAKESPEARE FILMS IN NORWAY

In April, a committee of undergraduates of the University of Oslo made special arrangements, on behalf of the British Institute of the University, for special matinee performances of four Shakespeare films. These were Olivier's *Henry V*, and *Hamlet*; the Rank production of *Romeo and Juliet*; and *Julius Caesar*, with Mason, Gielgud, and Brando. As reported by Dr. Kristian Smidt, about a thousand high school students attended the matinees in two of Oslo's cinemas each day of the four-day festival.

FIRST FOLIO IN SIBERIA

A copy of the First Folio was recently brought to light in Tomsk, Siberia, according to the director of a British book exhibition in Moscow. The story circulated by the Associated Press is to the effect that a Russian merchant bought the volume in the eighteenth century. The present location of the Folio is not stated.

FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY TO SELL DUPLICATES

In the course of forty years of collecting, the late Henry Clay Folger acquired a great many duplicate copies of certain relatively modern editions of Shakespeare and of critical works dealing with the English Renaissance. Organization of the collections in the Folger Shakespeare Library has now reached a point where some of these can be designated as disposable duplicates. Among the books thus segregated are many volumes of the New Variorum Shakespeare, edited by H. H. Furness; Methuen facsimiles of the Second, Third, and Fourth Folios; the collotype reproduction of *Richard II*, edited by A. W. Pollard; Sidney Lee's *Catalogue of Shakespeareana*, 2 vols.; and Lionel Booth's reprint of the First Folio. Inquiries about these items, and others to be made available later, may be addressed to Miss Eleanor Pitcher, The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington 3, D. C.

Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

The Annual Meeting of the members of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., was held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, 33 East 36th Street, New York, N. Y., on 2 May 1956 at 4 p.m. Twelve members of the Association were present in person, and two hundred thirty-seven members were represented by proxy. After the usual formalities, President Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., called for reading of the report of the Treasurer, Mr. John F. Fleming, which was approved and filed. The Chairman of the Editorial Board reported a steady widening of the influence of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, which now receives manuscripts from all quarters of the globe. He noted that Professor Jorgensen's Annual Shakespeare Bibliography contained 16% more entries than in any previous year and that Mrs. Alice Griffin's census of performances of Shakespeare throughout the world expands its coverage each year. Then followed the acceptance of the report of the Chairman of the Advisory Board, Professor W. T. Hastings.

The Chairman stated that he had asked that he not be re-elected President of the Association, as he believes rotation is advisable. He pointed out with what pleasure he had served as President and what a great deal it had meant to him to be able to serve. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously

RESOLVED, that the members of the Shakespeare Association of America record its deep and sincere appreciation to Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., for his devotion and loyalty to the Association during his tenure as president. Through the time and effort he has given it, it has been revived and has become a dominating force in the world of scholarship.

The Chairman then turned the Chair over to the Vice President, Mr. Donald F. Hyde. Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., as Chairman of the Nominating Committee was called upon for his report. This was adopted unanimously and in due course Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Mr. John F. Fleming, Mr. William G. Foulke, Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Mr. Donald F. Hyde, Mr. James G. McManaway, Mr. Joseph Verner Reed, and Mr. Robert H. Taylor were elected as Directors of the Association to serve until the next Annual Meeting of members or until their successors shall be elected and qualify.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, upon motion duly made and seconded, the meeting was adjourned.

DONALD F. HYDE, Acting Secretary.

At the meeting of the Directors, which followed immediately, the following officers were elected for the ensuing fiscal year:

President	Mrs. Donald F. Hyde
Vice President	Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Secretary-Treasurer	Mr. John F. Fleming
Chairman of the Editorial Board	Mr. James G. McManaway
Chairman of the Advisory Board	Mr. William T. Hastings

Mr. Paul L. Jorgensen was reelected as Bibliographer, and the seven members of the Advisory Board who had served from 1953-1956 were reelected for the period, 1956-1959: Miss Madeleine Doran, Mr. Alfred Harbage, Mr. William W. Lawrence, Mr. B. Iden Payne, Mr. George F. Reynolds, Mr. Edgar Scott, and Mr. Arthur Colby Sprague.

Shakespeare Clubs and Societies

SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF OKLAHOMA CITY

The Shakespeare Club of Oklahoma City has just completed its thirty-second year. It grew out of a Shakespeare Class started in 1920 that was taught by Mrs. Robert L. Bolen. Because of their great interest in Shakespeare, the members of this class, in 1924, organized the Shakespeare Club. It became a member of the then Shakespeare Federation and later of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

Mrs. Bolen, who was the lecturer for the Club until a few years ago, is a life member and is still very active in the club work. She was a member of the Shakespeare Federation and is now a member of the Shakespeare Association of America. On more than one occasion she has attended its annual meetings in New York City. The splendid leadership of Mrs. Bolen has inspired the members of the Oklahoma City Club and kept it active and influential.

The season opens with a registration tea in October and closes with the annual spring luncheon in April, with something over seventy-five active, paying members. Meetings are held on the first and third Wednesdays and include a forum and a lecture each month. Lecturers come from the state university and other colleges. There is a lovely Shakespeare Garden in one of the largest of the city's parks, in the midst of which is a fine bust of Shakespeare. A memorial program, open to the public, is held in the Garden each twenty-third of April. The Club has established connections with other clubs in the state and maintains a lively interest in Shakespeare in and about Oklahoma City.



SHAKESPEARE ROUND TABLE OF BOWLING GREEN, OHIO

On 8 May, the Shakespeare Round Table of Bowling Green, Ohio, celebrated its golden anniversary with a gala dinner at the Woman's Club of Bowling Green. Early in 1906, eleven women banded together to study the plays and poetry of Shakespeare. As interest deepened, they became the Shakespeare Round Table, with constitution, by-laws, and officers. Five friends were added; then the membership increased to twenty. Three of the founding members, Mrs. Rose Beatty, Miss Effie Carlisle, and Miss Adeline Halleck are still living, and Miss Halleck spoke eloquently at the anniversary celebration. The history of the club was given by Miss Helen Waugh, a member for 41 years, and the oldest in point of active membership. She paid loving tribute to Mrs. Robert Morris, of Toledo, who was advisor to the club until 1940 and who lectured twice each year. The principal speaker was Mrs. Clyde Hyssong, an associate member, whose topic was "Infinite Riches in a Little Room."

In 1921, the Round Table planted the Shakespeare Elm in front of the former Science Building at Bowling Green State University. One hundred Toledo Shakespeare Club members were entertained in day-long festivities.

The tree was re-dedicated in 1939, and a bronze marker, gift of the Toledo Shakespeare Clubs, was placed on a boulder beside it.

Among the Round Table's civic and philanthropic activities, the best remembered are the knitting for soldiers during World War I and the support for three years of a French orphan, and the founding in 1911 of a small subscription library that grew into a collection of more than 8000 volumes and that led in 1928 to the establishment of a School District Library. The first suggestion came from the late Mrs. B. F. James, a founding member; Mrs. D. A. Haylor, another founder, did more than anyone else to help establish the library. At the anniversary dinner, her daughter, Mrs. H. R. Troyer, presented a volume as the Round Table's first contribution to the new Poet's Shelf of Shakespearean books in the public library's new building.

The officers of the Round Table for the year 1955-1956 were: President, Mrs. H. L. Bowman; Vice President, Mrs. B. L. Pierce; Secretary, Mrs. Alva Bachman; Assistant Secretary, Mrs. D. L. Gamble; and Treasurer, Mrs. Wilbur Abell.

THE SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY

The Shakespeare Club of New York City held its sixty-seventh annual reception and dinner on Sunday, 22 April, at the National Arts Club. Among the distinguished guests in attendance were Miss Gladys Cooper and Mr. Whitford Kane. The Club's annual awards for distinguished contributions to the enjoyment of Shakespeare were presented to Dr. John Cranford Adams, President of Hofstra College, and to Mr. Orson Welles, actor and producer.

Programs of special importance during the year were the annual Twelfth Night Party, a festive occasion; the address, on 13 March, by Dr. R. A. Foakes, of Durham University, on "Acting in Shakespeare's Theatre"; and the poetry recital on 27 March by John Mackwood and Katherine Lurker, who gave poems and extracts from Shakespeare and some of his contemporaries.

The officers for 1955-1956 were: Dr. John H. H. Lyon, Honorary President; Hon. F. X. Giaccone, President; Mr. Jose Ferrer, Mr. David S. Houston, and Mr. Charles Webster, Vice Presidents; Miss Marian McCarthy, Chairman of Dinner Committee; and Mrs. Rosamond Reinhardt, Chairman of the Study Program Committee.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON

The Shakespeare Society of Washington celebrated the 392d anniversary of Shakespeare's birth at a reception and dinner at the Kenesaw Hotel on 27 April. The guest of honor was Mrs. Alexander Chatin, Executive Chairman of the Campaign Committee for the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy at Stratford, Connecticut. Professor W. Gordon Zeeveld was the principal speaker, his topic being, "Reading, Writing, and Shakespeare". Following the address, Dr. Zeeveld presented the Society's semi-annual book award to Miss Mary Allison, a student at the University of Maryland, for outstanding work in English. The other semi-annual award goes to a student in English at George Washington University.

Contributors

DOCTOR G. V. P. AKRIGG is Professor of English at The University of British Columbia. MISS MURIEL C. BRADBROOK, Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, is the author of many books, the latest being *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy*.

ARTHUR BROWN, Esq., of University College London, is a member of the Council of the Malone Society.

J. R. BROWN, Esq., of the English Department of Birmingham University, is the recent editor of *The Merchant of Venice* (New Arden).

ANDREW S. CAIRNCROSS, Esq., is the author of *The Problem of Hamlet* and of numerous articles treating of Shakespearian texts.

MR. RICHARD L. COE is dramatic critic of *The Washington Post and Times Herald*.

DR. MILTON CRANE is the author of *Shakespeare's Prose*.

JOHN CROW, Esq., of King's College, London, is editor of *Jacob and Esau* for the Malone Society and is engaged in editing *Romeo and Juliet* for the New Arden.

MR. JOHN P. CUTTS, formerly at the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, is now a member of the English Department of Iowa State University.

DR. GILES E. DAWSON, Curator of Books and Manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library, recently edited *Julius and Julian* for the Malone Society.

BONAMY DOBRÉE, Esq., sometime professor of English at Leeds University, is one of the General Editors of the Oxford History of English Literature.

MR. ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH is editor of the Kingston, Ontario, *Whig-Standard*.

DR. JOSEPH FRANK, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Rochester, and author of *The Levellers*, has been a Fellow at the Henry E. Huntington Library during the past year.

DR. JOHAN GERRITSEN, who edited *The Honest Man's Fortune* recently, is a member of the staff of the Royal Library, The Hague.

PROFESSOR ROBERT D. HORN is in the Department of English of the University of Oregon.

RICHARD HOSLEY, formerly at the University of Virginia, is now Professor of English at the University of Missouri.

JOHN L. LIEVSAY is Professor of English at the University of Tennessee.

JUDSON BLAIR JEROME is Assistant Professor of English at Antioch College.

MR. EDWARD ALLEN LOOMIS, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, is the designer and manufacturer of two ingenious models of the Globe.

DR. S. NAGARAJAN is on the English Staff of the King Edward College, affiliated with Nagpur University.

PROFESSOR GEORGE F. REYNOLDS, Emeritus Professor of the University of Colorado, has been a lifelong student of Elizabethan staging.

MRS. PATRICIA M. SELLMAN, an actress in her own right, is wife to Professor Hunton D. Sellman, Head of the Drama Department of San Diego State Teachers College.

PAUL N. SIEGEL, formerly at Ripon College, is now Professor of English at Long Island University.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR CCLBY SPRAGUE, of Bryn Mawr College, the most knowledgeable of historians of Shakespearian productions, finds it necessary to end his series of reviews of the New York stage with the report in this number. His criticisms will be missed.

DR. ALLAN H. STEVENSON is engaged in the preparation of the catalogue of the great collection of herbals in the Hunt Library in Pittsburgh.

DAVID L. STEVENSON, author of *The Love Comedy Game*, is Associate Professor of English at Western Reserve University.

PROFESSOR EDWARD STONE, Associate Professor of English at Ohio University, is editor of *Selected Student Prose and Incident at Harper's Ferry* and author of numerous articles on American literature.

ARTHUR SUZMAN, Esq., is Her Majesty's Attorney, Johannesburg, South Africa.

PROFESSOR ALWYN THALER, of the University of Tennessee, is the author of several books and articles dealing with Shakespearian criticism.

DR. SIDNEY THOMAS, for several years the Bibliographer of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, is engaged in a study of Shakespeare's early plays.

DR. JOHN S. WELD, of Harpur College, is engaged in writing a full-dress interpretation of *The Comedy of Errors*.

PROFESSOR R. W. ZANDVOORT, of the University of Groningen, is editor of *English Studies* and a prolific writer on English literature and philology.

